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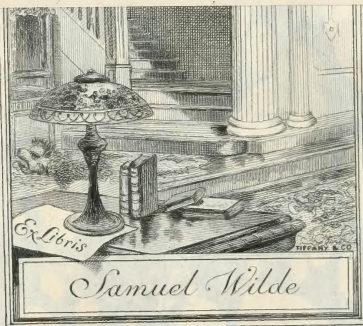
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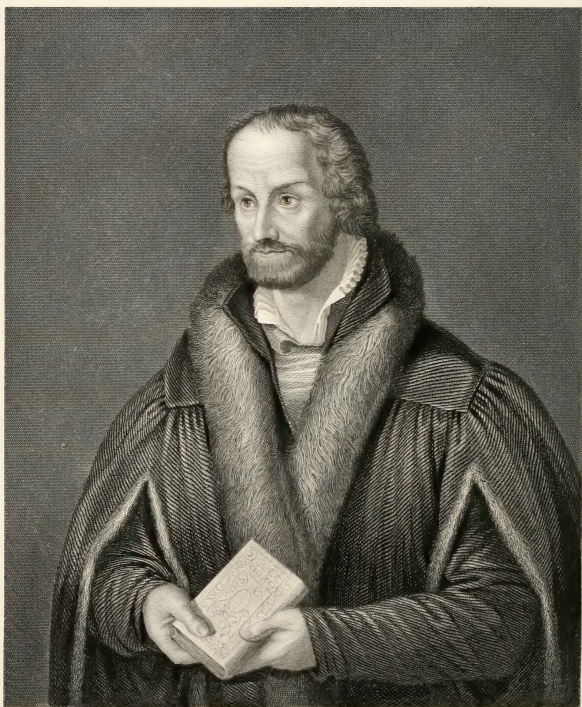


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PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

History
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN THE
Sixteenth Century.

BY THE REV.^d

J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D.D.

VOL. II.



GUSTAV KONIG.

G. GREATBACH.

THE BIBLE OPENED.
REVISION OF LUTHER'S GERMAN TRANSLATION.

BLACKIE & SON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH & LONDON

HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ,
PRESIDENT OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, GENEVA, AND MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ÉVANGÉLIQUE.

TRANSLATED BY
DAVID DUNDAS SCOTT, Esq.,
AUTHOR OF THE "SUPPRESSION OF THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE."

WITH NOTES
FROM THE NETHERLANDS EDITION OF THE REV. J. J. LE ROY, OF THE
DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

VOL. II.

BLACKIE AND SON, QUEEN STREET, GLASGOW:
SOUTH COLLEGE STREET, EDINBURGH;
AND WARWICK SQUARE, LONDON.

MDCCCLV.

"I call accessory, the state of things in this frail and fleeting life. I call principal, the spiritual government in which the providence of God shines forth with sovereign lustre."—BEECHER.

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PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE FRENCH EDITION, COMMENCING BOOK NINTH.

A SPIRIT of examination and research is ever more and more pushing studious men in France, Switzerland, Germany, and England, to inquire for the original documents that form the groundwork of modern history. I would fain contribute my mite to the accomplishment of the important task which the men of our day seem to have proposed to themselves, not contenting myself so far as I have gone, with the reading of contemporary historians, but interrogating eye-witnesses, letters, and original narratives, besides availing myself of some manuscripts, that of Bullinger in particular, which has since been printed. (Frauenfeld, 1838—1840.)

But still more urgent was the obligation of applying to unpublished documents when, as in the twelfth book, I entered upon the history of the Reformation in France. We possess but few printed memoirs relating to that history, owing to the unceasing turmoil amid which the Reformed Church of that country maintained its existence. In the spring of 1838, I examined, with all the care in my power, the manuscripts to be found in the public libraries of Paris; it will be seen that a manuscript belonging to the royal library, to this day, I should think, unknown, throws much light on the beginnings of the Reformation. In autumn 1839, I consulted the manuscripts to be found in the library of the pastors of Neuchâtel, a very rich collection as respects that epoch, inasmuch as it inherited the

manuscripts of Farel's library; and to the kindness of the lord of the manor of Meuron I am indebted for having had communicated to me the manuscript life of Farel by Choupard, where the greater number of those documents are repeated. Aided by those manuscripts, I have been enabled to reconstruct one whole phase of the French Reformation. Over and above these aids, and those furnished by the library at Geneva, I addressed an appeal through the medium of the *Archives du Christianisme*, to all such friends of the history of the Reformation as might have manuscripts at their disposal; and I have now to express my thanks for the various communications which have been sent to me, in particular, by Mr. Pastor Ladevèze, of Meaux. But although the religious wars and persecutions have destroyed many precious documents, there are many, no doubt, dispersed here and there throughout France, which might prove of great importance in the history of the Reformation; and I would urgently entreat all who may possess or know of such, to inform me of them. These it is felt in our days form common property; and I therefore hope that this appeal will not prove useless.

Possibly it will be found that in writing a general history of the Reformation, I have gone too much into the details of the early times of that event in France. But these beginnings are little known; the events that form the subject of my twelfth book, occupy only three or four pages in the *Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France*, by Theodore Beza; and other historians hardly relate more than the developments of the nation's political condition. It is true, that I have not been able to discover nor have now to retrace any such imposing scenes as the Diet of Worms. Nevertheless, in addition to the Christian interest which attaches to it, the movement, humble, yet really derived from heaven, which I have attempted to describe, has possibly had more influence upon the destinies of France than the illustrious wars of Charles V. and Francis I. In a great machine, not what makes most show, but often the most hidden springs, constitute the essential part.

I have been blamed for the delay necessarily attending the publication of this third volume; and some would even have had me avoid printing the first until the whole work were

finished. There are minds perhaps of a superior order on whom people may impose conditions; but there are others from whose inferiority one must be content to receive them, and I am of that number. To publish a single volume at one time, then a second at another as I best can, afterwards a third, such is all the progress that my first duties and the paucity of my powers permit me to accept. Add to this the intervention of extraordinary circumstances; heavy afflictions have twice interrupted the composition of this third volume, and have concentrated all my affections and all my thoughts on the graves of two beloved children. The thought that it was my duty to glorify the adorable Master who spoke to me so solemnly, and sent me such divine consolations, could alone have given me the courage that was required for continuing my work.

So much by way of explanation I have thought due to the kindness with which this work has been received, whether in France, or, and especially, in England, where it has reached its fourth edition in English, besides two others, of smaller size, which my correspondents tell me are in course of preparation. Hence it is, no doubt, that the *Journal des Debats*,¹ in an article signed by M. Chasles, has spoken of this history of the Reformation as an English work. The approbation of the Christian Protestants of Great Britain, representing as they do the principles and the doctrines of the Gospel, as far even as the most remote countries of the globe, I estimate very highly, and my feelings urge me to tell them that I find in that approbation of theirs a much-prized encouragement in my labours. The first book of my fourth volume shall be consecrated, if it please God, to the Reformation of England and of Scotland.²

The cause of truth recompenses those who embrace and defend it; and such has been the result with the nations that received the Reformation. From the eighteenth century when Rome

¹ The *Journal des Debats* is distinguished among all the daily papers of Paris for the excellency of its literary articles, and these are often subscribed by their authors. TR.

² Perhaps I ought, also, to have kept back for the next following volume, the last book of this one. But I preferred introducing the French Reformation in the third volume, which comes thus to be larger than the other two by about a hundred and fifty pages.

thought to triumph by means of her Jesuits and her scaffolds, victory escaped from her hands. Rome, like Naples, like Portugal, like Spain, became entangled in difficulties without end; meanwhile, two Protestant states arose, and began to exert an influence over Europe which had previously belonged to Roman Catholic nations. England came forth victorious from those Spanish and French attacks, which the pope had so long been stirring up against her; and the elector of Brandenburg, in spite of the wrath of Clement XI., bound his head with a royal crown. England has since that time extended her domination throughout the whole world, and Prussia has taken a new rank among the continental powers, whilst another power also separated from Rome, namely, Russia, has been expanding itself in its vast wildernesses. Thus have the principles of the Gospel exercised their healthy influence on the countries that have received them, and *righteousness hath exalted nations*. Let the evangelical nations well understand this; it is to Protestantism that they owe their greatness. From the moment that they abandon the position which God has made for them, and shall lean towards Rome, they will lose their power and their glory. Rome is now making efforts to gain them; she employs by turns flatteries and threats; she would, like Delilah, make them sleep on her knees . . . but only to shave the locks of their head, and put out their eyes, and to bind them with fetters of brass.¹

Here, too, a great lesson may be read by France—a country to which the author feels himself so intimately united by the ties of ancestry. If, as has been done by her various governments, France shall turn anew to the popedom, we verily believe that it will prove to her the signal of great disasters. Whoever shall attach himself to the popedom will be compromised in its destruction. France has no prospect of becoming powerful and great, but by turning towards the Gospel. Would that this grand truth were understood alike by the people and their chiefs.

It is true, that in these days the popedom puts forth much activity. Although attacked by an inevitable consumption, she

¹ Judges xvi. 21.

would persuade others, and herself too, by a hectic flush and febrile excitation, that she is still in full vigour. This a Turin theologian has endeavoured to do in a writing called forth by this history, and in which we are happy to recognise a certain talent for the production of testimonies, including even the weakest, in a tone of candour to which we are little accustomed, and with the manners of a gentleman, with the exception, however, of that deplorable and guilty facility with which, in his twelfth chapter, the author renews those charges against the Reformers, which have been so authentically demonstrated and so openly acknowledged to be false.¹

We shall give an example relating to the matters composing this volume. Jacques le Vasseur, doctor of the Sorbonne, prebend and dean of the Church at Noyon, wrote: "Annals of the Church of Noyon," (1643,) a work in which he cannot find enough of expressions to pour forth against our Reformer, and finds his sole consolation in the thought that *St. Elias gives Calvin his deathblow*, (p. 1164). After saying that the Reformer came early into the possession of certain benefices in the Church at Noyon, the prebend introduces, while confirming this, a declaration of Charles Desmay, also a doctor in theology, in his "Life of Calvin, Heresiarch," who after having made a very minute investigation into all that related to the Reformer, says, "*I have been unable to discover ANYTHING ELSE in the said registers*," (Annals of Noyon, p. 1162). Then the devout historian of the Church of Noyon, after having poured out all his wrath on Calvin and all the members of his family, without ever recounting a single deed done by the Reformer that was contrary to good morals, and contenting himself with the remark, *that to be called heresiarch implies the very crowning point of all crimes* (ib.), adds a xvi. chapter, intituled: "*Of another John Cauvin, vicar chaplain of the same Church of Noyon, NOT HERETICAL*," in which he says: "Another John Cauvin presented himself and was received into our choir, to a vicarial chapel, and

¹ *La Papauté considérée dans son origine et dans son développement au moyen âge, ou réponse aux allégations de M. Merle d'Aubigné dans son Histoire de la Réformation au seizième siècle. par l'abbé C. MAGNIN, docteur en théologie. GENEVE, chez Bertier-Guers, 1810.*

was shortly after dismissed *for his incontinence*, after some punishments to which he paid no attention. He discharged the functions of a vicar throughout the dioceses, and the belief of our old people is, that he departed this life in the parish cure of Trachyle-Val, in that diocese, where he did duty as vicar, and died *a good Catholic*. He was not, however, beaten with rods behind the altar curtain, as Desmay writes, in his little work, p. 39 and 40. Besides, he was a priest and not subject to such discipline." He has therefore mistaken the right name, taking the latter for another vicar, called Baldwin the Young, doubly young in name and in manners, and who was not yet consecrated to the priesthood or to any sacred order. The following is that capitulary conclusion.

. . . . *Quod Balduinus, le Jeune, capellanus vicarialis. . . . pro scandalis commissis, ordinarunt præfati domini IPSUM COEDI VIRGIS, quia puer et nondum in sacris constitutus.* "I have thought it my duty," (continues the dean of Noyon,) "to add this chapter to the history of the first Cauvin, *ad diluendam homonymiam*, lest people should take the one for the other, the catholic for the heretic." Thus speaks the prebend and dean of Noyon, pages 1170, 1171. Now, what do we find done by Dr. Magnin, and the writers in favour of the popedom whom he quotes? They very gravely announce that Calvin was banished from his country on account of his bad conduct; that, convicted of a horrible crime, he would have been condemned to be publicly burnt, if at the prayer of the bishop the punishment of fire had not been commuted for that of being whipped and branded, &c. (La Papauté, page 109.) Thus, notwithstanding all the pains taken by the dean of Noyon to add a chapter, *lest people should take the one for the other, the Catholic for the heretic*, the writers on the side of the popedom fail not to attribute to the Reformer the misdeeds of his homonyme. What stood foremost in the dean of Noyon's thoughts, was the glory of that John Cauvin *who died a good Catholic*, and he trembled to think of any one attributing Calvin's *heresy* to him. Accordingly, he very clearly distinguishes them: assigning to the one the *heresies*, to the other the *incontinence*. But the contrary of what he thought has happened. It is not "Calvin's heresy" that has cast a stain on John Cauvin; but it is the incontinence and the punishment of John

Cauvin that have been urged as a disgrace to the Reformers.¹ And such is the manner in which history is written! . . . such we do not say is the bad faith, but the negligence and the ignorance of the apologists of the popedom. These are blunders such as occur in the writings of men, in other respects estimable, and who ought to have nothing in common with the odious name of calumniator. The true history of Calvin's early life will be found in this volume.

As a sequel to his History of Luther, M. Audin has recently published a History of Calvin, written under the influence of deplorable prejudices, and in which one with difficulty recognises the Reformers and the Reformation. Nevertheless, we cannot find in that author the shameful charges which we have mentioned: he has treated them as they deserved, by saying nothing about them. No man that respects himself can venture to reproduce these besottedly gross calumnies.

We may possibly, on some other occasion, add a few words to what we have already said in our first book on the original sources of the popedom. This is not the place for doing so.

I shall only recall, in a general way, that it is precisely the *human* and perfectly natural causes that so well explain its origin, to which the popedom appeals as demonstrating its divine

¹ If I mistake not and other readers think with me, it were to be wished that Mr. Merle had elucidated this point a little more clearly;—that, first of all, he had given us more fully the statements of Le Vasseur and Desmay in their connection and aim, and then that he had expressed more distinctly the conclusion that he drew from them. In the accounts, in the first place, given by both writers, everything is singularly confused; first, we have the account of Le Vasseur himself, then Desmay's explanation as reported by him, and, inserted in that again, a quotation in Latin, taken, it appears, from the acts of the Capitulary of Noyon. How can all this be reconciled? Not having it in my power to consult the works mentioned, I really cannot say. Yet on a general comparison of the whole I view the matter thus:—In the first place, Le Vasseur, knowing one other John Cauvin besides the Reformer, which other had been a priest and steady adherent of the (R.) Catholic faith, was unwilling that he should be confounded with the Reformer; and it was for these reasons that after having stated all that he knew about the Reformer, he added a special chapter respecting that other John Cauvin. The dissolute manners of that person, which he himself acknowledges, did not prevent him from considering such dissoluteness as less dishonourable than heresy. He defends him, however, against the accusation of being guilty of that particular offence, for which he should have been flogged, and with which this catholic John Cauvin appears to have been charged by Desmay: against which Le Vasseur defends his John Cauvin, (and thus, also, by implication the Reformer) by remarking, that Desmay was mistaken, inasmuch as this had happened to another young person, called BALDUINUS LE JEUNE, and this he establishes by quoting the acts of the chapter of Noyon in Latin.—If this be the right way to reconcile the different testi-

institution. Thus ancient antiquity tells us that the universal episcopacy was committed to all the bishops, so that the bishops of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, Carthage, Lyons, Arles, Milan, Hippo, Cæsarea, &c. felt an interest and took a part in all that was passing in the Christian world. Forthwith Rome arrogates to herself this duty which was incumbent on all, and reasoning as if she alone were concerned in it, she employs it as a demonstration of her primacy.

Let us adduce another example. The Christian Churches that were established in the great cities of the empire, sent missionaries into the countries with which they were connected. This was what was done, first of all, by Jerusalem; next by Antioch, Alexandria, and Ephesus; and then at last by Rome; and forthwith Rome concludes from what she did after the others, and less than the others, in favour of her establishment above all the rest. These examples will suffice.

Let us only remark further, that Rome alone possessed in the West that honour which was possessed in the East by Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, Antioch, and in a much higher degree by Jerusalem,¹ that of having had an apostle or apostles among her first doctors. Hence the Latin Churches might naturally be expected to entertain a certain respect for Rome. But never did the Eastern Christians who honoured in her the

monies here cited, then, indeed, have they with good reason been appealed to by Mr. Merle in establishing the Reformer's innocence; nay, that can be doubly established, first, inasmuch as it thence appears, that granting there was some accusation in the case, that must have regarded another John Cauvin; but, secondly, that with regard to the precise offence and the whipping that followed, a complete confusion of persons had taken place, for these must be put to the account of a person of quite a different name, to wit, a certain BALDUINUS LE JEUNE. But if this be so, it must be owned, in the second place, that Mr. Merle has not expressed his meaning with sufficient accuracy in the conclusion he deduces therefrom. For he so expresses himself that men would say that Le Vasseur would rather have had his John Cauvin guilty of the particular crime of incontinence, which was afterwards charged against the Reformer, than of heresy, which the existing enemies of the Reformer just reverse by imputing the unnatural crime of the other John Cauvin to the Reformer; yet with respect to Le Vasseur this is not the case. He might possibly have preferred his John Cauvin's being guilty of incontinence rather than heresy, but still he defends him also, if we rightly understand the mutual bearings of the extracts that are quoted, against the charge of being guilty of the incontinence distinctly alleged, just as we defend our John Cauvin against the same, and refers it to a totally different person, namely, one called Balduinus.—L. R.

¹ Saint Epiphany says that the Lord committed to James the first, at Jerusalem, his throne on the earth (τον θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς); and speaking of the bishops that were met at Jerusalem, he declares that *the whole world* (παντα κόσμον) ought to follow their authority. (Epiph. Hæres. 70, 10.—78, 7.)

Church of the political metropolis of the empire, desire to acknowledge in her any ecclesiastical authority. The celebrated universal council of Chalcedon assigned to Constantinople, previously the obscure Byzantium, the same privileges (τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα) as to Rome, and declared that it ought to be elevated *like it*. Accordingly when the popedom became decidedly formed at Rome, the East did not care to acknowledge a master whom it had never heard spoken of, and remaining on the ancient domain of its catholicity, it abandoned the West to the power of the new sect that had risen up in its bosom. The East calls herself still at this day emphatically (*par excellence*) *catholic and orthodox*, and when one of those oriental Christians whom Rome has united to herself by granting them numerous concessions, is asked: "Are you *catholic*?"—"No," he instantly replies, "I am *papistain*" (popish). (Journal of the Rev. Joseph Wolf. London, 1839, p. 225.)

While this history has been subjected to some criticisms emanating from the Romish point of view, it seems to have met with others proceeding from a point of view purely literary. Men for whom I feel much esteem, seem to attach more importance to a political or literary description of the Reformation, than to an exposition that assumes as its starting point the spiritual principles and eternal springs of that event.—I can understand this way of viewing the matter, but I cannot take part in it. What is essential in the Reformation, in my opinion, is its doctrines and inward life. Any work in which these two things do not hold the first rank, may be brilliant, but it will not be a faithful and candid history. One would thus resemble a philosopher who, in wishing to describe a man, should, with much exactness and picturesque effect, detail all that relates to his body, but accord to the soul, that divine guest, quite a subordinate place.

Much, no doubt, is defective in the feeble work of which I here present a new fragment to the Christian public; but what I find most reprehensible in it, is that one does not discover still more of the soul of the Reformation. The more I shall have succeeded in drawing attention to what manifests the glory of Christ, the more shall I have been an historian and a faithful

one. I willingly accept as my rule those words which an historian of the sixteenth century, a man of the sword still more than of the pen, after having written part of the history of Protestantism in France of which I do not propose to treat, says to those who might think of completing his work: "I would give them the same rule to which I have subjoined myself; which is, that in seeking the glory of this precious instrument, they would have for their chief end the glory of the arm which has displayed, employed, and plied it at its pleasure. For all the praises bestowed upon princes are beside the point, and ill-placed, if they have not for leaf and root the praise of the living God, to whom alone belong honour and dominion to eternity."

At the Springs—near Geneva, Feb., 1841.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BOOK EIGHTH.—1484.—1522.

OF THE SWISS.

AT the time when the decree of the Diet of Worms appeared, an ever-growing movement began to be felt among the quiet valleys of Switzerland. The voices which were making themselves heard in the plains of Upper and Lower Saxony, were responded to from the bosom of the Helvetic mountains, in the energetic voices of their priests, their herdsmen, and the burgesses of their warlike cities. The partisans of Rome, seized with alarm, exclaimed that a vast and terrible conspiracy was forming everywhere in the Church against the Church. The friends of the Gospel remarked to each other with delight, that as in the spring of the year, the breath of life is diffused over the earth, from the sea shore to the summits of the mountains, so the Spirit of God was then melting the ice of a long winter throughout Christendom, and from the lowest plains to the steepest and most barren mountain peaks, was clothing it with verdure and with flowers.

It was not that Germany communicated the light of the truth to Switzerland, Switzerland to France, and France to England; all those countries received it from God, just as it is not one part of the world that transmits the light to another, but that the same blazing orb communicates it immediately to the earth. Infinitely exalted above men, Christ, *the day spring from on high*, at the epoch of the Reformation as at that of the establishment of Christianity, was the divine source from which life was dif-

fused throughout the world. One single doctrine was in the sixteenth century simultaneously established at the firesides and in the temples of nations the most distant and most diverse; simply because the same Spirit was present everywhere, and everywhere produced the same faith.¹

This truth is demonstrated by the Reformation of Germany, and by that of Switzerland. Zwingli did not act in concert with Luther. No doubt there was a bond that united these two men; but we must look for it above this earth. He who gave the truth to Luther from heaven, gave it to Zwingli also, and thus God himself was their point of communion. "I began to preach the Gospel," says Zwingli, "in the year of grace 1516, that is to say, at a time when the name of Luther had not yet been pronounced in our territories. It was not from Luther that I learned the doctrine of Christ—it was from the Word of God. If Luther preaches Christ, he does what I do;—that is all."²

But if of the same Spirit from which they had all proceeded, the various reformations held one vast unity; they received, likewise, some individual traits from the several nations amid which they were accomplished.

We have already sketched the state of Switzerland at the epoch of the Reformation,³ and will now add but a few words to what we then said. In Germany it was the monarchical principle that predominated; in Switzerland, it was the democratical. The Reformation had to wrestle with the will of the princes in the one country, and with the will of the people in the other. But as a collection of men, being more easily carried away by

¹ Here we have the truth of the matter—a truth concealed alike from the blind adherent of the popedom, and from the Spirit-bereft Protestant of our times. Both disown the work of the Lord's Spirit in the Reformation, and regard it as the mere work of man; hence they never can account for that simultaneous awakening, and that agreement of sentiment, which were manifested at its first commencement. They persist in attaching themselves to those differences which led to mutual estrangements, chiefly at subsequent periods, and when what was divine became more alloyed with what was human, and this they do for the purpose of making the whole work appear human throughout. But they wilfully avert their regards from that truly marvellous harmony of sentiment which appeared at first in various countries altogether independent of each other, and which could be ascribed to nothing but to a higher principle, and to the truth itself.—L. R.

² . . . 1516, eo scilicet tempore quum Lutheri nomen in nostris regionibus inauditum adhuc erat . . . doctrinam Christi, non a Luthero, sed ex verbo Dei didici. (Zwinglii Opera, curant. Schulero et Schulthesio, Turici, 1829, vol. i. p. 273, 276.)

³ See vol i. p. 87.

the impulse of strong feeling than a single individual, is more prompt, also, in its decisions, that victory over the popedom which was the labour of years on the north of the Rhine, required only months or days for its completion on the south of that river.

In Germany, the person of Luther makes a lofty and imposing appearance amid the inhabitants of Saxony; he seems to stand alone as the assailant of the Roman colossus; and wherever we find the parties engaged in battle, we can descry that tall figure moving upon the field. Luther seems the monarch of the revolution that was effected there. In Switzerland, the conflict was maintained in many cantons at one and the same time; we there find a confederation of Reformers and are amazed at their number; one head, no doubt, is seen over-topping the rest, but no one commands the field; they compose a republican magistracy, where all are observed to have original physiognomies and distinct influences. There is Wittembach, there is Zwingli, there is Capito, and Haller, and Œcolampadius; there is Oswald Myconius, Leo Juda, Farel, and Calvin. And the conflict is carried on at Glaris, at Basel, at Zurich, at Berne, at Neuschâtel, at Geneva, at Lucerne, at Schaffhausen, at Appenzel, at St. Gall in the Grisons. In the Reformation of Germany there is but one scene, all of a piece, and having the flatness of the country itself; but the Swiss Reformation is partitioned out as Switzerland is by her thousand mountains. Each valley has, so to speak, its own awakening; each Alpine peak its own illumination.

A deplorable epoch opened for the Swiss after their exploits against the duke of Burgundy. Europe, on becoming acquainted with the vigour of their arms in battle, had allured them from their mountains and robbed them of their independence, by making them the arbiters, on battle-fields, of the destiny of her states. Switzer pointed his sword against his brother Switzer's breast on the plains of Italy and of France, and the intrigues of foreigners introduced envy and discord into those upper valleys of the Alps, which had for long been the homes of simplicity and peace. Lured by the glitter of gold, boys, day-labourers, and domestic servants would steal away from the huts of those Alpine pastures, to try their fortunes on the banks of the Rhone or the

Po. Helvetic unity crumbled to pieces under the slow-pacing of mules laden with gold. Now, the Reformation, which in Switzerland, as well as elsewhere, had its political side, proposed to restore the unity and ancient virtues of the cantons. Its first cry was that the Swiss should rend the treacherous nets of the foreigner, and should embrace each other in closest union at the foot of the cross. But her generous voice was unheeded. Rome, accustomed to purchase in those valleys the blood that she lavished in her schemes of aggrandisement, rose in wrath, excited Swiss against Swiss, and thus rent the body of the nation by the new passions that she fomented in its breast.

Switzerland needed a reformation. To be sure, there was a simplicity and goodness of heart among the Helvetians, which the refined Italians thought ridiculous; but at the same time they were considered as the people which most habitually transgressed the laws of chastity. This astrologers attributed to the constellations;¹ philosophers to the peculiar temperament of those indomitable tribes; moralists to the principles of the Swiss, who considered cunning, dishonesty, and calumny as much graver sins than impurity.² Marriage was interdicted to the priests, but it would have been difficult to find one who lived in true celibacy; what was required of them being that they should live not chastely, but discreetly. That was one of the first disorders against which the Reformation lifted its protest. It is time that we were tracing the commencements of this new day in the valleys of the Alps.

Towards the middle of the eleventh century, two recluses proceeded from St. Gall towards the mountains that lie to the south of that ancient monastery, until they reached a desert valley about ten leagues in length.³ To the north the lofty mountains of the Sentis, the Sommerigkopf, and the Old Man, separate this

¹ Wirz, *Helvetische Kirchen Geschichte*, iii. p. 201.

² *Sodomitis melius erit in die judicii, quam rerum aut honoris ablatoribus.* (Hemmerlin, de anno jubilæo.) If this was an announcement from the pulpit, it was more likely to differ from, than to express a popular opinion, in which case the author's inference is decidedly wrong. The laws against theft seem to have been particularly severe. "In 1480, during the short space of three months, nearly 1500 assassins and robbers were sentenced to death; for in the Diet at Baden, a law had been passed which made every theft, however trifling, a capital offence." See the *History of Switzerland from the German*, by Zschokke, p. 162. Tr.

³ The Tockenburgh.

valley from the canton of Appenzel; on the south, the Kuhfirsten, with its seven heads, rises betwixt it and the Wallenzée, Sargans, and the Grisons; on the eastern side, the valley opens out before the beams of the rising sun, and discovers the magnificent aspect of the Alps of the Tyrol. The two recluses, on arriving near the source of a small stream, the Thur, there built two cells. The valley gradually became peopled; at its highest point, about 2,010 feet above the lake of Zurich, there arose around a church, a village called *Wildhaus*, the *Wild house*, on which there now depend two hamlets, *Lisighaus*, or the house of Elizabeth and *Schönenboden*. The fruits of the earth no longer ripen on those heights, but a green carpeting of Alpine freshness covers the whole valley, and rises along the mountain sides until met by enormous masses of rock which tower to heaven with savage grandeur.

A quarter of a league from the church, near *Lisighaus*, and by the side of a path that leads to the pastures beyond the stream, there is still to be found a house standing quite by itself. Tradition reports that the timber required for building it was felled on the very spot.¹ Every thing indicates its having been built at a very remote period. The walls are small; the windows have little round panes, the roof is formed of shingles laden with stones, to prevent their being carried off by the wind. A limpid spring gushes from the ground before the house.

In this house, towards the close of the fifteenth century, there lived a man called *Zwingle*, amman or baillie of the commune. The family of the *Zwingles*, or *Zwinglis*, was ancient, and held in much esteem by the inhabitants of those mountains.² *Bartholomew*, the baillie's brother, who was first priest of the parish, and afterwards, in 1487, dean of *Wesen*, enjoyed a certain degree of celebrity in the country.³ The amman of *Wildhaus*'s wife *Margaret Meili*, whose brother, called *John*, was afterwards abbot of the monastery of *Fischingen* in *Thurgovia*, had already

¹ *Schuler's, Zwingli's Bildung's Gesch.* p. 290.

² *Diss Geschlecht der Zwinglinen*, was in guter Achtung diesser Landen, als ein gut alt ehrlich Geschlecht. (*H. Bullinger's Histor. Beschreibung der Eidg. Geschichten.*) This precious work exists in manuscript only: I am indebted for its being communicated to me, to the kindness of Mr. J. G. Hess. In the quotations I preserve the orthography of the time and of the manuscript. The friends of history are now printing it.

³ *Ein Verrumbter Mann.* (*Ibid.*)

given him two sons, Heini and Klaus, when on new year's day, 1484, seven weeks after the birth of Luther, the lone herdsman's house witnessed the birth of a third, called Ulrich.¹ Five other sons, John, Wolfgang, Bartholomew, James, and Andrew, together with one daughter, Anna, farther enriched this Alpine family. No one in the country round was more venerated than the Amman Zwingli.² His character, his office, and his many children, made him the patriarch of those mountains. He tended cattle, as did also his sons, and hardly had the first days of May begun to gladden the mountains, than the father and his sons went off with their herds and flocks, passing from pasturage to pasturage, until about the end of July they reached the highest elevations of the Alps. They then begun gradually to descend again towards the valley, and autumn saw all the inhabitants of Wildhaus restored to their humble cabins. Sometimes, during summer, the young people who had to remain at home, in their eagerness to enjoy the pure mountain air, would set off in groups for the herdsmen's cots, accompanying with their voices the melodies they performed on their rustic instruments, for all were musicians. On arriving upon the Alps, the herdsmen hailed them from a distance with their horns and shouts, and on meeting presented them with a collation of milk prepared in various ways; on concluding which, after many a turning and winding, the joyous band would descend back into the valley to the sound of their pipes. Ulrich, when a boy, doubtless took part occasionally in those amusements. Having grown to boyhood at the foot of those rocks that seem everlasting, and whose peaks point to the heavens, "I have often thought," said one of his friends, "that as he approached heaven on those sublime elevations, he must have thence derived something celestial and divine."³

Long fireside meetings were held during the winter evenings, in the cottages at Wildhaus, and during these the young Ulrich would sit by his father's hearth, and listen to the conversations of

¹ "Quadragesimum octavum agimus" Zwingli writes to Vadian 17th September, 1531

² Clarus fuit pater ob spectatam vitæ sanctimoniam. (Oswald Myconius, Vita Zwingli.)

³ Divinitatis nonnihil cælo propriorem contraxisse. (Ibid.)



the baillie and the elders of the commune. He would hear them tell, how once on a time the inhabitants of the valley lay under a very severe yoke, and would exult with the old men at the thought of the independence acquired by the Tockenburg, and secured to them by their alliance with the Swiss. His heart would warm with love to his mother country; Switzerland became dear to him, and if any one uttered a word to the prejudice of the confederates, the child would instantly rise from his seat, and vigorously defend them.¹ Further, he might often be seen quietly seated during those long evenings, at the feet of his godly grandmother, and with his eyes fixed upon her, would listen as she told him stories from the Bible and devout legends, all which he received with avidity into his heart.

II. The good Amman rejoiced at the happy tendencies of his son; and saw that his Ulrich was capable of higher things than taking charge of the cows and singing the herdsman's songs on mount Sentis. One day, accordingly, he took him by the hand and went with him towards Wesen. He traversed the grassy knolls that lie at the foot of the Ammon, avoiding the rough wild rocks that border the lake of Wallenstadt; and on reaching the town, he went to his brother the dean's, and handed the young highlander over to him, in order that he might make trial of his capacity.² The dean soon came to love the boy as if he had been his own son; was charmed with his sprightly disposition, and confided his instruction to a schoolmaster, who soon taught him all that he himself knew. At the age of ten, there were already observed in him such remarkable symptoms of a noble spirit³ that his father and uncle resolved to send him to Basel.

To this child of the mountains, quite a new world was opened up on his arriving in that celebrated city. The lustre of the famous council of Basel, the university founded there by Pius II. in 1460, the printing presses which were there restoring the master-pieces of antiquity, and shedding over the world the first fruits of the revival of letters, the residence there of distinguished

¹ Schuler's *Zw. Bildung*, p. 291.

² *Tenerrimum adhuc ad fratrem sacrificum adduxit, ut ingenii ejus periculum faceret.* (Melch. Ad. Vit. Zw. p. 25.)

³ Und in Ihm erschienen merkliche Zeichen eines edlen Gemuths. (Bullinger's Manuscript.)

men, such as Wessel and Wittembach, and, in particular, of that prince among the learned, the very sun of the schools, Erasmus, all contributed to render Basel, at the epoch of the Reformation, one of the grand centres of illumination in the West.

Ulrich was entered at the school of St. Theodore. Gregory Binzli, a man of rare warmth of affection and gentleness of disposition, happened at the time to be one of the teachers, and young Zwingli made rapid progress there. Learned disputations, quite the fashion at that time among university doctors, had begun to be imitated even by boys at school. Ulrich took part in these, and putting forth his rising talents in combatting the boys at other such institutions, came off always victorious in the conflicts by which he thus preluded to those which were ere long to subvert the popedom in Switzerland.¹ These successes excited the jealousy of rivals that were his seniors in age. At length he outstripped the school at Basel as he had done that at Wesen.

A man distinguished for his learning, Lupulus, had now opened at Berne the first learned school that was founded in Switzerland, and to it the baillie of Wildhaus and the parish-priest of Wesen resolved to send their child. In 1497, Zwingli quitted the smiling plains of Basel for the neighbourhood of those higher Alps, amid which he had spent his childhood, and whose snowy peaks he could descry from Berne as they glittered in the rays of the sun. Lupulus, himself a distinguished poet, introduced his pupil into the sanctuary of classical literature, at that time a retreat little known, and whose threshold had been passed by a few of the initiated only.² The young neophyte inhaled with ardour the fragrant breath of ancient lore, his mind expanded, his style became formed, and he became a poet.

Among the monasteries at Berne, that of the Dominicans was most in repute. Its friars were engaged in a serious quarrel with the Franciscans about the immaculate conception of the Virgin, a doctrine maintained by the former but denied by the latter. The humiliation of their rivals became at last the all-engrossing thought of the Dominicans wherever they happened

¹ In disputationibus quæ pro more tum erant inter pueros usitatæ, victoriam semper reportavit. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

² Ab eo in adyta classicorum scriptorum introductus. (Ibid.)

to direct their steps, before the gorgeous altars that adorned their church, or among the twelve columns that supported its vaulted roof. They had remarked the beautiful voice of Zwingli; they had heard of his precocious intellect, and thinking that he might confer a lustre on their order, they endeavoured to inveigle him into joining them, and invited him to make their monastery his home until the proper time for passing his noviciate.¹ The amman of Wildhaus having heard of the allurements offered by the Dominicans, was alarmed for the innocence of his son, and ordered him instantly to leave Berne; and Zwingli thus escaped from those monastic enclosures into which Luther voluntarily threw himself. What happened afterwards may give us some idea of the imminent risk to which Zwingli was then exposed.

Berne, in 1507, was the scene of intense excitement. A youth from Zurzach, called John Jetzer, having presented himself one day at this same Dominican monastery, had been driven away; but the poor lad was so distressed at this repulse as to renew his attempt to gain admission. Holding out three and fifty florins and some silken stuffs; "there is all that I am worth," said he, "take these, and admit me into your order." He was admitted on the 6th January, as a lay brother. But from the first night after his admission, a strange noise that he heard in his cell so terrified him that he fled to a monastery of the Chartreux, from which he was sent back to that of the Dominicans.

On the following night, being Saint Matthias's eve, he was awakened by deep-drawn sighs, and on opening his eyes beheld close to his bedside a huge white phantom. "I am a soul escaped from the flames of purgatory," said a sepulchral voice. The friar replied, trembling all over, "May God deliver you, I can do nothing for you!" whereupon the ghost went up to the poor friar and seizing him by the throat, indignantly reproached him for his refusal. Jetzer upon this roared out in his fright, "What then can I do to save you?" "Flog yourself for eight days till you bleed, and then lie down on the floor in St. John's chapel," and having said this, the ghost disappeared. This apparition the lay brother communicated to his confessor, who was preacher

¹ Und alss er wol singen kœendt, lœkten Ihn die prediger. Mœnchen in dass Kloster. (Bullinger. MSC.)

to the monastery, and in compliance with his advice, submitted to the discipline that was required. Straightway it was told all over the town that a soul had applied to the Dominicans to be delivered out of purgatory. The Franciscans were deserted, and all now ran to the church where the holy man was to be seen lying prostrate upon the earth. The soul from purgatory had announced that in eight days it would re-appear, and on the appointed night it did, in fact, appear, accompanied by two spirits which tormented it, and made it utter the most heart-rending moans. "Scot," it said, "Scot, the inventor of the doctrine of the Franciscans on the immaculate conception of the Virgin, is among those who are suffering like torments with myself." This news, which soon spread through Berne, still further increased the perturbation of the partisans of the Franciscans. But on this occasion, before vanishing, the ghost had given notice of a visit from the Virgin herself, and, in fact, on the day appointed, the astonished friar saw Mary appear in his cell. He could not believe his eyes at this. She graciously approached him, gave him three tears wept by Jesus, three drops of his blood, a crucifix, and a letter addressed to pope Julius II. who, said she, "was the man chosen of God to abolish the festival of her pretended immaculate conception." Then, drawing still nearer to the bed on which the friar lay, she told him with a solemn voice that a great favour was about to be conferred on him, and, so saying, pierced his hand with a nail. The friar here shrieked out, but Mary wrapped his hand in a piece of linen which her son, she said, had worn at the time of his flight into Egypt. This wound was not enough; in order that the glory of the Dominicans might equal that of the Franciscans, Jetzer was to have the five wounds of Christ and of St. Francis on his hands, feet, and side. The four others were now inflicted; then, after giving him something to drink, he was laid down in a hall hung round with representations of our Lord's passion, and there he spent long days fasting, until his imagination became highly excited. The doors of this hall were then opened from time to time for the admission of the people, who flocked in crowds to gaze with devout wonder on the friar with his five wounds, extending his arms, inclining his head, and imitating in his gestures and position our Lord's crucifixion. At times he was beside himself,

he foamed at the mouth, and seemed at the point of death. "He is suffering Christ's cross," the people whispered as they stood around. Eager for miracles, the multitude pressed unceasingly into the monastery. Men deservedly enjoying the highest esteem, including Lupulus himself, Zwingli's master, were exceedingly discomposed, and the Dominicans from the pulpit magnified the glory with which God was investing their order.

This order had, in fact, for some years felt it necessary to humble that of St. Francis, and to call in the aid of miracles in order to augment the respect and liberality of the people. For the scene of their operations they had chosen Berne, "a city at once simple, rustic and ignorant," said the subprior of Berne to the chapter held at Wimpfen on the Necker. The prior, subprior, preacher, and purveyor, had undertaken to act the chief parts, but failed in the execution of them towards the close. A new apparition of Mary having taken place, Jetzer thought he could recognise the voice of his confessor, and having said this aloud, Mary vanished. She soon, however, re-appeared, and began to reprove the unbelieving friar. "This time it is the prior," said Jetzer, darting forward with a knife in his hand. The sainted woman threw a pewter plate at the head of the poor friar, and again disappeared.

In consternation at the discovery which Jetzer had made, the Dominicans endeavoured to rid themselves of him by poison, perceiving which he made his escape and told the whole story. They showed a good face and sent a deputation to Rome. The pope commissioned his legate in Switzerland, and the bishops of Lausanne and Sion, to judge in the case; and the result was that the four Dominicans, being found guilty, were condemned to be burnt alive, and on the 1st of May 1509, were consumed by the flames in the presence of more than thirty thousand spectators. This affair made a noise throughout all Europe, and so far prepared the way for the Reformation, by unveiling one of the most grievous sores of the Church.^{1 2}

¹ Wirz, *Helvetische Kirchen Gesch.* vol. iii. p. 387. Anshelm's *Chronik*, iii. and iv. No event belonging to the epoch of the Reformation has given birth to so many works. See Haller's *Biblioth. der Schw. Gesch.* iii.

² No wonder! It discovered the profane deception by which people's eyes had been blinded. In this instance the deception was happily discovered. But can there have been less deception in many other cases in which similar apparitions have been pretended, although these may not have been so positively found

Such were the men out of whose clutches Zwingli escaped. He had been studying literature at Berne, and now behoved to devote himself to philosophy, with a view to which he repaired to Vienna. A youth from St. Gall, Joachim Vadian, whose genius promised Switzerland a distinguished man of learning and statesman; Henry Loreti, of the canton of Glaris, commonly called Glarean, and who seemed likely to shine among the poets; a young Suabian, John Heigerlin, son of a blacksmith, and hence called Faber, a man of supple character, fond of honours and distinction, and giving token of all the qualities of a courtier, these were the companions of Ulrich's studies and recreations in the capital of Austria.

In 1502, Zwingli returned to Wildhaus; but on revisiting his native mountains he felt that he had drunk from the cup of learning, and could no longer live amid his brothers' songs and the lowing of their herds. He was now eighteen; he repaired to Basel, there to resume the study of literature; and there, at once student and teacher, he combined giving lessons at St. Martin's school with his studies at the university, so as from that time forth to be able to dispense with assistance from his father. He soon after took the degree of master of arts. An Alsatian of the name of Capito, though his senior by nine years, was one of his best friends there.

Zwingli now devoted himself to the study of scholastic theology;¹ for as he was to be called ere long to combat its sophisms, he behoved first to explore its obscure labyrinths for himself. But often was the joyous student from the mountains of the Sentis, seen suddenly to shake off the dust of the school, and making his philosophical labours give place to amusement, he would seize the lute, or the violin, or the flute, or the dulcimer, the shepherd's or the hunting horn, bring forth joyous sounds from those instruments as if still in the meadows of Lisighaus, make his own room, or the houses of his friends, resound with his country's melodies, and accompany them with his beautiful

out, or rather though the general interests of the so called Church, have interfered to prevent their being found out. For example, could there be any better foundation in fact for the five wounds of St. Francis, or for so many speaking and crying images of (the Virgin) Mary? What other basis have the legends of the saints, the alleged miracles of the present day, nay, the whole Romish Church, but deception?—L. R.

¹ Ne diutius ab exercitio literarum cessaret. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

voice. In respect of music he was a true child of Tockenburg—a master among all.¹ He played on the instruments we have mentioned, and on others also. Enthusiastically fond of the art, he diffused a taste for it in the university, not from love of dissipation, but because he liked to refresh his mind when fatigued with graver studies, and to put himself into a condition for returning to them with fresh zest.² No one had a more cheerful humour, a more amiable temper, or more agreeable powers of conversation.³ He was a vigorous Alpine tree, expanding itself in all its strength and beauty, and which, unpruned as yet, threw out sturdy boughs on all sides. The time was approaching when these boughs were to turn powerfully towards heaven.

After having forced his way into scholastic theology, he relinquished that dry study, at once fatigued and disgusted, having found nothing in it but confused ideas, idle babbling, vain glory, and barbarism, unrelieved by a single sound doctrinal idea. "It is mere waste of time," said he; and waited for something better.

It was then, in November 1505, that there arrived at Basel, Thomas Wittembach, son of a burgomaster of Bienne. Wittembach had been teaching up to that time at Tübingen by the side of Reuchlin. He was in the prime of life, sincere and pious as well as learned in the liberal arts, in the mathematics, and in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures. Zwingli and all the youth of the university instantly crowded round him. His discourses glowed with a life that until then was unknown, and prophetic words escaped from his lips. "The time is not distant," he would say, "when the scholastic theology will be done away with, and the ancient doctrine of the Church will be restored."⁴ . . . "The death of Christ," he would add, "is the sole ransom for our sins."⁵ Zwingli's heart received these seeds of life with avidity.⁶

¹ Ich habe auch nie von Keinem gehört, der in der Kunst Musica . . . so erfahren gewesen. (B. Weissen, Füsslin Beyträge zur Ref. Gesch. iv. 35.)

² Ut ingenium seriis defatigatum recrearetur et paratius ad solida studia rediretur. . . . (Melch. Ad. Vit. Zw.)

³ Ingenio amœnus, et ore jucundus, supra quam dici possit, erat. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

⁴ Et doctrinam Ecclesiæ veterem . . . instaurari oporteat. (Gualterus, Misc. Tig. iii. 102.)

⁵ Der Tod Christi sey die einige Bezahlung für unsere sünde. . . . (Füsslin Beytr ii. p. 268.)

⁶ Quum a tanto viro semina quædam. . . . Zwingliano pectori injecta essent. (Leo. Jud. in Præf. ad Ann. Zw. in N. T.)

Among the students who were most enthusiastic in their attendance on the new doctor's instructions, there was a young man of three and twenty, of short stature, of a feeble and sickly aspect, but who bore an expression at once of gentleness and intrepidity. This was Leo Juda, the son of an Alsatian parish priest, and one of whose uncles had died at Rhodes while following the standard of the Teutonic knights, in the defence of Christendom. Leo and Ulrich became intimate friends. Leo played on the tympanum, and had an uncommonly fine voice. It was often when met in his room, that these two young friends of the arts indulged their passion for music. Leo Juda afterwards became the colleague of Zwingli, and death itself could not destroy this sacred friendship.

The place of pastor of Glaris happened now to fall vacant. One of the pope's young courtiers, Henry Goldli, groom to his holiness, and already invested with several benefices, posted to Glaris with a letter giving him the appointment from the pontiff. But the Glaronese herdsmen, proud of their ancient lineage and of their combats for liberty, were by no means disposed to bow to a bit of parchment from Rome. Wildhaus is not far from Glaris, and Wesen, where Zwingli's uncle was parish priest, is their market town. The reputation of the young master of arts at Basel had reached even those mountains, and him the Glaronese wished to have for their parish priest. They called him thither in 1506. Zwingli was ordained at Constance, by the bishop, preached his first sermon at Rapperswil, read his first mass at Wildhaus on St. Michael's day, in the presence of all his relations and family friends, and towards the close of the year, arrived at Glaris.

III. Zwingli zealously devoted himself to the duties required by his vast parish. Meanwhile he was but two and twenty years old, and often allowed himself to be carried away by the dissipation and loose ideas of that period. A priest of Rome himself, he was what other priests around him were at the time, but even in days when as yet his heart was unchanged by the doctrines of the Gospel, he never was guilty of any of those scandals which so often afflicted the Church,¹ and ever felt

¹ Sic reverentia pudoris, imprimis autem officii divini, perpetuo cavit. (Osw. Mv. Vit. Zw.)

the necessity of subjecting his passions to the holy rule of the Gospel.

A passion for war prevailed at that time in the tranquil valleys of Glaris. There were families of heroes there, the Tschudis, the Walas, and the Æblis, whose blood had been shed on fields of battle. The veteran warriors used to relate to the young, always eager to hear such tales, the wars of Burgundy, and of Suabia, the battles of St. James, and Ragaz. But, alas! it was now no longer against the enemies of their liberty that these warlike herdsmen took up arms; but at the call of the kings of France, of the emperors, of the dukes of Milan, of (the pretended successor of) St. Peter himself, they were seen to sweep down from the Alps like an avalanche, and dash themselves with thundering impetuosity against the regular armies of the plain.¹

A poor boy, called Matthew Schinner, who was attending the school at Sion in the Valais, (this was about the middle of the latter half of the fifteenth century), when singing one day before the houses, like young Martin Luther somewhat later, heard an old man calling on him to come to him; and the latter, struck with the freedom with which the child answered the questions he put to him, told him with that prophetic accent which man, it is said, sometimes finds when approaching the tomb: "Thou shalt be bishop or prince."² These words struck the young beggar, who from that time forward became the slave of the most unbounded ambition. At Zurich and at Como, he made such progress as astonished his teachers. Having become priest of a small parish in the Valais, he rose rapidly, and when sent afterwards to Rome to request the confirmation by the pope

¹ Shortly before the birth of Zwingli, the Swiss had to encounter fresh attacks on their freedom, particularly from Charles the bold, duke of Burgundy, who, not content with his extensive dominions, among which was Holland, governed by him as Grave, and oppressed with taxes imposed for the repayment of the expenses of his ambitious designs, aimed at obtaining the title of king, and sought to overcome Switzerland also, but was beaten in the attempt. There still survived in Zwingli's younger days, many of the gallant men who had defended their country's freedom, and who aroused the spirit of the young by recounting their feats of arms. Deplorable, indeed, it was that they fought at that time no more for their mother-country, but for strangers. It is a well known fact that from that time forward, while they themselves were secured by their mountains, they hired out their courage to other nations, which custom of sending off their soldiery into the service of other states in return for good pay, although so far circumscribed by the circumstances of the time, remains down to this day.—L. R.

² Helvet. Kirch. Gesch. Von Wirz, iii. p. 314.

of a bishop of Sion who had just been elected, he had the adroitness to obtain the bishoprick for himself. This ambitious and crafty, yet often noble and generous person, never looked upon any dignity he might attain to, but as a step by which he was to rise to something higher. Having made an offer of his services to Louis XII., at a fixed price: "It is too much for one man said the king." "I will show him," replied the bishop of Sion, in a passion, "that I am a man who am worth many." In fact he turned to pope Julius II., who gladly received him; and in 1510, Schinner succeeded in attaching the entire Swiss confederation to the political interests of that ambitious pontiff. As he received for his reward a cardinal's hat, the bishop smiled at the thought of there being now but one step between him and the throne of the popes.

Schinner had his eyes perpetually turned to the Swiss cantons, and wherever he discovered a man of influence, him he hastened to attach to his interests. The pastor of Glaris attracted his notice, and Zwingli soon was apprised that to encourage him in the cultivation of literature, the pope had settled on him an annual allowance of fifty florins. Debarred by poverty from purchasing books, during the short time of his enjoying this pension Ulrich devoted it wholly to the acquisition of classical or theological works, which he had sent to him from Basel.¹ Thenceforth Zwingli connected himself with the cardinal, and thus became one of the Roman party. Schinner and Julius II. at last let the object of their intrigues be seen; eight thousand Swiss, brought together by the eloquence of the cardinal-bishop, crossed the Alps; but famine and the arms and money of the French, made them return ingloriously to their mountains, bringing back with them the usual consequences of foreign wars, mutual distrust, licentiousness, party spirit, and acts of violence and disorder of all kinds. Citizens refused obedience to the magistrates, children disobeyed their parents; agriculture and the care of their herds and flocks were neglected; luxury and mendicity were seen to gain ground simultaneously; the most sacred ties were broken, and the confederation seemed on the eve of dissolution.

Then it was that the eyes of the young priest of Glaris were

¹ Welches er an die Bücher verwändet. (Bullinger, MSC.)

opened, and his indignation was enkindled. His powerful voice was raised in warning the people of the abyss into which they were on the point of rushing to their ruin. It was in the year 1510 that he published his poem intituled *The Labyrinth*. Behind the windings of that mysterious garden, Minos had concealed the Minotaur, that monster, half man, half bull, which he fed with the flesh of the young Athenians. The Minotaur, . . . that is, said Zwingli, sins, vices, irreligion, the foreign service of the Swiss, which were devouring the sons of his people.

Theseus, a man of courage, would fain rescue his country; but he is thwarted by numerous obstacles, and first by a lion with one eye: that was Spain and Arragon; next by a crowned eagle, with its beak open to devour him: that was the empire; then by a cock with its comb erect and seeming to challenge to battle: that was France. The hero overcomes all obstacles, reaches the monster, and saves his country by giving it its death blow.

"Thus it is now," exclaims the poet, "men are bewildered in a labyrinth, and having no thread, are unable to regain the light. No where do we find men imitating Jesus Christ. For a little glory we risk our lives, torment our neighbour, run into quarrels, wars and battles. . . . One would say that the furies had escaped from the depths of hell."¹

A Theseus, a Reformer, was required; Zwingli perceived this, and thenceforth had a presentiment of his vocation. He shortly afterwards composed an allegory, the meaning of which was somewhat clearer.²

In April 1512, the confederates rose anew at the call of the cardinal, for the deliverance of the Church, and Glaris was foremost of the host. The entire commune was counted out as ready for service, and stood in array around its banner with its land-ammann and pastor. Zwingli behoved to march. The army crossed the Alps, and the cardinal appeared amid the confederates with presents from the pontiff, a ducal hat adorned with pearls and gold, and surmounted with the Holy Ghost represented under the form of a dove. The Swiss escalated fortresses

¹ Das wir die höellschin wüeterinn'n

Mөгend denken abbrochen syn.

(Zw. Opp. (Edit. Schöler und Schulthess.) ii. second part, p. 250.)

² Fabelgedicht vom Ochsen und etlichen Thieren, iez loufender dinge begriffenlich. (Ibid. p. 257.)

and cities, they swam across rivers in the presence of their enemies, divested of their clothes, and with halbert in hand; the French were everywhere put to flight; steeple bells and trumpets resounded on every side; the inhabitants ran in crowds from all parts; nobles made wine and fruits be brought to the army in abundance; monks and priests mounted scaffolds and proclaimed the confederates to be God's people, who avenged the Lord's Spouse of her enemies; and the pope, becoming a prophet like Caiaphas of old, gave the confederates the title of defenders of the liberty of the Church."¹

This residence in Italy was not without its effect upon Zwingli as respected his vocation of Reformer. It was on his return from this campaign that he applied himself to the study of Greek, "in order," he said, "that he might obtain the doctrines of Jesus from their proper sources.² I have resolved so to devote myself to Greek," he wrote to Vadian, 23d February 1513, "that none but God can divert me from it: I do so, not for the sake of glory, but from love to sacred literature." Some time after, a good priest who had been one of his school-fellows, happening to pay him a visit: "Master Ulrich," said he to him, "I am assured that you are giving in to this new error, and that you are a Lutheran."—"I am not a Lutheran," said Zwingli, "for I knew Greek before I ever heard the mention of Luther's name."³ To know Greek—to study the Gospel in the original tongue—such, according to Zwingli, was the basis of the Reformation.

Zwingli did more than own, at this early date, the grand principle of evangelical Christianity, the infallible authority of the holy Scriptures. He further comprehended how the sense of the Divine Word ought to be determined. "Those persons have a low opinion of the Gospel," said he, "who consider all that does not accord with their own reason to be unjust, vain, and frivolous.⁴ Men are not entitled to bend the Gospel as they

¹ *De gestis inter Gallos et Helvetios, relatio H. Zwinglii.*

² *Ante decem annos, operam dedi græcis literis. ut ex fontibus doctrinam Christi haurire possem. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 274 in his Explan. Artic. which is dated 1523.)*

³ *Ich hab' græcæe können, ehe ich ni nüt von Luther gehöt hab. (Salat. Chronik. MSC.)*

⁴ *Nihil sublimius de evangelio sentiunt, quam quod, quidquid eorum rationi non est consentaneum, hoc iniquum, vanum et frivolum existimant. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 202.)*

please to their own meaning and their own interpretation.”¹—“Zwingli looked to heaven,” said his best friends, “not wishing for any better interpreter than the Holy Ghost himself.”² ³

Such, from the very commencement of his career, was the man whom some have not scrupled to hold forth as one who wished to subject the Bible to human reason. “Philosophy and theology,” he would say, “cease not to annoy me with objections. Then I begin to say to myself: All these things must be put aside, and we must endeavour to find God’s meaning solely in his own Word. I set myself,” he continues, “earnestly to supplicate the Lord himself to enlighten me, and although I read nothing but the Scripture, it became much clearer to me than had I read many commentaries.” He compared the Scriptures among themselves, and elucidated the more obscure by the clearer passages.⁴ Ere long he became thoroughly versed in the Bible, and particularly the New Testament.⁵ When Zwingli thus turned to Holy Scripture, Switzerland made her first step towards the Reformation. Hence when he expounded the Scriptures every one perceived that his instructions came from God and not from a man.⁶ “Work altogether divine!” here exclaims Oswald Myconius, “it is thus that the knowledge of divine truth was restored to us!”

Zwingli, however, did not disdain the explanations of the most celebrated doctors; he afterwards studied Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, but not as authorities. “I studied the doctors,” he says, “just as one would ask a friend,

¹ Nec posse evangelium ad sensum et interpretationem hominum redigi. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 215.)

² In cælum suspexit, doctorem quærens spiritum. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

³ Here we see the use that was made of Holy Scripture by the Reformers; not following their own arbitrary conceptions, not trusting to any inherent powers of understanding, but submitting to its unsophisticated doctrines, and in obscure things seeking no exposition but what the Holy Spirit communicates by his illuminating influence. This may well put to shame, not only such protestants as, under pretence of freely expounding Scripture, interpret it according to their own caprice; but, also, those persons of the Romish persuasion, who taking advantage of this last mentioned corrupt practice, without *choosing* to advert to the *toto cælo* difference between the two, however often it may be pointed out to them, without making any answer thereto, and hence against their own better knowledge, proceed to calumniate the free use of the Holy Scriptures in the spirit of the Reformers.—L. R.

⁴ Scripta contulit et obscura claris elucidavit. (Ibid.)

⁵ In summa, er macht im, die H. Schrift, Insonders dass N. T. gantz gemein. (Bullinger, MSC.)

⁶ Ut nemo non videret spiritum doctorem, non hominem. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

how do you understand this passage?" According to him, Scripture was the touchstone by which it is our duty to test the holiest of the doctors themselves.¹

Zwingli's course was slow but progressive. He did not come to the truth as Luther did, who was driven to it by those tempests that force the soul to flee in all haste to shelter; he reached it by means of the quiet influence of Scripture, whose power over men's hearts is one that gradually increases. Luther gained the longed-for beach through the fierce storms of the mighty sea; Zwingli by allowing himself to glide down the stream. Such are the two principal ways by which God conducts men. Zwingli was not fully converted to God and to his Gospel until the early period of his residence at Zurich; nevertheless, the moment when, in 1514 or 1515, this strong-minded man fell on his knees before God, to pray that he would enable him to understand his Word, was the moment in which the day first dawned which was afterwards fully to enlighten him.

It was at this period that a poem of Erasmus, in which he introduces Jesus Christ addressing man while perishing by his own fault, made a powerful impression on Zwingli. When alone in his study, he would repeat this piece of poetry in which Jesus laments that none come to seek grace from him, although he be the source of all that is good. "All!" said Zwingli, "all!" And the word was ever present to his mind. "Are there creatures then—saints, from whom any succours ought to be applied for? No, Christ is our only treasure."²

Zwingli did not confine himself to the reading of Christian authors. One of the characteristic traits of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, was the thorough pains they devoted to the Greek and Roman authors. The poetry of Hesiod, Homer, and Pindar ravished Zwingli, and he has left us commentaries or criticisms on the peculiarities of the two last of these. He thoroughly studied Cicero and Demosthenes, and learned from them both the arts of oratory and the duties of a citizen. This child of the Swiss mountains loved, too, to initiate himself in the

¹ Scriptura canonica, sicut Lydio lapide, probandos. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

² Dass Christus unser armen seelen ein einziger Schatz sey. (Zw. Opp. i. 298.) Zwingli says in 1523, that he had read that poem of Erasmus some eight or nine years before.

mysteries of nature, in the writings of Pliny, while Thucydides, Sallust, Livy, Cæsar, Suetonius, Plutarch, and Tacitus taught him the knowledge of the world. He has been reproached for his enthusiastic admiration of the great men of (pagan) antiquity, and it is true that some of his words on this subject are not to be justified. But in honouring them thus highly, he believed that he saw in them, not mere human virtues, but the influence of the Holy Ghost. The operation of God (on men's hearts) far from being confined in ancient times within the limits of Palestine, extended, according to him, to the entire world.¹ "Plato, too," he would say, "has drunk from the divine Fountain-head. And if the two Catos, if Camillus, if Scipio, had not been truly religious, would they have been equally high-minded?"^{2 3}

Zwingli diffused around him, likewise, a love of letters; and several choice young men had their characters formed at his school: "You have offered me, not books only, but, still more, yourself," wrote to him Valentine Tschudi, son of one of the heroes of the Burgundian wars; and this young man, after having studied at Vienna and at Basel, under the most celebrated doctors, added, "I have found no one who explains the classical authors with so much correctness and depth as you do."⁴ Tschudi repaired to Paris, and thus could form a comparison between the spirit that reigned in that university, with what he had found in the narrow Alpine valley overhung by the gigantic summits and everlasting snows of the Dodi, the Glarnisch, the Viggis, and the Freyberg. "In what childish follies the youth of France are educated!" said he. "Nothing so venomous as the sophistical art they are taught—an art that renders a man's senses dull, deprives him of his judgment, and makes him like a beast. Man under it becomes a mere echo—an empty sound. Ten women could not equal one of these sophists."⁵ In their very prayers, I'll vouch for it, they present their sophisms to God,

¹ Spiritus ille cœlestis non solam Palestinam vel creaverat, vel fovebat, sed mundum universum. . . . (Œcolam. et Zw. Epp. p. 9.)

² Nisi religiosi nunquam fuissent magnanimi. (Ibid.)

³ Here admiration of the genius of the illustrious men of pagan antiquity, seems to have blinded Zwingli to the grievously imperfect morality of even the most unexceptionable of those worthies. Mr. Wilberforce, in his "Practical Christianity," has more justly appreciated the morality of the heathens. TR.

⁴ Nam qui sit acrioris in enodandis autoribus judicii, vidi neminem. (Zw. Epp. 13.)

⁵ Ut nec decem mulierculæ . . . uni sophistæ adæquari queant. (Ibid. p. 45.)

and pretend by their syllogisms to constrain the Holy Ghost to hear them." Such at that time were Paris and Glaris; the intellectual metropolis of Christendom and a pastoral township in the Alps. A single gleam of the Word of God gives more true light than all the wisdom of man can do.

IV. One of the great men of that century, Erasmus, exercised much influence over the mind of Zwingli. Not a single publication of the former appeared, but was immediately procured by the latter. Erasmus arrived at Basel in 1514, was received by the bishop there with marks of great esteem, and forthwith all the friends of literature grouped around him. But the king of the schools could easily discover the man who was to be the glory of Switzerland. "I congratulate the Swiss nation," he wrote to Zwingli, "on the efforts you are making by your studies and your morals, both alike excellent, to polish and ennoble it.¹ Zwingli felt a burning desire to see him. "Why should I not," said he, "when Gauls and Spaniards went as far as Rome to see Livy?" Accordingly he set off for Basel, and on his arrival there found a man of about forty, of short stature, feeble body, and delicate look, but full of amiability and very gracious.² This was Erasmus—too pleasant a person not to make Zwingli lay aside his shyness, and of too powerful a mind not to make him feel and own its influence. "Poor like Æschines," said Ulrich to him, "when each of the disciples of Socrates offered a present to his master, I give you what Æschines gave. I give you myself!"

Among the men of letters who formed the court of Erasmus, the Amberbachs, the Rhenans, the Frobeniuses, the Nessens, and the Glareans, Zwingli remarked a young man from Lucerne, aged twenty-seven, called Oswald Geisshüsler. Erasmus, hellenizing his name, had called him Myconius. We shall often design him by his Christian name, to distinguish the friend of Zwingli from Frederick Myconius, the disciple of Luther. Oswald, after having studied at Rothwyl, with a young man of his own age called Berthold Haller, first at Berne, and next at Basel, had in that latter city, become rector first of St. Theodore's school, and afterwards of St. Peter's. The humble schoolmaster had but a

¹ Tu, tuique similes optimis etiam studiis ac moribus et expolietis et nobilitabis. (Zw. Epp. p. 10.)

² Et corpusculo hoc tuo minuto, verum minime inconcinno, urbanissime gestientem videre videar. (Ibid.)

very paltry income; yet he had married a young woman of such simplicity and purity of soul as gained all hearts. We have already seen that this was a disturbed time in Switzerland, foreign wars giving rise to violent disorders, and soldiers, on their return to their mother country, bringing licentiousness and brutality along with them. One dark and cloudy winter's day some of these ruffians, during Oswald's absence, attacked his quiet home. They knocked at the door, threw stones, used abusive language to his modest wife; having at last knocked in the window shutters and found their way into the school, they there broke everything they could lay their hands upon; and then went away. Shortly afterwards as Oswald was on his way home, he found his son, little Felix, with loud cries running to meet him, and his wife unable to speak, but giving evident signs of alarm. He no sooner learns what has happened, than hearing a noise in the streets he seizes a weapon; sallies out beside himself with excitement, and pursues the rioters into the Church to which they had fled for shelter. There they made a stand, and three of them throwing themselves on the schoolmaster, bring him to the ground and wound him severely. But while others are staunching the wounds he has received, the same wretches make a new attack upon his house, uttering the most furious cries. This is all that Oswald tells us.¹ Such were the scenes that disgraced the towns of Switzerland at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and before the Reformation had softened and disciplined their manners.

The upright character of Oswald Myconius, and his thirst for learning and virtue, led him to become acquainted with Zwingli. The rector of the school at Basel recognised the great qualities that marked the parish priest of Glaris, but was so humble a person himself as to refuse the eulogiums of Zwingli and Erasmus. "You schoolmasters," the latter would often say, "I regard as the equals of kings." Not thus thought the modest Myconius. "I do nothing but creep on all fours," he would say, "I know not how it is, but from my very cradle I have had something abject about me."²

¹ *Erasmi Laus stultitiæ, cum annot. Myconii.*

² *Equidem humi repere didici hactenus et est natura nescio quid humile vel a cunabilis in me. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)*

A preacher who had arrived at Basel, much about the same time with Zwingli, was now attracting notice there. Of a mild and peaceable temper, loving a quiet life, slow and circumspect in matters of business, he liked above all things to work in his study, and to promote harmony among Christians.¹ His name was John Hausschein, in Greek *Æcolampadius*, that is to say, "house-lamp," and he was born in Franconia, of wealthy parents, a year before the birth of Zwingli. His godly mother wished to consecrate to literature, and to God himself, the only child that God had left her, but his father devoted him first to trade and afterwards to jurisprudence. On his way home, however, from Bologna, where he had been studying law, the Lord, who desired that he should become a lamp in the Church,² called him to the study of theology. He was preaching in his native town when Capito, who had known him at Heidelberg, appointed him preacher at Basel. There he announced Christ with an eloquence that filled his hearers with admiration.³ Erasmus admitted him to his intimacy, and *Æcolampadius* was gratified beyond measure with the hours that he spent in the society of that great genius. "There is but one thing," the prince of letters would say to him, "that we have to seek for in the holy Scriptures, and that is Jesus Christ."⁴ As a memorial of their friendship he gave the young preacher the commencement of the Gospel according to St. John. Often would *Æcolampadius* imprint a kiss on this pledge of an affection so precious to him and kept it suspended from his crucifix, "in order," said he, "that I may never forget Erasmus in my prayers."

Zwingli now went back to his mountains with a heart full of all that he had seen and heard at Basel. "I could not have slept a wink," he wrote to Erasmus soon after his return, "had I not had some conversation with you. There is nothing in which I glory so much as in my having seen Erasmus." Zwingli had now received a new impulse. Such journeys often exert a powerful influence on a Christian's career. The disciples of

¹ *Ingenio miti et tranquillo, pacis et concordie studiosissimus.* (M. Ad. Vit. *Æc.* p. 58.)

² *Electente et vocante Deo, qui eo in domo sua pro lampade usus erat.* (*Ibid.* p. 46.)

³ *Omnium vere spiritualium et eruditorum admiratione Christum predicavit.* (*Ibid.*)

⁴ *Nihil in sacris literis præter Christum querendum.* (Erasmi. Epp. p. 403.)



Zwingli, Valentine, Jost, Lewis Peter and Egidius Tschudi; his friends, the landamman Æbli, the parish priest Binzli of Wesen, Fredolin Brunner, and the celebrated professor Glarean, looked on with admiration as he advanced in wisdom, and in all the accomplishments of a man of learning. Old men honoured him as a courageous servant of their common country, and faithful pastors as a zealous minister of the Lord. Nothing was done in the country without first taking his advice, and it was the hope of all well-disposed persons that he was to be the instrument of restoring the ancient virtue of the Swiss.¹

Francis First having ascended the throne, and being desirous of avenging the honour of the French name in Italy, the pope became alarmed and sought to gain over the Cantons. This gave occasion to Ulrich's again revisiting the plains of Italy in 1515, amid the close columns of his fellow-countrymen. But here his heart was well nigh broken by the discords introduced into the confederate army by the intrigues of the French. He was often to be seen in the midst of the camps, energetically yet with great wisdom, haranguing his hearers as they stood around him, armed from head to heel, and ready for action.² On the 8th of September, five days before the battle of Marignan, he preached in the great square at Monza, where such of the Swiss soldiers as remained true to their standards were assembled. "Had but Zwingli's counsels been followed at that time and afterwards," said Werner Steiner of Zug, "how many woes would our country have been spared!" But he found ears that were shut to the language of concord, prudence, and submission. The vehement eloquence of cardinal Schinner electrified the confederates, and made them rush impetuously into the fatal fields of Marignan. There the flower of the Helvetic youth was trampled down. Unable to prevent such disasters, Zwingli himself, in the cause of Rome, dashed into the thick of battle. His hand seized the sword.³ Sad error of Zwingli! Though a minister of Christ, he more than once forgot that the weapons with which he was called to fight were those of the Spirit, and he was doomed to have fulfilled in his own person, in a striking manner,

¹ *Justitiam avitam per hunc olim restitutum iri.* (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

² *In dem Heerlager hat er Flyssig geprediget.* (Bullinger, MSC.)

³ . . . *In den Schlachten sich redlich und dapfer gestellt mit Rathen, Worten und Thaten.* (Ibid.)

that prophecy of our Lord: *He that takes the sword shall perish with the sword.*

Zwingli and his Swiss had proved unable to save Rome. The first person in the city of the pontiffs who heard of the defeat at Marignan, was the Venitian ambassador, who forthwith repaired at an early hour in the morning, with great glee, to the Vatican. The pope left his apartments when half dressed to give him an audience. On being apprised of the news, Leo X. made no secret of his terror, and in a moment of such general consternation, he saw only Francis I., and hoped only in him: "Lord ambassador," said he, trembling all over, "we must throw ourselves into the arms of the king, and sue for mercy!" Luther and Zwingli, in their moments of jeopardy, knew another arm to apply to, and sued for mercy from another quarter.¹

This second visit to Italy was not without advantage to Zwingli. He remarked the differences that distinguished the Ambrosian ritual, in use at Milan, from that of Rome. He collected and compared the most ancient canons of the mass. Thus the spirit of inquiry developed itself in him, even amid the tumult of the camp. At the same time the sight of his country's children, led beyond the Alps and devoted to slaughter like their own cattle, made him boil with indignation. "The flesh of the confederates," men would say, "is sold at a lower price than that of their oxen and calves." The pope's faithlessness and ambition,² the avarice and the ignorance of the priests, the licentiousness and dissipation of the monks, the pride and luxury of the prelates, the corruption and venality which on all hands were invading Switzerland, all these evils, forcing themselves upon him more strongly than ever, gave him a still keener conviction of the necessity that there was for a reform in the Church.

From that time forward Zwingli preached the Word of God with more clearness. He explained those fragments of the Gospels and Epistles which have been selected for public worship, always comparing Scripture with Scripture.³ He spoke

¹ Domine orator, vederemo quel fara il re Christ^{mo} se metteremo in le so man dimandando misericordia. (Zorsi Relatione MSC.)

² Bellissimo parlador: (Leo X.) prometea assa ma non atendea. . . . (Relatione MSC. di Gradenigo, venuto orator di Roma.)

³ Non hominum commentis, sed sola scripturarum biblicarum collatione. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 273.)

warmly and powerfully,¹ and in dealing with his hearers pursued the same course that God pursued with regard to him. He did not, like Luther, proclaim what were the church's sores; but according as the study of the Scriptures pointed out to him some useful instruction, that he communicated to his flock. His first aim was to obtain a lodgement for the truth in their hearts, and he then looked to its producing its appropriate fruits there.² "If a man comprehends what is true," thought he, "he will discern what is false,"—a maxim which is well adapted to the first steps of a reformation; but a time is sure to come when error ought to be boldly and loudly signalled out. Zwingli was well aware of this. "Spring time," said he, "is the season for sowing." And it was now his spring time.

Zwingli has pointed to this period (1516) as the commencement of the Swiss Reformation. In fact, if, four years previous to this, he bent his head over the Word of God, he now raised it, and turned it towards his people, in order that he might communicate to them the light that he had found therein. It forms a new and important epoch in the history of the development of the religious revolution in those countries; but people have erroneously concluded from these dates that Zwingli's reformation preceded that of Luther. Possibly Zwingli may have preached the Gospel a year before Luther published his theses, but Luther himself preached it four years previous to the appearance of those famous propositions. Had Luther and Zwingli confined themselves to mere preaching, the Reformation would not have made such rapid progress in the Church. Luther and Zwingli were neither the first monk nor the first priest that preached a doctrine more pure than that of the scholastics. But Luther was the first to raise in public, and with indomitable courage, the standard of truth against the empire of error; to call general attention to the fundamental doctrine of the Gospel, salvation by grace; to lead the men of his day into that new career of learning, faith, and vitality which has renovated the world; in one word, to commence a salutary and real revolution. The grand struggle of which the theses of 1517 were the signal, was what

¹ Sondern auch mit predigen, dorrinen er heftig wass. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Volebat veritatem cognitam, in cordibus auditorum, agere suum officium. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

really produced the Reformation in the world, and gave it at once a soul and a body. Luther was the first Reformer.

A spirit of inquiry now began to breathe over the mountains of Switzerland. The parish priest of Glaris happening one day to be in the smiling district of Mollis, in the house of Adam, the priest of the place, together with Bunzli, the priest of Wesen, and Varschon, priest of Kerensen, those friends discovered an old liturgy in which they read these words: "After having baptized the child, let the sacrament of the Eucharist be given to him, and likewise the cup of blood." ¹—"So then," said Zwingli, "the supper was given at that time in our churches in both kinds." That liturgy was about two hundred years old. This was a grand discovery for those priests of the Alps.

The defeat at Marignan had its natural consequences among the cantons. Francis I., the conqueror, in order to gain over the confederates, lavished gold and flatteries among them, while the emperor urged them by their honour, by the tears of widows and of orphans, and by the blood of their brethren, not to sell themselves to their murderers. The French party had the ascendancy in Glaris, and from that time forward his residence there became burdensome to Ulrich.

At Glaris, from his whole life being absorbed with party intrigues, political pre-occupations, the empire, France, the duke of Milan, and so forth, Zwingli would perhaps have become a worldly man. But God never leaves amid the tumult of the world those whom he desires to prepare for public service. He withdraws them from the tumult, places them in some retreat where they meet God and their own souls face to face, and find inexhaustible sources of instruction. The Son of God himself, when He spent forty days in the wilderness, presents a type, in this respect, of the experience to which his servants must submit. It was time now that Zwingli were removed from that political agitation, the perpetual recurrence of which might have quenched the Spirit of God in his soul. It was time that he were formed for a different scene from that in which courtiers, cabinet ministers, and party leaders bustle out their days, and in which he would have uselessly expended energies that were

¹ Detur Eucharistiæ sacramentum, similiter poculum sanguinis. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 266.)

worthy of a far loftier employment. Something very different was wanted for his countrymen. What they now required was the descent upon them of a new life from heaven, and that the organ through whom it was to be communicated should unlearn the things of this world, and learn the things that are from above. These two spheres are wholly distinct: these two worlds are widely separated, and before passing from the one to the other, Zwingli behoved to spend some time in a neutral space—a territory intermediate and preparatory—there to be taught of God. God then took him while amid the party strife of Glaris, and conducted him to the solitude of a hermitage as the place where he was to make his noviciate. He inclosed within the narrow walls of an abbey this generous germ of the Reformation, which upon being transplanted into a better soil was to cover the mountains with its shadow.

V. A German monk, Meinrad of Hohenzollern, having found his way, towards the middle of the ninth century, into the country that lies between the lakes of Zurich and Wallstetten, had halted at a knoll that was enclosed by an amphitheatre of pinewood, and there he built a cell. Robbers imbrued their hands in the blood of the saint; the blood-stained cell was long deserted; but towards the close of the tenth century a monastery and church, in honour of the Virgin, were built upon that sacred spot. At midnight before the day of its consecration, while the bishop of Constance and his priests were at prayers in the church, a heavenly sound proceeding from invisible beings, seemed suddenly to burst forth in the chapel, upon which they cast themselves on the ground, and listened with mute admiration. On the day following, when the bishop was proceeding with the consecration of the chapel, a voice was thrice heard to repeat: "Cease! Cease! God himself has consecrated it."¹ Christ himself, it was said, had blessed it in the course of the night: the music they had heard was the songs of angels, apostles, and saints; and the Virgin, standing upon the altar, had shone with the vividness of lightning. A bull from pope Leo VIII. forbade the faithful to doubt the truth of this legend, and ever since that time, immense crowds of pilgrims had never ceased to repair to our Lady of the Hermits, "for the con-

¹ Cessa, cessa, frater, divinitus capella consecrata est. (Hartm. Anna. Einsied. p. 51.

secration of angels." Delphos and Ephesus in ancient times, and Loretto in modern, alone have equalled the glory of Einsidlen. Such was the singular spot to which Zwingli was called as priest and preacher, in the year 1516.

Zwingli did not hesitate. "Neither ambition nor cupidity take me there," said he, "but the intrigues of the French.¹ Reasons of a higher order fully determined his resolution to go, having on the one hand, the prospect of more retirement, more tranquillity, and a less extensive parish, so that he could have ampler time for study and meditation: on the other hand, having greater facilities, in that resort of pilgrims, for diffusing the knowledge of Jesus Christ² even to the most distant countries.

The friends of evangelical preaching at Glaris loudly testified to their distress at losing him. "What more distressing can befall Glaris," said Peter Tschudi, one of the most distinguished citizens of the Canton, "than our being deprived of so great a man?"³ His parishioners, finding that he was not to be shaken, resolved to leave him the title of pastor of Glaris, together with part of the income, and the power of returning at pleasure.⁴

Among the most celebrated lovers of the chase in the quarter to which Zwingli had now removed, was Conrad of Rechberg, a gentleman of ancient family, grave, open, intrepid, and at times a little rough. On one of his farms, the Silthal, he had established a stud for breeding horses, the produce of which had become famous in Italy. Such was the Abbot of our Lady of the Hermits. Rechberg held the pretensions of Rome and the discussions of theologians in equal abhorrence. One day in the course of a visitation of the order, some remarks were made to him: "I am master here, not you," said he somewhat sharply: "you may go your ways." On another occasion, while Leo Juda was discussing some difficult questions at table with the administrator of the monastery, the sportsman-abbot exclaimed: "Leave

¹ Locum mutavimus non cupidinis aut cupiditatis moti stimulis, verum Gallorum technis. (Zw. Epp. 24.)

² Christum et ejus veritatem in regiones et varias et remotas divulgari tam felici opportunitate. (Osw.Myc. Vit. Zw.)

³ Quid enim Glareanæ nostræ tristius accidere poterat, tanto videlicet privari viro? (Zw. Epp. p. 16.)

⁴ Two years posterior Zwingli still subscribed himself: Pastor Glaronæ, Minister Eremitæ. (Ibid. p. 30.)

off your disputes there! I cry with David: *Have mercy upon me, O God! according to thy loving-kindness, and enter not into judgment with thy servant*, and I have no need to know aught else.”¹

The baron Theobald, of Geroldsek, was administrator of the monastery; a man of mild temper and genuine godliness, and much attached to literature. A favourite project of his was by bringing learned men into his monastery to form a society of them there, and it was this that led him to send a call to Zwingli. Eager for instruction and reading, he begged to be directed in these by his new friend. “Read the holy Scriptures,” he replied, “and that you may the better understand them, study St. Jerome. Nevertheless,” he added, “the day will come (and that at no distant date with the aid of God’s Spirit), when Christians will set a high value neither on St. Jerome nor any other doctor, but solely on the Word of God.”² Geroldsek’s conduct bespoke the progress he was making in the faith. He gave leave to a nunnery dependant on Einsidlen, to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue; and some years after, Geroldsek came to live near Zwingli at Zurich, and died with him on the field of Cappel. The same charms ere long created ties of affection between Zwingli and the chaplain Zink, the excellent Cælin, Lucas, and the other inmates of the abbey. Remote from the noise of parties, these studious men joined in reading the Scriptures, the fathers of the Church, the master-pieces of antiquity, and the writings of the restorers of letters. This interesting circle was often enlarged by the arrival of friends from other places, and one day Capito, among others, arrived at Einsidlen. The two former friends at Basel went over the monastery together and traversed the savage scenes that lay around, absorbed in the subjects on which they conversed, examining the Scriptures, and seeking to discover the divine will. On one point they were agreed; it was this, that the pope of Rome ought to fall! Capito thought more boldly than at a later period.

Repose, leisure, books, friends, everything, in short, was

¹ Wirz. K. Gesch. iii. 363. Zwinglis Bildung v. Schüler, p. 174. Miscell. Tigur iii. 28.

² *Fore, idque brevi, Deo sic juvante, ut neque Hieronymus neque cæteri, sed sola Scriptura divina apud Christianos in pretio sit futura.* (Zw. Opp. i. p. 273.)

favourable to Zwingli in that calm retreat, and he grew in understanding and in faith. It was then (May, 1507) that he set himself to a task that proved highly useful to him. As in former times the kings of Israel wrote out the law of God with their own hand, Zwingli copied out the epistles of St. Paul with his. The only editions of the New Testament to be had at that time were very voluminous, and Zwingli wanted to carry it about with him.¹ He learned those epistles by heart, afterwards he committed the other parts of the New Testament to memory—then a part of the Old. Thus did his heart attach itself more and more to the supreme authority of the Word of God; and this authority he was not content with acknowledging; he desired further that his life should become truly subject to it. By little and little he was continually advancing in courses more and more Christian; proving that the object for which he had been conducted into that wilderness, was in process of being accomplished. No doubt it was not until he went to Zurich that the Christian life entered powerfully into his soul; but even at Einsidlen he made marked progress in sanctification. While at Glaris he had been led to take part in the amusements of the world; at Einsidlen he made greater efforts to live apart from all impurity and worldliness; he began to have a fuller insight into the grand spiritual interests of the people, and learned by degrees what God desired to teach him.

Providence had still farther views in conducting him to Einsidlen; it was requisite that he should have a nearer view of the superstitions and abuses that had invaded the Church. The image of the Virgin, carefully preserved in the monastery, was said to have the faculty of working miracles. Over above the abbey gate this presumptuous inscription was to be seen: "Plenary remission of all sins is to be found here;" and that they might merit this favour by their pilgrimage thither, a multitude of persons flocked to Einsidlen from all parts of Christendom. The Church, the abbey, nay, the whole vale, used to be filled with the Virgin's worshippers when her festivals came round; but it was chiefly at the grand feast of the consecration of the angels, that crowds overflowed the hermitage.

¹ This manuscript is to be found in the city library at Zurich.

Several thousands of individuals of both sexes, advancing in rows, ascended the slope of the mountain leading up to the oratory, singing hymns and telling over the beads of their chaplets. These devout pilgrims pressed into the church in the belief that they were nearer God there than anywhere else.

As regarded an acquaintance with the abuses of the popedom, Zwingli's residence at Einsidlen produced an effect upon him analogous to what Luther had experienced at Rome. There it was that Zwingli completed his education as a Reformer. The serious tone that his soul had acquired soon communicated itself to the impressions that he received from external objects; struck at the sight of so much evil, he resolved to oppose it boldly. He did not waver between his conscience and his temporal interests but rose with fearless determination and attacked, energetically and directly, the superstition of the crowd that surrounded him. "Think not," said he from the pulpit, "that God is more in this temple than in any other part of his creation. Whatever be the land of your homes, God is around you and hears you as much as at our Lady of Einsidlen. Shall it be useless works, long pilgrimages, offerings, images, calling upon the Virgin and the saints, that are to obtain for you God's favour? . . . Of what consequence is the multitude of words that we introduce into our prayers! What matters a gray hood, a well-shaven head, a long well-folded robe and gilded slippers!¹ . . . God looks at the heart, and our heart is far from God."

But Zwingli wished to do more than merely oppose superstitions; it was his desire that he might satisfy the ardent longing for reconciliation with God, felt by many of the pilgrims who repaired to the chapel of our Lady of Einsidlen. "Christ," he cried like John the Baptist, in this new wilderness of the mountains of Judea, "Christ, who hath once offered himself on the cross, is the sacrifice and the victim that makes satisfaction, even throughout all eternity, for the sins of all believers."² Thus did Zwingli advance. On the day that such courageous preaching was heard in the most revered sanctuary in Switzerland,

¹ Vestis oblonga et plicis plena, muli auro ornati . . . Cor vero interim procul a Deo est. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 236.)

² Christus qui sese semel in cruce obtulit, hostia est et victima satisfaciens in æternum, pro peccatis omnium fidelium. (Ibid. p. 263.)

the standard lifted against Rome began to show itself more distinctly above the mountains, and the Reformation produced a sort of earthquake which shook it to its foundations.

Universal astonishment, in fact, seized the crowd upon hearing the discourse of the eloquent preacher. Some withdrew from the spot with horror; others hesitated betwixt the faith of their fathers, and the doctrine that was to ensure their peace; many went to Jesus, who was announced to them as full of kindness, and took back with them the wax lights they had brought as offerings to the Virgin. A crowd of pilgrims returned to their various homes, everywhere repeating what they had heard at Einsidlen: Christ ALONE saves, and he saves EVERYWHERE. Often did troops of people, in astonishment at what they heard, retrace their steps without having concluded their pilgrimage. The worshippers of Mary fell off from day to day. Their offerings formed nearly the whole of Zwingli's and Geroldsc's incomes, but this resolute witness to the truth was happy to impoverish himself in spiritually enriching men's souls.¹

On Whitsunday, 1518, there was among Zwingli's numerous hearers a learned person, of a gentle disposition and active charity, Gaspard Hedio, doctor of theology at Basel. Zwingli preached on the account of the man afflicted with the palsy, given in Luke v, where we find this declaration of our Lord: "The Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins," a text well fitted to strike the crowd that had met in the temple of the Virgin. The preacher's sermon, on this occasion, agitated, ravished, and enflamed the congregation, and the Basel doctor in particular.² Long, long after, Hedio continued to express his admiration of it. "That discourse," he would say, "how fine, how profound, weighty, complete, penetrating, evangelical, and how it recalls the *ἐνέργεια* (the energy) of the ancient doctors!"³ From that moment Zwingli became the object of Hedio's admiration and love.⁴ He would fain have gone and

¹ Noble disposition! How beautifully does it contrast with the low greed of priests who enriched themselves by deception, and, in order thereto, purposely kept men's souls in blindness! How much needed, then, was the Reformation! And how inexcusable to calumniate men who gave such manifest proofs of disinterestedness in promoting it!—L. R.

² Is sermo ita me inflammavit . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 90.)

³ Elegans ille, doctus, gravis, copiosus, penetrans et evangelicus . . . (Ibid. 89.)

⁴ Ut inciperem Zwinglium arctissime complecti, suscipere et admirari. (Ibid.)

opened his heart to him; he sauntered about the abbey but dared not go forward, withheld, said he, by a superstitious timidity. He again mounted his horse, and slowly retired from our Lady, looking back upon a spot containing a treasure of such value, and taking with him a heart filled with the keenest regrets.¹

Such was the preaching of Zwingli; less forcible, no doubt, but more moderate and not less successful than that of Luther; he precipitated nothing; he gave less direct offence to men's minds than did the Saxon Reformer; he expected all things from the force of truth. With no less wisdom did he conduct himself in his relations with the chiefs of the Church. Far from showing himself their direct enemy like Luther, he remained for long their friend. The latter were very forbearing towards him, not only on account of his learning and talents, (Luther had like claims on the regards of the bishops of Maintz and Brandenburg,) but most of all on account of his attachment to the political party of the pope, and the influence that such a man as Zwingli possessed in a republican state.²

In point of fact, sundry cantons were disgusted at the service of the pope and ready to break with him; but the legates flattered themselves that they might retain several of these by gaining over Zwingli as they had gained Erasmus, by pensions and honours. The legates, Emnius and Pucci, went often at that time to Einsidlen, whence, owing to the near neighbourhood of the democratical cantons, they could carry on their negotiations with the states more easily. But far from sacrificing the truth to the demands, or to the bribes of Rome, Zwingli let pass no opportunity of defending the Gospel. The famous Schinner, who had at that time some annoyances in his diocese, paid a visit of some length at Einsidlen. "The whole popedom," said Zwingli one day, "rests on bad foundations,³ put your hand to the work, do

¹ Sicque abequitavi, non sine molestia, quam tamen ipse mihi pepereram. (Zw. Epp. p. 90.)

² Many readers, regarding the example of our blessed Lord as the standard of *true wisdom*, will dissent from the author in his giving the praise of superior wisdom to Zwingli for the reasons he assigns. Besides, was not Luther the true friend of Leo X. and Albert of Maintz when he plainly told them their faults? Tr.

³ Dass das ganz papstum einen schlechten grund habe. (Zw. Opp. ii. 1st part, p. 7.)

away with errors and abuses, or you may be sure you will see the whole structure come to the ground with a frightful crash."¹

With no less frankness he spoke to the legate Pucci, and four times returned to the charge. "With the help of God," said he to him, "I will continue to preach the Gospel, and that preaching will shake Rome." He then represented to him what had to be done in order that the Church might be saved. Pucci promised everything but performed nothing. Zwingli declared that he would no longer receive a pension from the pope, but the legate besought him to keep it, and Zwingli, not meaning at that time to place himself in open hostility with the Church's chief, consented to receive it for three years longer. "But think not," said he, "that for the sake of money I will retrench a single syllable of the truth."² Pucci, in alarm, caused the Reformer to be appointed acolyte chaplain to the pope,³ which was a step to yet higher honours. Rome would fain have overawed Luther by her sentences of condemnation, and gained over Zwingli by her favours; launching her excommunications at the one, and casting her gold and her splendours before the other. They present two different ways of attaining the one object of silencing the bold lips that should dare, in spite of the pope, to proclaim the Word of God in Germany and in Switzerland. The latter was the better contrived of the two; but neither succeeded, for the emancipated souls of the preachers of the truth proved inaccessible to the influences alike of acts of vengeance and of favour.

Another Swiss prelate, Hugh of Landenberg, bishop of Constance, gave Zwingli at that time some hopes, having issued orders for a general visitation of the churches. But Landenberg was a man of no fixed character, allowing himself to be led one day by his vicar, Faber, and another day by a wicked

¹ Oder aber sy werdind mit grosser unrüw selbs umfallen. (Zw. Opp. ii. 1st part, p. 7.)

² Frustra sperare me vel verbum de veritate deminuturum esse, pecuniæ gratia. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 365.)

³ This was one of the inferior offices in the Church, through which the clergy rose to the dignity of the priesthood. It consisted in this, that the acolyte chaplain assisted the priest, particularly in celebrating mass, by lighting the candles, and preparing the wine. Now Zwingli was already priest when called to this service; but it was besides a call to be acolyte chaplain *to the pope*, that is, to render those services to the pope himself when he performed mass, and in this priests themselves were employed. To Zwingli, too, residing as he did in Switzerland, and hence far from the pope, it was more a mark of honour than an actual employment.—L. R.

woman, whose influence he was unable to shake off. At times he seemed to hold the Gospel in honour, and yet if any one courageously preached it, he regarded him as no better than a public disturber. He was one of those men, too common in the Church, who while loving truth more than error, deal more tenderly with error than with truth, and who often end by turning against those who ought to have been their fellow-soldiers in battle. Zwingli addressed himself to him, but with no success. He was doomed to experience the same results as Luther did, when he saw how useless it was to call for the assistance of the chiefs of the Church, and found that the sole method for restoring Christianity, lay in conducting himself as a faithful doctor of the Word of God. An opportunity soon presented itself.

A barefooted Carmelite friar, in August 1518, pushed his way on the heights of the St. Gothard, along those high tracks which have been laboriously cut in the faces of the cliffs separating Switzerland from Italy. He had come from an Italian monastery and carried along with him a stock of papal indulgences, which he was commissioned to sell among the good Christians of the Helvetic leagues. The brilliant success that had attended him under two preceding popes, had given him a high repute in that shameful traffic. He was accompanied in passing those regions of snow and ice, as ancient as the world, by certain partners in the trade, who were to cry up the value of the wares he was about to retail; and this greedy caravan, which was wretched enough to look at, bore no small resemblance to a band of adventurers looking about for plunder, as, with the spoliation of the simple people of Helvetia in their eye, they pursued their silent march amid the roar of those fierce torrents which form the Rhine, the Reuss, the Aar, the Rhone, the Tessino, and other streams. Samson, for that was the Carmelite's name, and his companions came first to Uri, and began their traffic there, but being soon done with those poor rustics, they passed on to the canton of Schwytz. There it was that Zwingli was to be found, and there the conflict was to take place between the servants of two such different masters. "I can pardon all sins," said the Italian monk, the Tetzl of Switzerland, on arriving in Schwytz. "Heaven and hell are subject to my power, and I sell the merits of Jesus

Christ to whosoever is pleased to buy an indulgence for ready money."

Zwingli was informed of this, and his zeal was enkindled forthwith. He preached with great energy, "Jesus Christ," says he, "the Son of God, has said: *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* Is it not, then, audacious folly and insensate rashness to say, on the contrary: Buy letters of indulgence! run to Rome! give to the monks! sacrifice to the priests! if you will do all these things I will absolve you from your sins.¹ Jesus Christ is the only offering; Jesus Christ is the only sacrifice; Jesus Christ is the only way."²

Forthwith throughout all Schwytz, Samson was soon called a swindler and a seducer. He took the road to Zug, and for that time at least the two champions failed to encounter each other.

Hardly had Samson removed from Schwytz, when a citizen of that canton, a man of eminent talents, and afterwards secretary of state, Stapfer, fell, together with his family, into the greatest distress. "Alas," said he, addressing himself to Zwingli in his anguish, "I know not how to supply my own hunger or that of my starving children." . . . Now Zwingli knew how to give while Rome thought only of taking, and was as ready to practise good works as to combat those who taught that they were the means of obtaining salvation. He daily brought Stapfer an abundant supply.³ "It is God," he said, desiring to put away all glory from himself, "it is God who begets charity in the believer, and who gives at once the idea, the resolution, and the deed itself. All the good a righteous man doth, is done by God by his own might."⁴ Stapfer continued attached to him during his whole life, and when four years afterwards, on his becoming secretary of state to Schwytz, he felt the urgency of an appetite of a higher kind, he turned towards Zwingli and said to him with a noble candour: "Since you once provided for my temporal necessities, how much more should I now look to you for wherewithal to appease the hunger of my soul!"

¹ Romam curre! redime literas indulgentiarum! da tantumdem monachis! offer sacerdotibus, &c. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 222.)

² Christus una est oblatio, unum sacrificium, una via. (Ibid. 201.)

³ Largas mihi quotidie suppetias tulistis. (Ibid.)

⁴ Caritatem ingenerat Deus, consilium, propositum et opus. Quidquid boni præstat justus, hoc Deus sua virtute præstat. (Ibid. p. 226.)

Zwingli's friends multiplied, and it was now no longer at Glaris, Basel, and Schwytz, that he found souls that harmonised with his own; but at Uri, there was the secretary of state Schmidt; at Zug, there were Colin, Muller, and Werner Steiner, his former companion in arms at the battle of Marignan; at Lucerne, Xyloteet and Kilchmeyer, Wittembach at Bienne, and many besides in various other places. But the parish priest of Glaris had no more devoted friend than Oswald Myconius, who had left Basel, in 1516, to take the superintendence of the cathedral school at Zurich. Neither learned men nor schools of learning were to be found in the city at the time. Oswald laboured there in concert with several well disposed men, and, among others, with Utinger, notary to the pope, to rescue the people of Zurich from the ignorance in which they were plunged, and to initiate them into the study of antiquity. He at the same time defended the immutable truth of holy Scripture, and declared that were the pope or the emperor to command things contrary to the Gospel, man was bound to obey God alone, who is above both emperor and pope.

VI. Seven centuries had passed since Charlemagne attached a college of prebends to the same cathedral over whose school Oswald Myconius now presided. These prebends having fallen away from their original institution, and wishing to taste the sweets of a lazy life by making their benefices a sinecure, appointed a priest as their substitute in preaching and undertaking the cure of souls. This situation fell vacant some time after Oswald's arrival, and he immediately thought of his friend. What an acquisition for Zurich! Zwingli's exterior was in his favour. He was a fine looking man,¹ of pleasing address, and an agreeable person to have dealings with; his eloquence had already made him famous, and the superiority of his genius made him shine conspicuously amid all the confederates. Myconius spoke of him to the provost of the chapter, Felix Frey, whom Zwingli's fine appearance and talents had prepossessed in his favour,² to Utinger, an old man enjoying much consideration, and to the prebend Hoffman, a man of a frank and upright character, who

¹ Dan Zwingli vom lyb ein hubscher man wass. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Und als Imme sein gestalt und geschicklichkeit wol gefiel, gab er Im syn stium. (Ibid.)

was the more disposed in Ulrich's favour, from his having been preaching long himself against (the Swiss engaging in) the service of foreigners. Other Zurichers had on several occasions heard Zwingli at Einsidlen, and had returned filled with admiration. The election of a preacher for the cathedral soon put all the world in movement at Zurich. Opposite parties urged their respective interests. Many toiled night and day to secure the election of the eloquent preacher of Our Lady of the Hermits.¹ Myconius informed his friend of this.—“On Wednesday next,” replied Zwingli, “I shall go and dine at Zurich, and we will talk over all this.” And so it happened; for while on a visit to one of the prebends: “Could you come among us,” said the latter to him, “to preach the word of God to us?”—“Indeed I can,” he replied, “but not unless I be called.” He then returned to his abbey.

This visit spread alarm through the camp of his enemies, and several priests were pressed to offer themselves for the vacant post. A Suabian, called Lawrence Fable, even preached a trial sermon, and it was reported that he was elected. “It is quite true then,” said Zwingli on hearing the report, “that a prophet hath no honour in his own country, since a Suabian is preferred to a Swiss. I know how to estimate the plaudits of the people.”² Zwingli soon after received a letter from the secretary of cardinal Schinner, informing him that the election had not taken place. Still, the false report that had been conveyed to him sorely annoyed the priest of Einsidlen. Knowing that so unworthy a person as Fable was aspiring to the post, he wished the more to have it for himself, and wrote to that effect to Myconius. Oswald replied on the day following: “Fable will ever remain fable; my masters have learnt that he is the father of six boys, and is already provided with I know not how many livings.”³

Zwingli's enemies did not reckon themselves beaten. All men, it is true, were agreed in lauding his learned accomplishments to the skies,⁴ but some said: “He is too fond of music!” Others: “He is fond of the world and its pleasures!” Others still: “He

¹ Qui dies et noctes laborarent ut vir ille subrogaretur. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

² Scio Vulgi acclamationes et illud blandum Euge! Euge! (Zw. Epp. p. 53.)

³ Fabula manebit fabula; quæra domini mei acceperunt sex pueris esse patrem. . . . (Ibid.)

⁴ Neminem tamen, qui tuam doctrinam non ad cælum ferat. . . . (Ibid.)

was too intimate once on a time with persons of light moral conduct." Nay, there was even found a man who reproached him with a case of seduction. This was a calumny; but superior as he was to the clergy of his time, Zwingli had more than once suffered himself to be led astray, during the early years of his ministry, by the passions of youth. It is not easy to conceive how much the soul may be influenced by the corrupted atmosphere in which it lives. In the popedom and among the priests, moral disorders were established, admitted, and authorized as agreeable to the laws of nature. An expression used by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope under the name of Pius II., gives us some idea of the sad state of public morals at that epoch: we give it in a note.¹ Disorder had become the generally admitted order of the day.

Oswald displayed incredible activity in the service of his friend; he put forth his utmost endeavours to justify him, and happily with success.² He went to the burgomaster Roust, to Hoffman, to Frey, and to Uttinger, commending Zwingli's probity, civility, and purity of conduct, and confirming the citizens of Zurich in the favourable opinion they had already formed of the Einsidlen priest. Little credit was given to the allegations of his adversaries. The most influential men said that Zwingli was to be evangelist at Zurich, and this was said by the prebends too, but in a whisper. "Hope," wrote Oswald to him with a throbbing heart, "for I hope." He told him, however, of the accusations of his enemies. Now, albeit that Zwingli was not yet quite a new man, he was one of those persons whose conscience is awake, who may fall into evil, but never without resistance and remorse. He had often formed the design of living a holy life, alone of his kind, in the midst of the world. But on finding himself accused, he would not vaunt his being without sin. "Having nobody," he wrote to the prebend Uttinger, "to accompany me in the resolutions I had formed, not a few being offended at them, alas! I have fallen, and like the dog spoken of by St. Peter, (II. Ep. ii. 22.) I have returned to my vomit."³

¹ Non esse qui vigesimum annum excessit, nec virginem tetigerit. (Zw. Epp. p. 57.)

² Reprimo hæc pro viribus, imo et repressi. (Ibid. p. 54.)

³ Quippe neminem habens comitem hujus instituti, scandalisantes vero non paucos, heu! cecidi et factus sum canis ad vomitum. (Ibid. p. 55.)

Ah, God knows with what shame and anguish I have taken these sins from the dens of my heart, and have laid them before that great God to whom, nevertheless, I less dreaded to confess my guilt than to almost any mortal.”¹ But while Zwingli owned that he was a sinner, he justified himself at the same time with regard to the odious charges that had been brought against him. He declared that he had ever put far from him the thought of going into an adulterous bed or of seducing innocence;² deplorable excesses which were then but too common. “I here call to witness,” says he, “all those with whom I have lived.”³

The election took place on the 11th of December; Zwingli carried it by a majority of seventeen out of four and twenty votes. It was now time that the Reformation should commence in Switzerland. The chosen instrument which divine Providence had been for three years preparing in the retreat at Einsidlen, was ready, and might be expected to be transferred to some other spot. God who had chosen the new university of Wittemberg, situate in the centre of Germany, under the protection of the wisest of the princes, as the place to which Luther was to be called, chose the city of Zurich in Switzerland, considered as the head of the confederation, for Zwingli’s residence. There he was to go and find himself associated not only with one of the most intelligent, simplest, promptest, and strongest Swiss tribes, but also with all the cantons that lay grouped around that ancient and powerful state. The hand which had taken a young herdsman from mount Sentis, that he might be placed in the first school in Switzerland, now established him, when powerful in word and deed, in the presence of the whole nation to which he belonged, in order that it might be regenerated. Zurich was now to become a central light for all Helvetia.

The day that brought the news of Zwingli’s appointment was a day at once of joy and of sorrow at Einsidlen. The circle formed there was about to be broken up by the retirement of its most valuable member; and who could know but that supersti-

¹ En, cum verecundia (Deus novit!) magna, hæc ex pectoris specubus depromsi, apud eum scilicet, cum quo etiam coram minus quam cum ullo ferme mortalium confiteri vereretur. (Zw. Epp. p. 53.)

² En ratio nobis perpetuo fuit, nec alienum thorum conscendere, nec virginem vitare. (Ibid.)

³ Testes invoco cunctos, quibuscum vixi. (Ibid.)

tion would return and re-occupy that ancient resort of pilgrims? . . . The council of state for Schwytz sent Zwingli the expression of its sentiments in a document calling him reverend, very learned, most gracious lord, and good friend.¹ . . . "Give us at least a successor to yourself who shall be worthy of you," said Geroldsek with a forlorn feeling, to Zwingli. "I have in store for you," he replied, a little lion, simple but prudent, a man initiated in the mysteries of sacred learning." "I should like to have him," said the administrator, "immediately." This was Leo Juda, that at once mild and intrepid person, with whom Zwingli had become so intimate at Basel. Leo Juda accepted this call, which would bring him nearer to his beloved Ulrich. The latter, after taking an affectionate leave of his friends, left the solitude of Einsidlen, and arrived among those delicious scenes amid which rises the cheerful and animated city of Zurich, embosomed among vine-clad knolls, meadows, and orchards, and surmounted by forests, above and beyond which appear the loftiest summits of the Albis.

As Zurich was the centre of the political interests of Switzerland, where the most influential men in the country often met, it was better fitted than any other place for acting upon Helvetia, and scattering the seeds of truth among all the cantons. Accordingly, the friends of literature and of the Bible greeted with their acclamations of delight the nomination of Zwingli; and in Paris especially, the Swiss students, who were very numerous there, exulted with satisfaction at the news.² But if Zwingli had the prospect of gaining a most important victory at Zurich, there too he had to expect a rude conflict. Glarean wrote to him from Paris: "I foresee that your learning will excite much enmity against you,³ but take courage, and like Hercules you will vanquish the monsters."

Zwingli arrived in Zurich on the 27th of December 1518, and alighted at the Einsidlen hotel. He received a cordial and honourable reception;⁴ the chapter immediately meeting for that

¹ Reverende, perdocte, admodum gratiose domine ac bone amice. . . . (Zw.Epp. p. 60.)

² Omnes adeo quotquot ex Helvetiis adsunt juvenes fremere et guadere. (Ibid. p. 63.)

³ Quantum invidiæ tibi inter istos eruditio tua conflabit. (Ibid. p. 64.)

⁴ Do er ehrlich und wol empfangen ward. (Bullinger, MSC.)

purpose, and inviting him to come amongst them. Felix Frey presided; the prebends, whether friendly or opposed to Zwingli, sat without distinction around their provost. There was considerable excitement felt at the meeting; for each was sensible, although not disposed perhaps to question himself on the subject, that there was something very serious in the commencement of this new ministry. It had been agreed, as some apprehensions were entertained with respect to the innovating tendencies of the young priest, that the most important duties of his office should be explained to him. He was gravely told, "you must do your utmost endeavours to make the revenues of the chapter productive, without neglecting the minutest of them. You will exhort the faithful, both from the pulpit and in the confessional, to pay rents and tithes, and to show by their offerings that they love the Church. You will apply yourself to the multiplication of revenues proceeding from the sick, from offerings, and in general, from all ecclesiastical acts." The chapter added, "as for the administration of the sacraments, preaching, and being present among the people, these, too, form part of the duties of a priest. Nevertheless, you may employ a substitute in these various respects, and particularly in preaching. You are not called upon to administer the sacrament except to persons of consideration, and upon being required to do so; you are interdicted from doing so without distinction of persons."¹

What regulations for Zwingli! money, money, still money! . . . Was it for that then that Christ instituted the ministry? Meanwhile prudence tempered his zeal; he knew that a man cannot at once sow the seed, see the tree grow, and gather its fruits. Accordingly, without explaining himself as to the duties imposed upon him, after a humble expression of his gratitude for the honourable choice of which he had been the object, Zwingli informed the chapter what he reckoned upon doing: "The life of Jesus," said he, "has been too long concealed from the people. I will preach chiefly on the Gospel according to Matthew, chapter after chapter, following the meaning of the Holy Ghost, as it is to be found² in scriptural sources alone, by

¹ Schulers', Zwingli's *Bildung*, p. 227.

² Absque humanis commentationibus, ex solis fontibus Scripturæ Sacræ. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 273.)

a diligent collation of Scripture texts, and by prayers poured from the heart.¹ It is to the glory of God, to the praise of His only Son, to the true salvation of souls, and to their instruction in the true faith that I shall consecrate my ministry.² So novel a language deeply impressed the chapter. Some gave open testimony of their satisfaction, but the greater number expressed their grief.³ "This mode of preaching is an innovation," they exclaimed; "it will straightway lead to another, and where are we to stop?" The prebend Hoffman, in particular, thought himself bound to give warning of the woful effects of an election which he had himself solicited. "That explanation of Scripture," said he, "will be more hurtful than useful to the people."—"It is no new mode," replied Zwingli, "it is the ancient. Recollect St. Chrysosthom's homilies on St. Matthew, and St. Augustine's on St. John. As for the rest, I will speak with modesty, and give no man cause to complain."

Thus Zwingli abandoned that exclusive use of fragments of the Gospel which had been established ever since the days of Charlemagne; restoring holy Scripture to its ancient rights; from the commencement of his ministry, he associated the Reformation with the primitive times of Christianity, and prepared a more profound study of the Word of God for future ages. But more than this; the firm and independent position he then assumed as respected the Church, announced something new; his bearing as a Reformer became distinctly marked in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen, and the Reformation itself went forward.

Having failed in obtaining the suffrages of the chapter, Hoffman sent a written request to the provost, that he would prohibit Zwingli from unsettling the people in regard to what they believed. The provost sent for the new preacher, and spoke to him very affectionately, but no human power could shut his lips. On the 31st of December he wrote to the council of Glaris, entirely renouncing the charge of souls which until then had

¹ Sed mente Spiritus, quam diligenti Scripturarum collatione, precibusque ex corde fuis, se nacturum. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

² Alles Gott und seinem einigen Sohn zu Lob und Ehren und zu rechten Heil der Seelen, zur underrichtung im rechten Glauben. (Bullinger, MSC.)

³ Quibus auditis, mœror simul et lætitia. (Osw. Myc.)

been kept for him, and gave himself unreservedly to Zurich, and to the work which God was preparing for him in that city.

On Saturday, being new year's day, Zwingli who on that day completed his thirty-fifth year, entered the cathedral pulpit, a great crowd attending, curious to have a sight of a man already so celebrated, and eager to hear this new Gospel which began to be generally talked of. "It is to Christ," said Zwingli, "that I wish to conduct you; to Christ the true source of salvation. His divine Word is the sole nourishment that I desire to provide for your lives and hearts." He then gave notice that from and after the day following, which was the first Sunday of the year, he would commence an exposition of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. On the morrow the preacher and a still more numerous audience, were found at their posts. Zwingli opened the Gospel, that long-shut book; read the first page, and running over the history of the patriarchs and prophets, (first chapter of St. Matthew) he expounded it in such a manner that his hearers were ravished with wonder and delight, and exclaimed "that the like of it had never been heard."¹

He continued thus to explain St. Matthew, following the Greek text. He showed how the whole Bible found at once its explanation and its application in human nature itself. Setting forth in plain and easy language the highest truths of the Gospel, his preaching found its way to persons of every class; to the wise and the learned as well as to the unlearned and the simple.² He extolled the infinite mercies of God the Father, and conjured all his hearers to place their confidence in Jesus Christ alone as the only Saviour.³ He at the same time very energetically called them to repentance; vigorously attacked the errors that prevailed among his fellow-countrymen; and protested with dauntless zeal against luxury, intemperance, ostentatious dressing, the oppression of the poor, sloth, serving foreigners, and receiving pensions from princes.⁴ "In the pulpit,"

¹ Dessgleichen wie jederman redt, ni gehört worden war. (B. Weise, a contemporary of Zwingli's, *Fusslin Beträge*, iv. 36.)

² Nam ita simplices æqualiter cum prudentissimis et acutissimis quibusque, proficiebant. (Osw. *Myc. Vit. Zw.*)

³ In welchem er Gott den Vater prysset und alle Menschen allein uff Iesum Christum, als den einigen Heiland verthrauwen lehrte. (Bullinger *MSC.*)

⁴ This was just the true Reformation. Without this the purification of doctrine could not avail. Perhaps in our days this is not sufficiently kept in view by

says one of his contemporaries, "he spared no one, pope, emperor, kings, dukes, lords, not even the confederates. All his heart's confidence he cheerfully reposed in God alone¹ and there, too, he exhorted all in Zurich to place their sole reliance."—"Never had any man been heard to speak with so much authority," said Oswald Myconius who now watched his friend's labours with high expectation and delight.

The Gospel could not be proclaimed in Zurich without effect. An ever-increasing multitude of persons of all classes, and particularly of the common people, flocked to hear him preach.² Many of the citizens had given up the habit of attending public worship. "I get no good from the sermons of those priests, Fusslin, who was at once a poet, an historian, and a counsellor of state, would often say; "they do not preach, for they do not themselves understand the things of salvation. I can see nothing in them but covetousness and voluptuousness." So, also, thought Henry Räuschlin, treasurer of state and a man who assiduously read the Scriptures: "The priests," he would say, "met in thousands at the council of Constance. . . . there to burn the best that there was among them." These distinguished men had gone from curiosity to hear Zwingli's first discourse, and followed the preacher with an intensity of interest that revealed itself in their countenances. "Glory be to God," said they on leaving the church, "that man preaches the truth! He will be our Moses in directing our escape from Egyptian darkness,"³ and from that moment they became the Reformer's friends. "Ye mighty ones of this world," said Fusslin, "no longer proscribe the doctrine of Christ! When Christ, the Son of God, was put to death, fishermen arose. And now, should you destroy the preachers of the truth, you will see glaziers, carpenters, potters, founders, shoemakers, and tailors appear in their place."⁴

At first nothing was to be heard in Zurich but loud expres-

those who set themselves especially to contend for purity of doctrine, but allow less importance to be attached to vigorously assailing moral defects, and in particular, luxury, ostentation, and oppression of the poor.—L. R.

¹ All sein Trost stuhnd allein mit frölichem Gemuth zu Gott. . . . (B. Weisse, Fusslin Beyträge. iv. 36.)

² Do ward bald ein gross gelaüff von allerley menschen, Innsonders von dem gemeinen Mann. . . . (Bullinger, MSC.)

³ Und unser Moses seyn der uns aus Egypten rührt. (Ibid.)

⁴ Werden die Gläser, Müller, Hafner, Giesser, Schuhmacher und Schneider lehren. (Müller. Reliq. iii. p. 185.)

sions of admiration; but on the first burst of enthusiasm being over, the adversaries recovered their courage. Men studious of decorum, whom the dread of a reformation had filled with alarm, gradually withdrew from countenancing Zwingli; the violence of the monks, though veiled for a moment, re-appeared, and the chapter-house resounded with complaints. Meanwhile Zwingli displayed an immovable determination of purpose; so much so, that in contemplating his courage, his friends thought that a man of the apostolic times had re-appeared among them.¹ As for his enemies, some laughed and jested, others uttered the most outrageous threats; but he bore all with the patience of a Christian.² "If a man would gain over the wicked to Jesus Christ," he was wont to say, "he must affect not to see many things."³ An admirable saying and well worth being preserved.

His character and behaviour towards all men, contributed no less than his sermons to win men's hearts. At once a true Christian and a true republican, the equality of all men was no cant phrase in his mouth, but as it was written on his heart, so it displayed itself in his life.⁴ He had neither the pharisaic pride nor the monkish grossness that shock alike the simple and the sage of this world; people felt themselves attracted to him, and at ease in conversing with him. Powerful and energetic in the pulpit, he was affable towards all whom he met on the streets or in public haunts; he would often be seen at those places where the tribes, or the trades, corporations met, explaining the chief heads of Christian doctrine to the burgesses of the city, or engaged with them in familiar talk. Peasant and patrician were received by him with equal cordiality. "He would invite the

Nobis, apostolici illius sæculi virum representas. (Zw. Epp. p. 74.)

² Obganniant quidam, rident, minantur, petulanter incessant. . . . at tu vere, christiana patientia, suffers omnia. . . . (Ibid.)

³ Connivendum ad multa, ei qui velit malo Christo lucrifacere. . . . (Ibid.)

⁴ This, too, is inseparably attached to the true Reformation, which cannot endure any kind of despotism. In this respect the Swiss and Genevan reformations were more complete than the German, but on that account, too, more conformable with primitive Christianity.—L. R. That the true principles of the Reformation, like those of primitive Christianity, with which they are essentially identical, are opposed to all kinds of despotism there can be no doubt; but no reader at all acquainted with history, can fail to be aware that as without this true Christianity, republics may be equally despotic and tyrannical with monarchies, so a truly Christian monarchy may consist with all due respect to the natural equality of all men in the sight of God, and with as ample securities for a well-ordered liberty as the condition of fallen humanity has as yet permitted men to enjoy. Tr.

rustics to dinner," says one of his bitterest enemies, "would walk out with them, talk to them about God, and make the devil go into their hearts, and his writings into their pockets. He even managed matters so well that the notables of Zurich would visit these peasants, give them drink, walk about the town with them, and show them every mark of attention!"¹ . . .

He continued to cultivate music, "modestly," says Bullinger; nevertheless the opponents of the Gospel took advantage of this, and called him the evangelical flute and lute player.² On Faber reproaching him one day for this taste: "My dear Faber," replied Zwingli, with a noble candour, "you don't know what music is. True, I have learned to play upon the lute, the violin, and other instruments, and they help me to hush the babes asleep;³ but thou art too holy, man, for music! . . . Don't you know that David was a good player on the harp, and that it was thus that he chased the evil spirit from Saul? . . . Ah, knew you but the sound of the celestial lute, the evil spirit of ambition, and the love of riches, would come out of you also."

Possibly Zwingli may have shown a little weakness in this respect; yet it was with a meek and evangelical spirit that he cultivated an art which religion has ever associated with her sublimest flights. He composed music for some of his pieces of Christian poetry, and was not afraid to amuse at times the very youngest of his flock with his lute. "He ate and drank," says one of his contemporaries, "with all who invited him; he despised no one; he was most compassionate towards the poor, always firm and always cheerful, alike in prosperity and in adversity. No calamity could unnerve him; he spoke at all times with great energy and with a confident spirit."⁴ Seated by turns, like his master once, at the tables of the common people, and at the festive boards of the great, and every where manifesting the work to which God had called him, Zwingli saw his popularity increasing every day.

In study, too, he was indefatigable. From day-break to ten o'clock he read, wrote, and translated; Hebrew being the task

¹ Dass der Rath gemeldete Bauern besucht. . . (Salat's Chronick, 155.)

² Der Lauthenschlager und Evangelischer pffyer. (Bullinger, MSC.)

³ Dass kombt mir Ia wol die kind zu geschweigen. (Ibid.)

⁴ War allwegen trostlichen Gemüth's und tapferer Red. (B. Weise, Füss Beytr. iv. p. 36.)

to which he chiefly devoted himself. After dinner he attended to such persons as had any communications to make to him, or any advice to ask; or he would take a walk with his friends, or visit the members of his flock. He resumed his labours at two; took a short walk after supper, and then wrote letters, which often kept him engaged till midnight. He always worked in a standing posture, and having set apart certain hours for particular occupations, he would not depart from this arrangement but for serious reasons.¹

One man's labours, however, were not enough. A person called Lucian, waited on him one day with the writings of the German Reformer, having been sent to him by Rhenan, a learned man then resident at Basel, and an indefatigable circulator of Luther's writings in Switzerland. Rhenan saw that hawking books furnished a powerful means of diffusing the doctrines of the Gospel. Lucian had traversed all Switzerland, and knew everybody in the country. "See," said Rhenan to Zwingli, "whether this Lucian possesses sufficient prudence and ability; if you are satisfied with him, let him take from city to city, and town to town, and village to village, and even from house to house among the Swiss, the writings of Luther, and the exposition of the Lord's prayer in particular, written for the laity. ² The more he is known, the more purchasers will he find. But care must be taken that he hawk about no other works, for if he have none but Luther's, he will sell them so much the better." Thus did many families in Switzerland come to see some rays of truth penetrating beneath their humble roof. There was one book, however, which Zwingli ought to have seen to being hawked about before those of Luther, and that was the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

VII. He had not long to wait for an occasion for displaying his zeal in a calling that was new to him. Samson, the famous merchant of indulgences, was now slowly approaching Zurich. This wretched trafficker came to Zug from Schwytz on the 20th of September 1518, and remained there three days. An immense crowd gathered round him, in which the most eager were the

¹ Certas studiis vindicans horas, quas etiam non omisit, nisi seriis coactus. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

² Oppidatim, municipatim, vicatim, imo domesticatim per Eveltios circumferat. . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 81.)

poor, who thus hindered the rich from coming. This did not suit the monk's calculations; one of his servants accordingly began to shout to the populace: "Good people, don't press so hard! Allow those who have money to come! We will then endeavour to content those who have none." From Zug Samson and his gang retired to Lucerne; from Lucerne to Underwalden; then, traversing fertile Alps and rich valleys, skirting the base of the everlasting snows of the Oberland, and exposing their Roman wares in these the most lovely localities of Switzerland, they reached the neighbourhood of Berne. The monk was at first formally forbidden to enter the town, but succeeded at length in finding admission, by means of an understanding which he kept up with persons within the walls, and opened his wares in St. Vincent's church. There he began to shout louder than ever: "See," said he to the rich, "indulgences written out on parchment for a crown." "See," said he to the poor, "absolutions on common paper, for two batzen!" One day a celebrated knight, James of Stein, presented himself to him, prancing on a grey dappled horse, which attracted the admiration of the monk. "Give me," quoth the knight, "an indulgence for myself, for my troop of five hundred men, for all my vassals of Belp and for all my ancestors; I offer you my grey dappled horse in exchange." It was asking a great deal for a horse; but the steed pleased the barefooted friar, a bargain was struck, the beast entered the monk's stable, and all those souls were declared by him to be exempted for ever from hell.¹ On another day, one of the burgesses obtained from him, on paying thirteen florins, an indulgence in virtue of which his confessor was authorised to absolve him, among other things, from every kind of perjury.² Such was the respect in which Samson was held, that the counsellor Von May, an aged person and a man of enlightened views, in consequence of having spoken some words against him, was obliged to ask pardon of the haughty monk on his bended knees.

It was now the last day of his visit, and the monk's departure was announced to Berne by the deafening sound of the steeple

¹ Um einem Kuttgrowen Hengst. (Anshelm v. 335. J. J. Hotting. Gesch. iii. 29.)

² A quovis perjurio. (Muller's Reliquien. iv. 403.)

bells. Samson was in the church, standing on the steps of the grand altar, while the prebend Henry Lupulus, Zwingli's former master, acted as his interpreter. "When the wolf and fox set out upon an expedition together," said the prebend Anselm, as he turned to Sheriff Watterville, "your safest plan, gracious lord, is to lose no time in seeing to your sheep and geese being well secured." But the monk cared little about such criticisms, which, besides, did not reach his ears. "Fall upon your knees," said he to the superstitious crowd, and say over three *Paters* and three *Ave Marias*, and your souls will be immediately as pure as at the moment of their baptism." Thereupon all the people threw themselves upon their knees. Then, wishing to surpass even himself, Samson shouted: "I deliver from the torments of purgatory and from hell, all the spirits of the Bernese who have died, whatever may have been the kind or the place of their death!" These mountebanks, like those that attend fairs, reserved their best hit for the last.

Loaded with money, Samson travelled on towards Zurich, passing through Argovie and Baden. In proportion to the progress he made, the Carmelite who had looked so mean while passing the Alps, advanced with more and more show and pride. Angry at his not having applied to have his bulls legalised by him, the bishop of Constance had forbidden all the parish priests in his diocese to open their chapels to him, and yet, at Baden, the priest durst not long oppose his traffic. The monk redoubled his effrontery. While making the circuit of a church-yard at the head of a procession, he seemed to fix his eye on some object that appeared in the air while his acolytes were chanting the hymn for the dead, and, pretending that he saw souls flying from the church-yard to heaven, he exclaimed: "*Ecce volant!*" See how they are flying! "One day a man belonging to the place, ran into the church-tower and mounted upon the clock; soon a quantity of white feathers floating in the air, were seen moving over the heads of the astonished procession: "See how they fly," cried the Baden wag, as he shook out the contents of a down cushion from the top of the tower. Many upon this began to laugh,¹ but Samson grew angry, and regained his temper

only on learning that the man was at times wrong in the head; he left Baden much disconcerted and abashed.

Continuing his journey, towards the close of February 1519 he reached Bremgarten, to which the sheriff and the second priest of the town, who had seen him at Baden, had besought him to pay a visit. Throughout that whole country no man enjoyed a greater reputation than dean Bullinger of Bremgarten. Though little enlightened on the errors of the Church and the Word of God, still, being open-hearted, very zealous, eloquent, kind to the poor, and ready to do good turns to persons of no consideration, he was a general favourite. He had in his younger days formed a conscientious connection¹ with a daughter of one of the councillors of the place, such being the custom with those among the priests who did not wish to live in dissolution. Anna had given him five sons, and this numerous family had not the least impaired the consideration enjoyed by the dean. There was not a more hospitable house in all Switzerland than his. A keen sportsman, he might be seen surrounded by ten or twelve dogs, and accompanied by the lords of Hallwyll, the abbot of Muri, and the patricians of Zurich, beating the fields and woods of the neighbourhood for game. He kept open table and none of his guests was ever gayer than he was. When the deputies were on their way to attend the Diet at Baden, they never failed in passing through Bremgarten to take their seats at the dean's table. "Bullinger," people would say, "holds court like one of the most powerful lords."

In this family strangers remarked a child of a singularly intelligent countenance. Henry, one of the dean's sons, from his earliest years had run many risks. Attacked by the plague

¹ "Union de conscience," translated by Mr. Le Roy, "geheime verbindtenis," *i. e.* secret tie. But there seems to have been no secrecy even affected. "Conscientious connection," I am aware, does not fully express the meaning, since a regular marriage is such. It evidently means an union founded on, and maintained by the conscience alone, in the impossibility, as the law stood, of having a marriage regularly solemnised. From the distinction drawn by Luther in a subsequent part of this work, between priests and monks, it would appear that priests violated no vow by marrying, whereas the monks did. Hence the dean of Bremgarten's union may be considered somewhat in the light of the marriages of the Protestants in France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, among whom "conscientious unions" took place, and were, even by the confession of their opponents, most faithfully observed, although the regular celebration of marriage was impossible. The dean, however, had himself to blame for entering an order in which marriage was absolutely prohibited. **Tr.**

on one occasion, he was about to be buried, when some signs of life restored joy to the hearts of his parents. On another occasion, a vagrant had enticed him from his home, and was in the act of carrying him off, when he was recognised and rescued by some persons that happened to be passing. By the time he was three years old he could repeat the Lord's prayer and the apostle's creed; and slipping one day into the Church, he went up into his father's pulpit, there put himself into a serious attitude, and said at the utmost stretch of his voice: "I believe in God the Father," and what follows. At twelve, his parents sent him to the Latin school at Emmerick, not without many painful apprehensions, for those were dangerous times for an inexperienced boy. Students were often seen, where they considered the rules of the university to be too severe, to leave the school in troops, entice children to go along with them, encamp in the woods whence they would send out the youngest of the party to beg for them; or at times they would even throw themselves, with arms in their hands, on persons passing, plunder them, and then waste the fruits of their robberies in debauch. Henry was happily kept safe from mischief in those remote quarters. Like Luther he gained a livelihood by singing before the doors of the houses; for his father wished him to learn betimes to live on his own resources. He was sixteen when he first opened a New Testament. "I there found," said he, "all that is necessary for man's salvation, and from that time I attached myself to this principle, that we ought to follow holy Scripture alone, and to reject all human additions. In this matter I believe neither the holy fathers nor myself, but I explain Scripture by Scripture, without adding anything or taking anything away." Thus did God prepare the youth who was one day to succeed Zwingli. He is author of the manuscript chronicle we so often quote.

It was about this time that Samson came to Bremgarten with all his attendants. The courageous dean, undaunted by this little Italian army, forbade the monk to retail any of his wares within his precincts. The sheriff, town council, and the second pastor, Samson's friends, had met in one of the rooms of the inn where the latter had alighted, and were sitting much disconcerted, with the impatient monk. The dean arrived. "See,

there are the pope's bulls," said the monk to him, "open your church."

THE DEAN.—"I won't permit the pockets of my parishioners to be emptied by means of letters that are not authentic," (for the bishop had not legalised them.)

THE MONK, in a solemn tone.—"The pope is above the bishop. I forbid you to deprive your flock of so distinguished a favour."

THE DEAN.—"Though it should cost me my life, I won't open my church!"

THE MONK, with indignation.—"Rebellious priest! In the name of our most holy lord the pope, I pronounce against thee the greater excommunication, and I will not absolve thee until thou shalt have redeemed such unheard-of audacity by paying three hundred ducats." . . .

THE DEAN, turning his back, and walking away.—"I know how to answer to my lawful judges; as for thee and thy excommunication, I have nothing to do with them."

THE MONK, beside himself with rage.—"Impudent beast! I am going to Zurich, and there I will complain of you to the deputies of the confederation."

THE DEAN.—"I can go there as well as you, and will proceed forthwith."

While these things were transacting at Bremgarten, Zwingli, who saw the enemy slowly drawing nearer and nearer to him, preached energetically against the indulgences.² Faber, the vicar of Constance, encouraged him, promising him the support of the bishop.³ "I know," said Samson, as he approached Zurich, "that Zwingli will speak against me, but I will shut his mouth." Zwingli felt, in fact, too keenly the sweetness of Christ's pardon, not to attack the paper indulgence of those rash men. Often would he tremble, like Luther, on account of sin, but found deliverance from his fears in the Saviour. This modest but powerful man was making progress in the knowledge of God. "When Satan," he would say, "frightens me, by reminding

¹ Du fresche Bestie . . . ect. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Ich predgete streng wider des Pabsts Ablass. . . . (Zw. Opp. ii. 1st part. p. 7.)

³ Und hat mich darin gestärkt: er welle mir mit aller truw byston. (Ibid.)

me: Thou dost not this or that, and yet God commands it! forthwith the mild voice of the Gospel consoles me by saying: That which thou canst not do, (and certainly thou canst do nothing), Christ hath done and completed. Yes," continues the pious evangelist, "when my heart is in anguish on account of my impotency, and the weakness of my flesh, my spirit revives at hearing that joyful news: Christ is thine innocence! Christ is thy righteousness! Christ is thy salvation! Thou art nothing, thou canst do nothing! Christ is the Alpha and the Omega; Christ is the prow and the poop; Christ is all; he can do all things.¹ All created things will abandon and deceive thee; but Christ, the innocent One and the Just, will receive thee and will justify thee. . . . Yes, it is he," exclaimed Zwingli, "who is our righteousness, and that of all those who shall ever appear as just before the throne of God!"

Before such truths as these the indulgences fell to the ground of themselves; accordingly, Zwingli was not afraid to attack them. "No man," he would say, "can remit sins. Christ alone, who is very God and very man, has power to do so.² Go, buy indulgences. . . . But, be assured that thou art by no means absolved. They who sell the remission of sins for money are the companions of Simon the sorcerer, the friends of Balaam, and the ambassadors of Satan."

Dean Bullinger, still under the excitement caused by his conversation with the monk, reached Zurich before him, and laid a complaint before the Diet against the shameless huckster and his traffic. The same motive had brought envoys from the bishop to the place, and, making common cause with them, they all promised him their support. The spirit that animated Zwingli had diffused itself over the town, so that the council of state resolved to oppose the monk's entrance into Zurich.

Samson had now arrived in the suburbs, and had alighted at an inn. He had just put his foot into the stirrup to make his entrance into the town, when a deputation from the council came to present the honorarium of wine to him as an envoy

¹ *Christus est innocentia tua, Christus est justitia et puritas tua, Christus est salus tua; tu nihil es, tu nihil potes: Christus est A et Ω, Christus est prora et puppis; Christus est omnia . . . (Zw. Opp. i. p. 207.)*

² *Nisi Christus Jesus, verus Deus et verus homo . . . (Ibid. p. 412.)*

from the pope, but to say to him, also, that he might save himself the trouble of appearing in Zurich. "I have something to communicate to the Diet in the name of his holiness," replied the monk. This was a mere fetch. It was resolved, however, that he should be admitted; but as he had nothing to speak of but his bulls, he was sent back, after having been made to recall the excommunication he had pronounced against the dean of Bremgarten. He went out in a boiling rage, and was soon after recalled by the pope into Italy. A car dragged by three horses, and laden with money which his lies had filched from the poor, preceded him across the craggy paths of the St. Gothard, which he had traversed eight months before, poor, without show, and having with him but some papers.¹

The Swiss Diet shewed more resolution on this occasion than the German Diet, no doubt, because no bishops or cardinals had seats there.² Hence the pope, having none to support him in the Diet, dealt more tenderly with Switzerland than with Germany. As for the rest, the affair of the indulgences which had so much to do in the Reformation of Germany, forms but an episode in the Swiss Reformation.

VIII. Zwingli did not spare himself, and so many labours called for some relaxation. He was recommended to repair to the baths at Pfeffers. "Ah!" said to him at parting Herus, one of his disciples who lived in the house with him, and who

¹ Und fuhr mit Ihm ein threspendiger Schatz an gelt. den er armen lüthen abgelogen hat. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Because of its more republican spirit, too, which alone can rightly agree with a thorough Reformation.—L. R.

A Dutchman may be excused for strong leanings to republicanism, in the recollection of the intimate connection between the government of the old United provinces, and the Dutch Reformed Church during the period of its greatest freedom and purity. On the whole, however, history by no means supports this decided testimony in favour of republicanism. Luther and the Reformation were better received assuredly under the monarchical constitution of Saxony, than they would have been under any of the republics of that day. And in our own times we see republics opposing the Gospel, and "a thorough Reformation," in every variety of way, while one monarchy at least, that of Prussia, warmly patronises the Gospel, and is endeavouring at least to make its Reformation at once evangelical and complete. Some of the Swiss republics have of late shown themselves much disposed to thwart the freedom and purity of the Church of Christ. Zurich and Geneva have patronised rationalism, the Canton de Vaud has no sooner seen its Reformed church return to the true faith, than it has sought to enslave it by absolutely subjecting it to the civil power, and Lucerne, by a very recent alteration of its constitution, seems to have absolutely sold itself to Rome. These facts prove that the republican as well as the monarchical spirit, until imbued with that of Christianity, cannot agree with a thorough Reformation. TR.

thus expressed what was the general sentiment of all who were acquainted with Zwingli, "had I an hundred tongues, an hundred mouths, and a voice of iron, as Virgil says, or rather, had I the eloquence of Cicero, could I express all that I owe to you, and all that this separation costs me?"¹ Meanwhile Zwingli set off, and arrived at Pfeffers by that frightful chasm which has been formed by the impetuous torrent of the Jamina. He descended into that infernal gulph, as Daniel the hermit says, and reached the baths which are perpetually shaken by the fall of the torrent, and bedewed by the moist spray thrown up by the dashing waters. In the lodgings occupied by Zwingli, torch light was found necessary at noon. It was even positively stated by the people about the place, that frightful spectres were to be seen at times in the darkness.

And yet even there he found opportunities of serving his Master. His affability gained the heart of several of the invalids, among whom there was a celebrated poet, Philip Ingentinus, professor at Friburg in Brisgau,² and who from that time showed himself full of zeal for the Reformation.

God watched over his work and desired to hasten it. Zwingli's failing lay in his strength, for in point of physical powers, character, and talents he was strong, but behoved to see all his strength shattered, in order that he might become such an instrument as God loves to employ. There was wanting to him a baptism—it was that of adversity, infirmity, weakness, and suffering. Such had Luther been baptized with in the time of his anguish, when he made the cell and the long corridors of the monastery at Erfurt, resound with his piercing cries, and Zwingli was to receive it by being brought into contact with sickness and with death. In the case of this world's heroes, its Charles XIIths, and Napoleons, there is a moment that is decisive of their career and their glory; and it is that in which they all at once became conscious of their powers. An analogous moment is to be found in the life of heroes according to God, but in the contrary sense; for it is that in which they are convinced of

¹ Etiam si mihi sint linguæ centum, sint oraque centum, ferrea vox, ut Virgilius ait, aut potius Ciceronia eloquentia. (Zw. Epp. p. 84.)

² Illic tum comitatem tuam e sinu uberrimo profluentem, non injucundè sum expertus. (Ibid. p. 119.)

their powerlessness and their nothingness, and forthwith receive from above the strength of God. A work such as that of which Zwingli was the organ, is never effected in the natural strength of man; it would soon wither like a tree transplanted in the full expansion of its foliage and its sap. A plant must be weak in order to its taking root, and a grain of seed must remain in the ground in order to its becoming fruitful. God conducted Zwingli and the work of which he was the hope, to the borders of the tomb. It is from amid the rotten bones, the darkness and the dust of death, that God is pleased to take those organs by means of which he desires to diffuse over the earth light, regeneration, and vitality.

Zwingli was hidden among the enormous rocks that encircle the foaming torrent of the Jamina when the news suddenly arrived that the plague, or, as it was called, *death in the gross*,¹ was at Zurich. It broke out with terrible violence in the month of August on St. Lawrence's day, lasted until Candlemas, and cut off two thousand five hundred persons. The young folks then living in Zwingli's house, according to instructions which he had left with them, instantly quitted it. It was emptied of all its occupants, but this was the moment for him to return. Instantly leaving Pfeffers, he showed himself again among his flock while decimated by disease; he straightway sent back his younger brother Andrew, who had wished to attend him, to Wildhaus, and from that moment he devoted himself entirely to the victims of that frightful scourge. He daily preached Christ and his consolations to the sick.² Delighted as were his friends to see him sound and safe, while so many mortal shafts were flying around him,³ still they had their secret fears. "Be doing good," wrote to him from Basel Conrad Brunner, who

¹ Der grosse Tod. (Bullinger, MSC.) *La grande mort* in French, and *great death* in English, do not seem to convey the original idea, *grande* and *great* not being associated with number and quantity as the German *gross*, from which our word *gross* for twelve dozen, and our expression *in the gross*. *Death by wholesale* seems to be nearer the idea than *great*. Tr.

² Ut in majori periculo sis, quod in dies te novo exponas, dum invisit ægrotos. (Bullinger, MSC. 87.) M. de Chateaubriand has forgotten this fact, and thousands like it, when he wrote, "that the Protestant pastor abandons the needy on his death-bed, and does not hasten into the midst of the plague." (*Essai sur la littérature anglaise*.)

³ Plurimum gaudeo, te inter tot jactus telorum versantem, illæsum, hactenus evasisse. (Ibid.)

himself died of the plague some months after, "but at the same time, don't forget to take care of your life!" It was too late; Zwingli was seized in his turn; the great preacher of Switzerland was laid on a bed from which perhaps he was never again to rise. He communed with his own heart and directed his thoughts to heaven. He knew that Christ had given him a sure inheritance, and poured forth the feelings of his heart in a hymn replete with unction and simplicity, and whose rythm and literal expressions we have attempted to reproduce, finding it impossible to translate its antique and simple language:¹

Methinks at length
Death storms my door!²
My God, my strength!
Cover me o'er!

Jesus, my Lord!
Break thou this sword,
So keen, so fierce,
That me doth pierce;
Nought can withstand
Thy pierced hand.

But if so soon
As ev'n life's noon,
I'm called to die,
Lord, here am I!³
Thine ev'n in death
My spirit flies,
Where to my faith
Heav'n open lies.

Meanwhile, disease was making progress, and his friends looked on in dismay as the man who was the hope of Switzerland, and of the Church, was about to fall a prey to the tomb. He gradually lost his powers of feeling and of motion. His heart quailed, yet he still found sufficient vigour to turn himself to God and exclaimed:

¹ What must the difficulty of reproducing it in the translation of a translation be? TR.

² Ich mein der Tod

Syg an der Thür.—(Zw. Opp. ii. 2d part p. 270.)

³ Willt du dann glych

Tod haben mich

In mitts der Tagen min

So soll's willig sin.—(Ibid.)

This body's ill
Grows fiercer still;
And fear at last
Seizes me fast.

Now fails my sight
My tongue is dumb;
For thee to fight
The time is come;¹
With parting breath,
Lord! be thou nigh
And make my death
A victory.

Satan this hour
Would me devour,
While he assails
My courage fails;
With fear so tost,
Can I be lost?

His shafts, his call
No more appal,
As to thy feet,
Lord! I retreat.
There while I lie,
Thy cross makes fly
Each enemy.

Sincere in the faith that he professed, the prebend Hoffman could not endure the idea of seeing Zwingli die in the errors which he had preached. He repaired to the provost of the chapter. "Think," says he to him, "of the dangers of his soul! Does he not denounce as fantastic innovators, all the doctors who have taught for the last three hundred and eighty years and more, Alexander of Hales, Saint Bonaventura, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and all the Canonists? Does he not maintain that all their doctrines are mere dreams they have dreamt in their hoods, amid their cloister walls? . . . Ah! better had it been for the town of Zurich, had Zwingli for a course of years ruined our vineyards and our harvests! And now, behold him at the point of death. . . . I beseech of you, save his

¹ Nun ist est um
Min Zung ist stumm

. . . .
Darum ist Zyt

Dass du min stryht.—(Zw. Opp. ii. 2d part p. 271.)

poor soul!" It would appear that the provost, more enlightened than the prebend, saw no necessity for converting Zwingli to Bonaventura and to Albertus Magnus. He was left in peace.

The whole city was afflicted at the event, the faithful crying to God day and night, and beseeching him to re-establish the health of their faithful pastor.¹ Alarm spread from Zurich to the mountains of Tockenburg, and to those elevated regions the plague also found its way. Seven or eight persons had fallen victims to it in the village; among whom there was a domestic servant of Zwingli's brother, Nicolas.² No letter was received from the Reformer. "Let me know," young Andrew Zwingli wrote to him, "in what condition you are, O my beloved brother! The Abbot, and all our brothers salute you." It would seem that Zwingli's father and mother were by this time dead, since there is no mention of them here.

The news of Zwingli's illness, and even the report of his death, ran through Switzerland and Germany. "Ah," exclaimed Hedio in tears, "the salvation of his country, the Gospel trumpet, the magnanimous herald of the truth, has been smitten by death in the flower and, so to speak, in the spring-time of his age."³ When the tidings that Zwingli had fallen a victim to the plague, reached Basel, the whole city resounded with expressions of grief.⁴

Meanwhile, the spark of life which still survived in Zwingli revived. Though all his members still lay smitten with languor, his soul had the immovable conviction that God was calling him to replace the light of his Word on the empty candlestick of the Church. The plague forsook its victim, and Zwingli feelingly exclaimed:

Thou, thou, O Lord!
Hast me restored;
And, free from pain,
I breathe again.

¹ Alle glaubige rufften Gott treuwillich an, dass er Ihren getreüwen Hirten wieder ufrichte. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Nicolao vero germano nostro, etiam obiit servus suus, attamen non in ædibus suis. (Zw. Epp. 88.)

³ Quis enim non doleat, publicam patriæ salutem, tubam Evangelii, magnanimum veritatis buccinatorem languere, intercidere. . . . (Ibid. p. 90.)

⁴ Heu quantum luctus, fatis Zwinglium concecisse, importunus ille rumor, suo vehementi impetu divulgavit. (Ibid. p. 91.)

My sins no more
Oppress me sore,
But by my tongue
Thy praise is sung.
The unknown hour
May me o'erpower
And lay me dead
In form more dread,¹
I need not care,
For joyful still
My yoke I bear
To Sion hill.²

When as yet hardly able to hold a pen, (it was about the beginning of November,) Zwingli wrote to his family, throwing them into a transport of joy,³ and particularly his young brother Andrew, who died himself of the plague the following year, and at whose death Ulrich shed tears and uttered cries, as no woman would have done, he himself says.⁴ At Basel, Conrad Brunner, a friend of Zwingli's, and Bruno Amerbach, a famous printer, both of them young, died after three days' illness. In that city, too, it was believed that Zwingli had given way, and the whole university was in mourning on the occasion: He whom God loves is brought to his end in the bloom of his life.⁵ But what was the joy when Collinus, a Lucerne student, and afterwards a merchant in Zurich, brought word that Zwingli had escaped from the dire jaws of death.⁶ The bishop of Constance's vicar himself, John Faber, that old friend of Zwingli, but afterwards his most violent enemy, wrote to him: "O my beloved

¹ Words which received a striking fulfilment, twelve years afterwards, on the bloody fields of Cappel.

² So will ich doch
Den trutz und poch
In diser welt
Tragen frölich
Um widergelt.—

Although these three morsels of poetry bear as their dates, "the commencement, the middle, and the end of his illness," and express the feelings really experienced by Zwingli at those different stages, it is probable that they were not put into the state in which we find them until after his recovery. See Bullinger, MSC.

³ *Inspectis tuis litteris incredibilis quidam æstus lætitiæ pectus meum subiit.* (Zw. Epp. p. 88.)

⁴ *Ejulatum et luctum plusquam fœmineum.* (Ibid. 155.)

⁵ *Ὁν τε θεοὶ φιλέουσι, νανίσκος τελευτᾷ.* (Ibid. p. 90.)

⁶ *E diris te mortis faucibus feliciter ereptum negotiator quidam tigurinus.* . . (Ibid. p. 91.)

Ulrich, how much gladness do I feel on learning that thou hast escaped the jaws of cruel death. When thou art in jeopardy, the Christian commonwealth is threatened. The Lord has been seeking by trials to urge you to a more earnest pursuit of everlasting life.”¹

This was in fact the object for which God had proved Zwingli, and that object was attained, though not according to Faber’s ideas. The plague that raged in 1519, and the ravages of which were so extensive in the north of Switzerland, became a powerful means in the hands of God, for the conversion of a great many souls.² But on none had it a greater effect than on Zwingli. The Gospel which until that time had been to him a matter of doctrine only, became a great reality, and he rose from the depths of the tomb with a new heart. His zeal became more active, his life more holy, his preaching more free, more Christian, and more powerful. This was the epoch of Zwingli’s complete deliverance, and from henceforth he consecrated himself wholly to God. But while the Reformer of Switzerland had a new life imparted to him, so was it also with the Reformation there. The rod of God, *death in the gross*, as it passed over all those mountains, and went down into all those dales, imparted a holier character to the movement which was in course of operation there. The Reformation was plunged, like Zwingli himself, into the waters of affliction and of grace; it came out from these purer and more vigorous than before; and thus that calamity formed a memorable day in the course pursued by God for the regeneration of that people.

Zwingli drew fresh energy, and much did he feel that he required it, from communion with his friends, among whom a warm affection attached him most of all to Myconius. Like Luther and Melancthon, they went on mutually leaning on

¹ Thus there was here, as the author remarked before also, some similarity between the guidance of God with respect to Zwingli and Luther respectively. Both behoved to be better fitted for the great work that God had in store for them. Still, however, there was some difference between the two cases. In that of Luther, trials served to give him a better personal acquaintance with the doctrine of justification by grace, and to do away with all confidence in his own works. This was no longer necessary in the case of Zwingli, who had already been more enlightened by the Gospel; but he needed trials to give him a deeper sense of the power and supreme importance of that truth.—L. R.

² Als die Pestilent im Jahre 1519, in dieser Gegend grassirte, vielen neigten sich zu einem bessern Leben. (Georg. Vögelin. Ref. Hist. Füsslin Beytr. iv. 174.)

each other. Oswald might be considered happily placed at Zurich, for though his position, it is true, subjected him to restraint, it was sweetened to him by the virtues of his modest spouse, of whom Glarian said, "Were I to meet with a young woman like her, I should prefer her to the daughter of a king." Yet the delightful intimacy that subsisted between Zwingli and Myconius was often troubled by a faithful voice; that of the prebend Xylotect, who, addressing Oswald from Lucerne, summoned him to return to his native country. "Zurich is not thy fatherland," he would say to him, "that is Lucerne! Thou sayest that the Zurichers are thy friends, I grant it; but knowest thou what the evening star may bring thee? Serve thy country:¹ I advise thee, I conjure thee, and if I may venture, I command thee so to do!" Suiting his actions to his words, Xylotect obtained for Myconius the appointment of master of the college school at Lucerne. Upon this Oswald no longer hesitated; he saw the finger of God in this appointment, and great as was the sacrifice, he resolved that it should be made. Who could know but that he might prove an instrument in the Lord's hands for introducing the doctrine of peace into warlike Lucerne? But what a separation—that of Zwingli from Myconius! They parted in tears. "Thy leaving us," wrote Ulrich to Oswald some time afterwards, "has no less damaged the cause I am defending, than the destruction of one of its wings would injure an army drawn up in battle array.² Alas! I can now appreciate the capabilities of my Myconius, and see how often, without my being aware of it, he has sustained the cause of Christ!" . . .

Zwingli was the more keenly affected by the loss of his friend, in that the plague had left him in a state of extreme weakness. "It has impaired my memory," he wrote on the 30th of November, 1519, "and worn out my spirits." Hardly was he convalescent when he resumed all his labours. "But," says he, "in preaching, I often lose the thread of what I am going to say. All my limbs feel weak, and I am almost like a dead

¹ Patriam cole, suadeo et obsecro, et si hoc possum, jubeo. (Xylotect. Myconio.)

² Nam res meæ, te abeunte, non sunt minus accisæ, quam si exercitui in procinctu stanti altera alarum abstergatur. (Zw. Epp. p. 98.)

man." Besides this, Zwingli's opposition to sinful indulgences, excited the resentment of those who defended them. Oswald fortified his friend by the letters he wrote to him from Lucerne, and at this very moment, did not the Lord, in the succour he supplied to the powerful Saxon wrestler who had gained victories over Rome, give pledges of his support? . . . "What thinkest thou," said Myconius to Zwingli, "of Luther's case? As for me I feel no alarm, either for the gospel or for him. If God protect not his truth, who will protect it? All that I ask the Lord is, that he will not withdraw his hand from those who hold nothing so dear to them as his Gospel. Continue as thou hast begun, and thou wilt receive an abundant recompense in the heavens."

Zwingli was comforted at the departure of Myconius by the sympathy of his old friend Bunzli, who, after having been his master at Basel, and having succeeded the Reformer's uncle, the dean of Wesen, came to Zurich in the first week of 1520, on which occasion Zwingli and he projected a joint visit to their former friends at Basel.¹ The stay which the former made in that city was productive of good results. "O my dear Zwingli," wrote to him some time after, John Glother, "never shall I forget you. What attaches me to you is the kindness with which, during your stay at Basel, you came to see me, a petty schoolmaster, an obscure person, without learning, without merit, and of low condition! What has made a conquest of me is that elegance of manners, that incredible sweetness of temper, by which you subjugate all hearts to you, and, if I may so speak, the very stones."² But still more did Zwingli's former friends profit by his visit. Capito, Hedio, and others, were electrified by his powerful preaching; and the first of these, commencing at Basel the work that Zwingli was carrying on at Zurich, began to expound the Gospel according to Matthew before an ever-increasing auditory. The doctrines of Christ penetrated and inflamed men's hearts; the people gladly received, and greeted with their acclamations, the revival of Christianity.³ The Reformation began to dawn; hence a con-

¹ Zw. Epp. p. 103 et 111.

² *Morum tuorum elegantia, suavitasque incredibilis, quæ omnes tibi devincis, etiam lapides ut sic dixerim.* (Ibid. p. 133.)

³ *Renascenti Christianismo mirum quam faveant.* (Ibid.)

spiracy speedily began to be formed against Capito by the priests and monks. It was then that the young cardinal-archbishop of Maintz, Albert, from a desire to attach so learned a man to his person, called him to his court.¹ In the view of the difficulties his enemies were preparing for him, Capito accepted this call; but the people had become excited, and their indignation falling upon the priests, there arose a tumult in the city.² Hedio was proposed as his successor; but while some objected to his youth, others said, "he is his disciple!"—"Truth is pungent," said Hedio; "it is not quite safe to flay too delicate ears by speaking it out."³ It matters not! nothing shall withdraw me from the straight path." The monks redoubled their efforts. "Believe not," they exclaimed from the pulpit, "those who tell you that the sum of Christian doctrine is to be found in the Gospel and in St. Paul. Scot has been more useful to Christianity than St. Paul himself. All the learning that has ever been spoken or printed has been stolen from Scot. Whatever beyond that has been done by men in their greed for glory, has been merely mingling with it a few words of Greek and Hebrew, for the purpose of darkening the whole subject!"⁴

The tumult went on increasing, and it was to be feared that as soon as Capito should be gone, the opposition would become more powerful still. "I shall be almost alone," thought Hedio, "me, feeble and wretched, alone in a struggle with these most pestilent monsters."⁵ Accordingly, he prayed to God for assistance, and wrote to Zwingli: "Stimulate my courage by often writing. Learning and Christianity are now between the anvil and the hammer. Luther has been condemned by the universities of Louvain and Cologne. If ever danger impended over the Church, it is now."⁶ . . .

Capito left Basel for Maintz on the 28th of April, and was succeeded by Hedio. Not content with the public meetings that were held in the church, and where he continued his exposition of St. Matthew, he proposed, commencing from the month

¹ Cardinalis illic invitavit amplissimis conditionibus. (Zw. Epp. p. 133.)

² Tumultus exoritur et maxima indignatio vulgi erga *isot̃s*. (Ibid.)

³ Auriculas teneras mordaci radere vero, non usque adeo tutum est. (Ibid.)

⁴ Scotum plus profuisse rei Christianæ quam ipsum Paulum . . . quicquid eruditum, faratum ex Scoto . . . (Ibid. p. 120.)

⁵ Cum pestilentissimis monstribus. (Ibid. p. 121.)

⁶ Si unquam imminabat periculum, jam imminet. (Ibid. 17th March, 1520.)

of June, as he wrote to Luther, to have private meetings in his own house, for the purpose of giving evangelical instructions of a more familiar kind to such as might feel that they required them. This powerful means of teaching the truth, and of animating the interest and the zeal of believers, could not fail then as ever, to excite opposition, whether among worldly people or domineering priests, both, though from different motives, alike desirous that none should worship God except within the space enclosed by certain walls.¹ But Hedio was not to be overcome.

At the same epoch that this good resolution was formed at Basel, there came to Zurich one of those characters which are usually thrown up by revolutions, like an impure scum.

One of the senators, called Grebel, a man held in much consideration in Zurich, had a son of the name of Conrad, a youth of remarkable talents, a relentless enemy of ignorance and superstition, both which he assailed with the most caustic satires; noisy, passionate, bitterly sarcastic in what he said, without natural affection, given up to debauchery, ever loudly proclaiming his own innocence, and incapable of seeing anything but what was bad in another. We speak of him here because he will be found afterwards acting a melancholy part. At this period Vadian married a sister of Conrad's. The latter, who was studying at Paris, where his misconduct had rendered him incapable of walking, wished to be present at the wedding, and about the middle of June, suddenly appeared in the midst of the family. His poor father received this prodigal son with a gentle smile, his tender mother with tears, but parental fondness changed not his perverted heart. When his kind but unhappy mother, some time after this, had been at the gates of death,

¹ It is commonly these two sorts of persons that conspire against the truth, men of the world who can ill bear relinquishing their depraved manners and customs, and ecclesiastics who domineer in the Church, would have all things ordered in it according to their views, and cannot well brook opposition in that respect. The latter truly do not essentially differ from the men of the world, whose protection they seek and whose manners they approve, and are themselves fond of enjoying the pomps and pleasures of this life. Such is the origin of all religious persecution.—L. R. Not surely of *all*. The ascetic, whose troubled yet unenlightened conscience leads him studiously to renounce the society of the worldly, together with all, even the most innocent gratifications of this life, is often led to contemplate the freedom of the true Christian in this respect with a malignant spite, and to take revenge for his own self-inflicted misery by first envying and then persecuting Christ's freedmen. Tr.

Conrad wrote as follows to his brother-in-law, Vadian; "My mother is better again; she is anew mistress of the house; she sleeps and rises again; she grumbles and takes her breakfast; quarrels and dines; makes a racket and sups, and is constantly burdensome to us. She runs, cooks and re-cooks, sweeps away and heaps up again, toils and kills herself with fatigue, and will soon bring upon herself a relapse."¹ Such was the man who afterwards pretended to lord it over Zwingli, and who made himself famous as the leader of the fantastical anabaptists. Divine Providence may have permitted such characters to appear at the period of the Reformation, in order that their very disorders might place in bolder relief the wise, Christian, and regulated spirit of the Reformers.

Every thing now presaged that the conflict betwixt the Gospel and the popedom was about to commence. "Let us stir up the temporisers," wrote Hedio to Zurich, "war is begun: let us nerve our hearts! we shall have to engage the very worst of enemies."² Myconius wrote about the same time to Ulrich, but the latter replied to these warlike appeals with admirable mildness. "I would fain," said he, "that those obstinate men were rather gained over by benevolence and an honourable obsequiousness, than driven by an animated opposition."³ Let them call our doctrines, (which yet are not our doctrines) doctrines of the devil, there is nothing but what is natural in that, and I see in it grounds for believing that we are truly the ambassadors of God. The devils cannot hold their peace in the presence of Jesus Christ."

IX. While he had every wish to pursue mild methods, still Zwingli was not inactive. Since his illness his preaching had become more profound and more lively. Two thousand persons and upwards, at Zurich, received the Word of God into their hearts, confessed the doctrines of the Gospel, and could already announce these themselves.⁴

¹ Sie regiert das Haus, schläft, steht auf, zankt, frühstückt, keift. . . . (Simml. Samml. iv. Wirz, i. 76.)

² *Armemus pectora nostra! pugnandum erit contra teterrimos hostes.* (Zw. Epp. page 101.)

³ *Benevolentia honestoque obsequio potius allici, quam animosa oppugnatione trahi.* (Ibid. p. 103.) The grand difficulty lies in discovering this *honestum obsequium*. Tr.

⁴ *Non enim soli sumus: Tiguri plus duobus milibus permultorum est rationalium, qui lac jam spirituale sugentes.* . . . (Zw. Opp. p. 104.)

Zwingli had the same creed as Luther, but it was a more systematic creed. With Luther the predominant quality was warmth of feeling; with Zwingli it was clearness of exposition. In Luther's writings we find a profound personal appreciation of the value of Jesus Christ to himself; and this sentiment, full of warmth and life, is the soul of all that he says. We find the same thing doubtless in Zwingli, but in a less degree. He saw more of the general bearings of the Christian system; he admired it mainly because of the beauty that he beheld in it, the light that it shed on the human mind, and the eternal life that it brings into the world. The one is more the man of the heart, the other of the mind; and thus we can see how those who do not know from personal experience the faith that animated these two great disciples of the Lord, fall into one of the grossest errors, making the former a mystic and the latter a rationalist. The one is more pathetic perhaps in the exposition of his creed; the other, more philosophical; but both believe the same truths. They do not perhaps contemplate all secondary questions from the same point of view; but that faith which is one, that faith which quickens and justifies whoever possesses it, that faith which no confession and no doctrinal article can express, is to be found in both.¹ Zwingli's doctrines have been so often misrepresented, that it is proper to recall what he was then preaching to the people, crowds of whom were ever filling anew the cathedral at Zurich.

Zwingli beheld in the fall of the first man, the key to the history of human nature. "Before the fall," said he one day, "man was created with a free will, so that, had he pleased, he might have kept the law; his nature was pure; the disease of sin had not tainted him: he had his life in his hand. But desiring to be like God, he died . . . and not he only but all his posterity. All men died in Adam; no one can recall them to life, until the Spirit, that is, God himself, quickens them again from death."²

¹ It were to be wished that this remark of the author, with respect to Luther and Zwingli, were commonly taken to heart. It might unite hearts by the same faith which now misconceive or condemn each other, only in consequence of differences in point of natural character, and of their apprehending modes of faith more by the feelings or more by the intellect.—L. R.

² Quum ergo omnes hominum in Adamo mortui sunt . . . donec per Spiritum et gratiam Dei ad vitam quæ Deus est excitentur. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 203.)—

The people of Zurich while they listened with avidity to this mighty orator, after being saddened at the exhibition of the state of sin in which human nature is found, were made to hear tidings of joy, and instructed where to find the remedy which could recall man to life. "Christ, true God and true man," said the eloquent voice of the son of the herdsman of the Tockenburg, "has acquired for us a redemption which will never end. It is the eternal God who hath died for us: his sufferings, then, are eternal, and perpetually avail for salvation;¹ they ever propitiate the divine justice in favour of all who rest upon his sacrifice with a firm and immovable faith. Wherever sin exists," exclaimed the Reformer, "it is necessary that there should be death. Christ had no sin, neither was there any guile in his mouth; and yet he died! . . . Ah! to this death he submitted in our place! He desired to die in order that thus he might restore us to life; and as he had no sins of his own, the Father, who is rich in mercy, transferred our sins upon him."² "Since the will of man," the Christian orator further said, "placed itself in rebellion against God who is over all, it was necessary for the re-establishment of eternal order, and for the salvation of man, that the human will should submit itself in Christ to the divine will."³ He often repeated that it was for believers, for the people of God, that the expiatory death of Jesus Christ had taken place.^{4 5}

Souls that longed for salvation in the city of Zurich, found repose on hearing this good news; but men's minds were beset with old errors, which it was necessary should be destroyed.

These words, and others which we have quoted, or which we shall yet quote, are extracted from a writing published by Zwingli in 1523, and in which he collects into one body of divinity, what he had been preaching for several preceding years.—*Hic recensere cœpi*, says he himself, *quæ ex verbo Dei prædicavi*. (Zw. Opp. i. 228.) The words *ad vitam quæ Deus est* are either inaccurately printed in the above Note, or mistranslated in the text. Tr.

¹ *Deus enim æternus, quum sit qui pro nobis moritur, passionem ejus æternam et perpetuo salutarem esse oportet.* (Zw. Opp. i. p. 228.)

² *Mori voluit ut nos vitæ restitueret.* . . . (Ibid. p. 204.)

³ *Necesse fuit ut voluntas humana in Christo se divinæ submitteret.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Hostia est et victima, satisfaciens in æternum pro peccatis omnium fidelium.* (Ibid. p. 253.) *expurgata peccata multitudinis, hoc est fidelis populi.* (Ibid. p. 264.)

⁵ It will be seen from this leading proposition of Zwingli's doctrine given in his own words, both with respect to Adam's fall, and the redemption by Christ, how unfounded are the allegations of those who, in our times, would appeal to Zwingli as supporting their erroneous views in that respect. He taught no otherwise than Luther, and the whole Reformed Church from the beginning, have taught under that head.—L. R.

Starting from the grand truth of there being a salvation which is the gift of God, Zwingli powerfully remonstrated against the pretended merits of human works. "Since eternal salvation," he would say, "proceeds wholly from the death of Jesus Christ, the merit of our works is mere folly, not to say rashness and impiety.¹ Could we have been saved by our works, there would have been no necessity for the death of Jesus Christ. Whoever have at any time come to God, have come to him by the death of Jesus Christ.²

Zwingli saw the objections which this doctrine was raising among some of his hearers. People called on him, and urged these upon him, whereupon he went into the pulpit and said: "Persons, perhaps more curious than pious, object that this doctrine renders men thoughtless and dissolute. But what matters it what curious men may object or may fear? Whoever believes in Jesus Christ, is assured that all that comes from God is necessarily good. If then the Gospel be from God, it is good.³ And what other power shall prove capable of implanting innocence, truth, and love among men? . . . O God, most clement, most righteous! Father of mercies," he exclaimed in a burst of pious emotion, "with what love thou hast embraced us—even us thine enemies!⁴ . . . With what great and sure hopes hast thou filled us, we, who had nothing to look for but despair! and to what glory hast thou called our littleness and our nothingness in thy Son! . . . By such ineffable love, thou wouldest constrain us to render unto thee love for love!" . . .

Next, pursuing this idea, he shows that love to the Redeemer is a more powerful law than the commandments. "The Christian," he would say, "being freed from the law, depends entirely on Christ. Christ is his reason, his counsel, his righteousness and his whole salvation. Christ alone guides him, and he has no need of any other guide."⁵ And employing a comparison

¹ Sequitur meritum nostrorum operum, nihil esse quam vanitatem et stultitiam, ne dicam impietatem et ignorantem impudentiam. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 290.)

² Quotquot ad Deum venerunt unquam, per mortem Christi ad Deum venisse. (Ibid.)

³ Certus est quod quidquid ex Deo est, bonum sit. Si ergo Evangelium ex Deo, bonum est. (Ibid. p. 208.)

⁴ Quanta caritate nos fures et perduelles. . . . (Ibid. p. 207.)

⁵ Tum enim totus a Christo pendet. Christus est ei ratio, consilium, justitia, innocentia et tota salus. Christus in eo vivit, in eo agit. (Ibid. p. 233.)

adapted to the comprehension of his hearers, he added: "If a government prohibit, under pain of death, its citizens from receiving pensions and largesses at the hand of foreigners, how mild and easily obeyed is such a law to those who from love of their country and of liberty, should already be abstaining from conduct so culpable! But on the contrary how it torments, how it overwhelms those who think of nothing but their own selfish interests! Thus does the righteous man live ever joyfully in the love of righteousness, and the unrighteous man goes on, gnashing his teeth beneath the burden of the law that oppresses him."¹

The old cathedral at Zurich contained a good number of veteran soldiers who could perceive the truth involved in these words. Is not love the most potent of lawgivers? Is not instant effect given to all that it commands? Does not he whom we love dwell in our hearts, and does he not there himself perform all that he commands? Zwingli, accordingly, emboldening himself, affirmed to the people of Zurich that love to the Redeemer was of itself capable of effecting the doing by man, of things that are pleasing to God. "Works done out of Jesus Christ are not of any avail," said the Christian orator. "Since all things are done of him, in him, and by him, what can we pretend to arrogate to ourselves? Wherever there is faith in God, there God is; and where God is, there there is a zeal that presses and urges to good works.² Only take care that Christ be in thee, and that thou be in Christ, and then doubt not that he then operates. The Christian's life is but a continual operation by which God commences, continues, and completes good in man."³

Struck with the greatness of this love of God, which dates from eternity, the herald of grace gave yet louder utterance to his sentiments when he came to address himself to irresolute or fearful souls. "Would you be afraid," said he, "to approach this tender Father who hath chosen us? Wherefore hath he chosen us in his favour? Why hath he called us? Why hath he drawn us to him? is it because we dare not go to him?"⁴ . . .

¹ Bonus vir in amore justitiæ liber et lætus vivit. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 234.)

² Ubi Deus, illic cura et studium, ad opera bona urgens et impellens . . . (Zw. Opp. i. p. 213.)

³ Vita ergo pii hominis nihil aliud est, nisi perpetua quædam et indefessa boni operatio, quam Deus incipit, ducit et absolvit. . . . (Ibid. p. 295.)

⁴ Quum ergo Deus pater nos elegit ex gratia sua, traxitque et vocavit, cur eum accedere non auderemus? (Ibid. p. 287.)

Such were the doctrines of Zwingli;—they were those of Jesus Christ himself. “If Luther preaches Christ, he does what I do,” said the Zurich preacher; “those who have been conducted by him to Christ are more than those who have been led to him by me. But it matters not! I desire to bear no name but that of Christ, whose soldier I am, and who alone is my chief. Never has there been the single stroke of a letter written either by me to Luther, or by Luther to me. And wherefore, in order that it may be made clear to all that the Spirit of God is consistent with himself, since, without any collusion on our part, we teach with so much harmony, the doctrines of Jesus Christ.”¹

Thus did Zwingli preach with courage, and so as to carry his hearers along with him.² The vast cathedral could not contain the crowd that came to hear him; all men praising God that a new life had begun to re-animate the dead body of the Church. Switzers coming from all the cantons, whether to attend the Diet or from other motives, were affected with this new preaching, and carried its precious seeds back with them into all the Swiss valleys. A shout was sent up from the mountains and from the cities. “Switzerland,” wrote Nicolas Hageus, from Lucerne to Zurich, “Switzerland before now has given birth to Scipios, to Cæsars, and to Brutuses; but hardly has it produced one or two men who have known Jesus Christ, and who nourish men’s hearts, not with idle disputations, but with the Word of God. Now that divine Providence gives Switzerland Zwingli as a public speaker, and Myconius for a doctor, the virtues and sacred literature revive amongst us. O happy Helvetia! if thou couldst but repose at length from so many wars,³ and after having earned such a reputation by arms, couldst gain still a higher reputation for righteousness and peace!”—“It was said,” wrote Myconius to Zwingli, “that thy voice could not be heard three paces off. But I now see that that was not true, for all Switzerland now hears thee!”⁴—“Thou hast put on

¹ *Quam concors sit spiritus Dei dum nos tam procul dissiti, nihil colludentes tam concorditer Christi doctrinam docemus.* (Zw. Epp. i. p. 276.)

² *Quam fortis sis in Christo prædicando.* (Ibid. p. 160.)

³ *O Helvetiam longe felicior, si tandem liceat te a bellis conquiescere!* (Ibid. p. 128.)

⁴ *At video mendacium esse cum audiaris per totam Helvetiam.* (Ibid. p. 135.)

a dauntless courage," wrote Hedio to him from Basel; "I will follow thee to the utmost of my power!"¹—"I have heard thee," said to him from Constance Sebastian Hofmaster of Schaffhausen. "Ah! would to God that Zurich, which takes the lead in our happy confederation, were delivered from disease, and that health might thus return to the whole body!"²

But Zwingli had his adversaries as well as his admirers. "What would he be at," said some, "in occupying himself with the affairs of Switzerland?" "Why does he in his religious instructions," said others, "every time say over the same things?" Amid all these conflicts Zwingli's soul would often be oppressed with melancholy. All things would seem to him as running into confusion, and society appear to be in a whirl.³ He was possessed with the idea that nothing new can show its head without its contrary rising to confront it.⁴ No sooner did his heart conceive a hope than by its side there sprung up a fear. Ere long, however, he raised his head: "The life of man here below," he would say, "is a war; he who would earn glory ought to attack in the face of the world and, like David, make this proud Goliath, who seems so to vaunt his mighty stature, bite the dust. "The Church," he would say, like Luther, "sprang from blood, and by blood must she be restored."⁵ The more stains she has, the more Herculeases must we fit out for the cleansing of this Augæan stable.⁶ "I have few fears with regard to Luther," he would say, "even should he be smitten by the bolts of that Jupiter."⁷

Zwingli required some relaxation, and with this view he retired to the Baden waters. The parish priest there, once one of the pope's guard, a man of good character but absolute ignorance, had obtained that living while carrying a halbert. Whilst, true to a soldier's habits, he spent the day and a part of the night in jovial company, Stäheli, his curate, was indefatigable in the dis-

¹ Sequar te quoad potero. . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 134.)

² Ut capite felicitis patriæ nostræ e morbo erepto, sanitas tandem in reliqua membra reciperetur. (Ibid. p. 147.)

³ Omnia sursum deorsumque moventur. (Ibid. p. 142.)

⁴ Ut nihil proferre caput queat, ejus non contrarium e regione emergat. (Ibid.)

⁵ Ecclesiam puto ut sanguine parta est, ita sanguine instaurari. (Ibid. p. 143.)

⁶ Eo plures armabis Hercules qui finem tot hactenus boum efferant. (Ibid. p. 144.)

⁷ Etiamsi fulmine Jovis istius fulminetur. (Ibid.)

charge of all the duties of his station. Zwingli sent for the young minister, "I require Swiss assistants," said he to him; and from that moment Stäheli became his fellow-labourer. Zwingli, Stäheli, and Luti, afterwards pastor at Winterthour, resided under the same roof.¹

Zwingli's devotedness was not doomed to remain without recompence, and the Word of Christ preached thus energetically, behoved to bear fruit. Several of the magistrates were gained; in the Word of God they had found at once comfort and strength. Grieved to see the priests, and the monks in particular, having the effrontery to preach from the pulpit whatever came into their heads, the council passed a resolution by which they ordained them to advance nothing in their discourses "but what they had drawn from the sacred fountains of the Old and New Testaments."² It was in 1520 that the civil power thus, for the first time, intervened in the work of the Reformation; acting as a Christian magistracy, say some, since the magistrate's first duty is to uphold the divine Word, and to guard the most precious interests of the citizens; depriving the Church of her freedom, say others, making her the slave of the secular power, and giving the signal for that train of evils which have since been generated by the union of Church and state. We will pronounce no opinion here in this great controversy, so keenly maintained in several countries at the present time; enough that we indicate its origin at the commencement of the Reformation. ³

¹ Misc. Tig. ii. 679—696; Wirz. i. 79, 78.

² *Vetuit eos Senatus quicquam prædicare quod non ex sacrarum Literarum utriusque Testamenti fontibus hausissent.* (Zw. Opp. iii. 28.)

³ I apprehend that it is not difficult fundamentally to determine this controversy. What the author a little further on relates of the old man at Schaffhausen, who was persecuted and put to death by the magistracy, on account of his zeal for the Gospel, and of Myconius, who by the magistracy also was thwarted in his instructions at Lucerne, shows us how hurtful the intermeddling of the civil government with religion may prove. Supposing that it be permitted to interfere for the advantage of true religion, who can prevent its being often directed to the injury of the same, inasmuch as each considers his own religion to be the true. Let the civil government therefore permit every one in his own church to uphold and defend what he considers to be the truth, in such wise as he considers best; but merely see to it that no one inflict civil injuries on another, as happened in this case from the hatred of bitterly hostile monks. —J. R.

Very inadequate premises surely for so sweeping a conclusion. Besides, as both at Schaffhausen and Lucerne the magistracy but complied with the will of the people, shall we conclude with the atheist that because religion has so often made individuals, as well as corporate bodies, bigotted and persecuting, therefore the sooner all men become indifferent to it, the better! Be it remembered, also, that civil government without moral principles and religious sanctions resolves

But we have to point attention to another fact; the act of these magistrates was itself an effect wrought by the preaching of the Word of God. The Reformation then sprang in Switzerland from simple individualities, and thence entered into the domain of the nation. Originating in the heart of some priests, and some men of letters, it expanded, and grew up, and took its place in higher quarters. Like the waters of the sea, it rose and rose until an immense extent of ground was at length covered by it.

The monks were interdicted; they were commanded to preach nothing but the Word of God and that the greater number of them had not even read. Opposition provokes opposition. This public order became the signal for still more violent attacks against the Reformation. Plots began to be formed against the parish priest of Zurich, and his very life was in danger. One evening that Zwingli and his curates were quietly enjoying themselves at home, some of the burgesses arrived in great haste, to say: "Have you stout bolts for your doors? Be on your guard to night."—"We have often such alarms," adds Stäheli; "but we were well armed,¹ and people kept watch for us on the street."

itself into the mere despotism of one or many, and that if we are to debar it from being Christian, we necessarily compel it, if not founded on caprice, to be regulated by a moral and religious system, which, not being Christian, must be false. It is true that the adoption of a bad religion by a civil government is a far more serious evil than when individuals only err in that matter, these generally having less capacity for mischief. But as flagrancy of religious error in individuals is a great stimulus to the Christian to labour for their conversion, so does it seem to be the order of divine Providence, that the same vice in governments should stimulate Christian subjects to purify these from all anti-christian influence, and to render them the useful allies, not the oppressors, of the Church. Nor should the bad example presented by religious indifferentism in a government be forgotten.

The difficulty of having a really Christian government, I am aware, is much insisted on. But does not experience demonstrate that it is at least equally difficult to secure perfect toleration from governments that aljure any religious ascendancy? Is it not true that while Christianity will never make either government or people persecutors, but is in fact the true mother of all real toleration, indifferentism or political atheism will not save the followers of Jesus from persecution? Indeed Mr. le Roy's own country has of late years proved this. The old Protestant ascendancy of Holland was noted for its toleration of religious opinions, however opposed to those which itself professed. But after having abjured any such ascendancy, both the government and the mob of that country have of late years proved violent persecutors of men of the most inoffensive character, and whose sole crime was their zeal and sincerity in the profession of true Christianity. The subject of religious toleration, as a Christian virtue, not to be looked for in philosophical governments, has been admirably discussed by Mr. le Roy's illustrious countryman, Groen van Prinsterer. Tr.

¹ Wir waren aber gut gerüstet. (Misc. Tig. ii. 681; Wirz. i. 334.)

Recourse was had, notwithstanding, to other and still more violent methods. An old man belonging to Schaffhausen, called Galster, an upright person, and of an ardour rarely found at his time of life, rejoicing in the light that the Gospel had imparted to him, was endeavouring to communicate it to his wife and to his children; and with a zeal perhaps indiscreet, he openly attacked the relics, priests, and superstitions with which that canton was replenished. He soon became an object of hatred and of dread, even to his own family. Foreseeing that the darkest designs were formed against him, the old man left his house with a broken heart, and fled to the adjacent forests. There he lived for some days, sustaining nature on what he could find, when all at once on the last night of the year 1520, torches lighted up the forest in every direction, and the shouts of men, mingled with the baying of furious dogs, rang through the sombre shadows. The council had ordered a general beating up of the wood for the purpose of discovering him. The dogs tracked out their prey; the unhappy old man was dragged before a magistrate, and as he remained unshaken when summoned to adjure his faith, he was beheaded.

X. The year whose first day was marked by this bloody execution, had hardly commenced when Zwingli was apprised of the arrival at his house in Zurich, of a young man about eight and twenty, of a fine height, and whose appearance indicated candour, simplicity and shyness.¹ He said that his name was Berthold Haller: a name no sooner mentioned than Zwingli embraced the celebrated preacher of Berne with the affability that gave such a charm to his manners. Born at Aldingen in Wurtemberg,² Haller had studied first at Rotweil, under Rubellus; after that, at Pforzheim, where Simler was his master and Melancthon his fellow-student. The Bernese had by that time resolved to call literary men into their republic which had been rendered so powerful by arms, and Rubellus and Berthold, at the age of one and twenty, had repaired thither in answer to the call. Some time thereafter Haller was appointed prebend and subsequently cathedral preacher. The Gospel as preached by

¹ *Animi tui candorem simplicem et simplicitatem candidissimam, hac tua pusilla quidem epistola.* . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 186.)

² *Ita ipse in literis.* MSC. (J. J. Hott. iii. 54.)

Zwingli had reached as far as Berne; Haller received it, and forthwith was fain to see that powerful man whom he now respected as a father. He proceeded to Zurich, where Myconius had given notice of his coming. Thus met Haller and Zwingli. Haller, a man remarkable for softness, made Zwingli the confident of his difficulties, and Zwingli, the strong man, inspired him with courage. "My spirit," said Berthold to Zwingli one day, "is overwhelmed; . . . I cannot bear up under so many acts of injustice. I would fain quit the pulpit, retire to Basel, and join Wittembach there, with the view of concentrating my whole attention on sacred literature."—"Ah," replied Zwingli, "I too feel discouragement overpowering me when I see myself unjustly traduced; but Christ arouses my conscience with those strong spurs, his terrors and his promises. He alarms me by saying: *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me before men, of him also shall I be ashamed before my Father*; and he restores peace to me by adding: *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him also will I confess before my Father*. O my dear Berthold, rejoice! Our names are written indelibly in the records of the citizens above.¹ I am ready to die for Christ.² Let your ferocious bear's cubs," he added, "hear the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and you will see them become tame.³ But this task must be undertaken with great gentleness, lest they turn again and rend you." Haller regained his courage. "My soul," said he to Zwingli, "has awoke from its dream. I must preach the Gospel. Jesus Christ must be re-established within those walls from which he has so long been an exile."⁴ Thus Berthold's torch was lighted at that of Ulrich, and the timid Haller threw himself amid the ferocious bears which, says Zwingli, gnashed their teeth, and fain would have devoured him.

It was elsewhere, however, that persecution was destined to commence in Switzerland; it was the war-enamoured Lucerne, that presented herself, like an adversary armed from head to heel, and with lance in rest. The military spirit prevailed in

¹ Scripta tamen habeatur in fastis supernorum civium. (Zw. Epp. p. 186.)

² Ut mori pro Christo non usque adeo detrectem apud me. (Ibid. 187.)

³ Ut ursi tui ferociusculi, audita Christi doctrina, mansuescere incipiant. (ibid.) Berne, it will be recollected, has a bear in its coat of arms.

⁴ Donec Christum cucullætis nugis longe a nobis exulem. . . . pro virili restituerim. . . . (Ibid. 187.)

that canton; it particularly liked the contracts for supplying troops, called capitulations; and the leading men of the town knit their brows on hearing words of peace fitted to bridle in their passion for war. Meanwhile, part of Luther's writings having found their way into the city, some of the inhabitants began to read them and were seized with horror. To them the lines seemed to have been traced by some infernal hand; their imaginations were frightened; their powers of vision became disordered; they fancied that their apartments swarmed with demons that stared at them with a sarcastic leer.¹ They hastily shut the book, and threw it from them with terror.² Oswald having been told of these singular visions, spoke of Luther to none but his most intimate friends, and confined himself to the simple announcement of the Gospel of Christ. Nevertheless, all over the town the cry was raised: "Luther and the schoolmaster (Myconius) must be burnt!"³ — "I am assailed by my adversaries," said Oswald to a friend of his, "as a ship is beaten about by gales at sea."⁴ One day, in the beginning of 1520, he was summoned unexpectedly, to appear before the council. "You are enjoined," he was told, "not to read Luther's writings to your pupils, not to mention him in their presence, and not even to allow him to enter your thoughts."⁵ It will be perceived that their Lucerne lordships pretended to a pretty extensive jurisdiction. Soon after, a preacher declaimed against heresy from the pulpit; the whole congregation was thrown into commotion; all eyes turned to Oswald, for who else could it be that the preacher could have in view? Oswald sat unmoved, as if he had nothing to do with the matter. But as the people left the Church, while he was walking with his friend, the prebend Xyloteet, one of the councillors passed close to them and, still under the excitement produced by the sermon, said to him fiercely: "Well now, disciples of Luther, why don't you defend

¹ Dum Lutherum semel legerint, ut putarent stubellam suam plenam esse dæmonibus. . . (Zw. Epp. 137.)

² It was superstition, therefore, that made some possibly honest hearts recoil from Luther's writings. And may it not be so at the present day with some honest-hearted Catholics, whom we thus have cause rather to pity than to regard with disrespect?—L. R.

³ Clamatur hic per totam civitatem: Lutherum comburendum et ludi-magistrum. (Zw. Epp. 153.)

⁴ Non aliter me impellunt quam procellæ marinæ navem aliquam. (Ibid. 159.)

⁵ Imo ne in mentem eum admitterem. (Ibid.)

your master?" They made no reply. "I live," said Myconius, "among savage wolves, but I have this consolation that most of them want teeth. They would bite if they could; unable to do that, they howl."

The tumult among the people continuing to increase, the Senate was convened. "He is a Lutheran," said one of the councillors; "he is a promulgator of new doctrines," said another; "he is a seducer of youth," said a third.—"Let him appear, let him appear!" The poor schoolmaster appeared, only to have to listen anew to prohibitions and threats. His simple soul was chilled and cast down, and his gentle wife could give him no better comfort than was to be found in her sobs and tears. "All are against me," he exclaimed in his anguish. "Battered by so many tempests, whither can I turn, and how can I escape? . . . But for Christ helping me, I should long since have sunk under such repeated blows."¹ . . . — "Of what consequence is it," wrote to him Dr. Sebastian Hofmaster, of Constance, "whether Lucerne would retain you or not? The earth is the Lord's. Every country is a home to the brave. Though we ourselves were the worst of men, our undertaking is just, for we teach the Word of Christ."²

While the truth was encountering so many obstacles at

¹ Si Christus non esset, jam olim defecissem. (Zw. Epp. 160.)

² This self-evident truth is too much forgotten at the present day when the Reformation is so often judged, not on its own merits, as a protest on Scriptural principles, against all anti-Scriptural doctrines and practices, but by the merits or demerits of the early Reformers. An attempt to invalidate St. Peter's epistles, though admitted to be of divine authority, by referring to that apostle having denied his Lord, or to impugn the Baconian philosophy by insisting on the moral weakness of Bacon's character, were equally absurd. Indeed the studious industry with which real blemishes in the characters of men like Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Knox, Cranmer, &c. are at this day cherished, exaggerated, exposed, and added to by apocryphal slanders, may be regarded as very substantial evidence that the enemies of the Reformation feel themselves sorely at a loss to find sound arguments wherewith to assail it. This species of warfare is the more despicable, as the Reformers never pretended to teach an iota of doctrine on their own authority, and were so far from endeavouring to palm any doctrines upon Christendom that could not abide the test of holy Scripture, that the study of the Old and New Testaments in the original tongues, and the multiplication of versions in the vernacular dialects, formed on the principle of giving the true meaning of the original, was, next to the direct preaching of the Gospel, their greatest care. The slanders, indeed, of infidels and papists, have served one good purpose, by calling forth the zeal of the friends of the Reformation in defence of its maligned chiefs, they have proved that although its principles could not make men perfect, they formed many a pure and noble character, and immensely advanced the morals and happiness of the nations in so far as they embraced them. Tr.

Lucerne, it was victorious at Zurich. Zwingli laboured without intermission. Desiring to have the entire body of sacred Scripture as a subject of meditation in the original tongues, he assiduously devoted himself to the study of Hebrew, under the direction of John Boschenstein, a pupil of Reuchlin's. But if he studied Scripture it was with a view to preaching it. The peasantry who crowded to the town on Fridays with provisions for the public market, showed themselves eager to hear the Word of God. This feeling Zwingli was resolved to meet, and accordingly from the month of December 1520, he began to expound the Psalms each Friday, preparing himself beforehand on the text he was to handle. The Reformers ever united learned studies with practical labours, these labours being the end to which their studies were merely the means.¹ They were at once men of the closet and men of the people, and such an union of learning and of love, forms one of the characteristic features of those times. As for his Sabbath ministrations, after having expounded the life of our Lord according to St. Matthew, Zwingli, in an exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, proceeded to show how the doctrines of Christ began to be diffused. He next expounded the rules of Christian living according to the epistles to Timothy; in combatting doctrinal errors he availed himself of the epistle to the Galatians, and to that he joined the two epistles of St. Peter, in order that he might demonstrate to the despisers of St. Paul that one spirit animated those two apostles; he concluded his course with the epistle to the Hebrews, in order to show, in their entire extent, the benefits that flow from the gift of Jesus Christ, the Christian's high-priest.

Nor was it only with adults that Zwingli concerned himself; he endeavoured to communicate to the young a sacred fire which might enkindle their souls. One day, in 1521, while he was engaged in his study, perusing the fathers of the Church, collecting the most remarkable passages he could find in them, and carefully arranging these in a large volume, a young man

¹ Just so ought it to be: and it is perhaps the greatest defect of our times, that these two things are too much kept apart, and that some impute too much worth to the feelings, and others too much to the understanding alone.—
L. R.



JAMES H. HARRIS

Author of "The Life of James H. Harris"

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entered, whose countenance warmly interested him.¹ This was Henry Bullinger, who, on his way from Germany, had come to see him, having felt impatient to become acquainted with that doctor of his own country whose name had now become celebrated throughout Christendom. The good-looking young man fixed his eyes alternately on the Reformer and his books; in these there was a sort of call for him to go and do likewise. Zwingli welcomed him with that cordial warmth which gained him all hearts, and this first visit exerted a great influence on the future life of the student upon his return to his father's house. Another young man, also, had made a conquest of his heart; this was Gerard Meyer of Knonau. His mother, Anna Reinhard, who afterwards occupied an important place in the life of Zwingli, had been a singularly beautiful person, and was still more distinguished by her virtues. John Meyer of Knonau, a youth of noble family, who had been brought up at the court of his relation, the bishop of Constance, had conceived a violent passion for Anna; but she belonged to a burgess family. Old Meyer of Knonau refused his consent to their being united, and on their marrying, disinherited his son. In 1513, Anna was left a widow with a son and two daughters, and from that time devoted herself without reserve to the education of her poor orphans. The grandfather continued unrelenting. One day, however, the widow's servant-maid having gone out with young Gerold, then a charming and spirited boy about three years old, and happening to stop with him at the fish-market, old Meyer, who chanced to be at a window,² noticed him, watched his movements, and asked to whom that lovely child, beaming with such life and freshness, belonged. "It is your own son's," was the reply. The old man's heart was touched, his icy coldness began to melt; all was forgotten, and he threw his arms around his son's wife and children. Zwingli became attached, with all the warmth of a father's affection to the young, noble, and courageous

¹ Ich hab by Im ein gross Buch gesehen, *Locorum communium*, Als ich by Ihm wass, A^o. 1521, dorinnen er *Sententias* und *dogmata Patrum*, flyssig Jedes an seinem ort verzeichnet. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Lügert dess Kindts grossvater zum fänster uss, und ersach das kind in der fischerbränten (Kufe), so fräch (frisch) und frölich sitzen . . . (Archives of the Meyers of Knonau, quoted in a notice upon *Anna Reinhardt*, Erlangen 1835, by Mr. Gerold Meyer of Knonau.) To the complaisance of that friend I am indebted for some investigations on obscure points in the life of Zwingli.

Gerold, who was doomed to die in the flower of his age, near the Reformer, sword in hand, and surrounded, alas! by the dead bodies of his enemies. Thinking that Gerold might not find sufficient resources for his studies at Zurich, Zwingli sent him, in 1521, to Basel.

The young Knonau did not meet Zwingli's friend, Hedio, there; Capito, who had been obliged to accompany archbishop Albert to the coronation of Charles V., having made himself be replaced by Hedio. Thus had Basel lost, one after another, its most faithful preachers; that church seemed to be forsaken, but other men appeared. Four thousand hearers pressed into the church of William Roubli, priest of St. Alban's. He attacked the mass, purgatory, and the invocation of saints; but was a person of turbulent character, liked to draw public attention to himself, and rather declaimed against errors than in favour of the truth. On Corpus Christi day, he joined the grand procession, and in place of the relics that were usually promenaded on that occasion, he made a copy of the holy Scriptures, magnificently bound, to be carried before him, with these words in large characters: "THE BIBLE: here is the true relic; the others are but dead men's bones." Now, courage adorns a servant of God, but affectation does the reverse, and it is the business of an evangelist to preach the Bible, not to make a vain-glorious display of it. The priests were angry, and accused Roubli before the council—a proceeding which was followed immediately by a crowd collecting at the cordelier's place. "Protect our preacher," said the burgesses to the council. Fifty ladies of distinction interceded in his favour; but Roubli had to leave Basel. Like Grebel he afterwards tarnished himself with the disorders of the anabaptists. In proportion as it developed itself, the Reformation everywhere rejected the chaff that was mingled with the good grain.

Then it was that from the most modest of chapels, a humble voice might be heard clearly announcing the doctrines of the Gospel; it was the voice of young Wolfgang Wissemburger, son of a councillor of state, and chaplain to the hospital. All who in Basel felt new wants, attached themselves to the meek chaplain more than even to the haughty Roubli. Wolfgang began to read the service of the mass in German; the monks renewed

their clamours, but this time they failed to succeed, and Wissemburger could continue to preach the Gospel; "for," says an old chronicler, "he was a burgess, and his father a councillor."¹ These first successes of the Reformation at Basel, were the harbingers of still greater, and were at the same time highly important in forwarding the work throughout the confederation. Zurich did not stand alone. The learned Basel began to be charmed with listening to the new preaching; the ground work of the new temple was enlarged; the Reformation attained a wider expansion in Switzerland.

Meanwhile the central movement remained at Zurich. Important political movements, however, to Zwingli's bitter distress, occurred in the course of the year 1521, and so far drew off people's minds from the preaching of the Gospel. After offering his alliance simultaneously to Charles V. and Francis I., Leo X. decided at length in favour of the emperor. War between the two rivals was about to burst forth in Italy. "The pope will have nothing left him but his ears,"² was the remark of the French general Lautrec—an ill-natured jest which still farther augmented the pontiff's wrath. The king of France called for aid from the Swiss cantons which, with the exception of Zurich, had become his allies, and this aid he obtained. The pope flattered himself that he might engage Zurich to espouse his cause, and the cardinal of Sion, ever intriguing, and ever confident in his abilities and his eloquence, hastened to that city for the purpose of obtaining soldiers for his master. But he experienced a vigorous opposition from his old friend Zwingli, who was indignant at the thought of the Swiss selling their blood to strangers, and already fancied that he saw on the plains of Italy, the swords of the men of Zurich under the standards of the pope and the emperor, crossing those of the confederates ranged beneath the banners of France. At such fratricidal scenes his patriot and christian soul shuddered with horror. He thundered from the pulpit: "Would you rend and overthrow

¹ Dieweil er ein Burger war und sein Vater des Raths. (Fridolin Ryff's Chronik.)

² Disse che M. di Lutrech et M. de l'Escu havia ditto che'l volera che le recchia del papa fusse la major parte retasse di la so persona. (Gradenigo, Venet. ambass. at Rome, MSC. 1523.)

the confederation?"¹ . . . People hunt down wolves for devouring the dumb animals that compose our herds and flocks, and yet no resistance is made to those who prowl around us with the view of devouring men! . . . Ah! it is not without reason that their mantles and their hats are red; shake those garments, and ducats and crowns will fall from them: but wring them, and there will be seen streaming from them the blood of your brother, of your father, of your son, and of your best friend."² . . . But in vain did Zwingli make his vigorous voice be heard. The red-hatted cardinal carried his point; and two thousand seven hundred Zurichers went off under the command of George Berguer. Zwingli felt crushed to the soul. His influence, however, was not departed; and for a long period thereafter the banners of Zurich ceased to be unfurled, and to go out from the city gates for the accommodation of foreign princes.

XI. Chilled in his feelings as a citizen, Zwingli now devoted himself with fresh zeal to the preaching of the Gospel, and in this task he engaged with an ever-growing energy. "Never will I cease," said he, "to labour for the restoration of the ancient unity of the Church of Christ."³ He began the year 1522 with showing the difference that there was between the precepts of the Gospel and the precepts of men. On the arrival of Lent, he still more forcibly expressed his sentiments. After laying the foundation of the new edifice, he wished to clear away the rubbish of the old. "For four years," said he to the crowd collected in the cathedral, "you have received the holy doctrines of the Gospel with a burning thirst. Fired with the flames of charity, replenished with the sweets of the heavenly manna, it is impossible for you to relish any longer the miserable aliment furnished by human traditions."⁴ Then, attacking compulsory abstinence from certain meats at stated seasons: "There are those," he exclaimed with his rude eloquence, "who pretend that

¹ Sagt wie es ein fromme Eidtnosschafft zertrennen und umbkehren würde. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Sie tragen billig rothe hüt und mäntel, dan schüte man sie, so fallen Cronen und Duggaten heraus, winde man sie, so rünt deines Bruders, Vaters, Sohns und guten Freunds Blut heraus. (Ibid.)

³ Ego veterem Christi unitatem instaurare non desinam. (Zw. Opp. iii. 47.)

⁴ Gustum non aliquis humanarum traditionum cibus vobis arridere potuerit. (Ibid. i. 2.)

to eat flesh is wrong, and even a great sin, notwithstanding that God has never forbidden it, and who yet consider it as no crime to sell human flesh to the foreigner, and to drag it to the slaughter house!"¹ . . . At these bold words those friends of military capitulations who were present, started with indignation and anger, and swore that they would not forget what they had heard.²

Yet, while he preached thus forcibly, Zwingli continued to say mass, observed the established usages of the Church, and even abstained from flesh on the appointed days. He was convinced that it was his first duty to enlighten the people. But certain turbulent spirits did not act with this prudence, and Roubli, who had fled to Zurich, allowed himself to run into the extravagancies of an excessive zeal. The former priest of St. Albans, a Bernese captain, and a member of the great council, Conrad Huber, often met at the house of the last of the three, to eat flesh on Fridays and Saturdays, and gloried in so doing. The question of keeping meagre days or not, engaged all men's minds. A person from Lucerne having come to Zurich: "You here, our dear Zurich confederates," said he to one of his friends in that town, "you do wrong in eating flesh during Lent."—The Zurichers:—"You take no less liberty however, you Lucerne gentlemen, to eat it on forbidden days." The Lucerner:—"We have bought it from the pope." The Zurichers:—"And we from the butcher. . . . If money be the question in this matter, both come to the same thing."³ On having complaints preferred against those who transgressed ecclesiastical ordinances, the council sought the advice of the parish priest. Zwingli replied that the action of eating flesh all days indifferently, was not blamable in itself, but that it ought to be abstained from, until the competent

¹ Aber menschen fleisch verkoufen und zo Tod schlagen. (Zw. Opp. ii. second part, p. 301.)

² Thus does it usually happen. As long as ecclesiastics confine themselves in their controversies to the affairs of religion, the men of this world listen with indifference, and think it not worth the while to pay any attention. But if in addition to this, their depraved and corrupted morals, customs, and conduct be attacked, then their resentment is provoked, and they take a side against those who durst show any such boldness; and as these are the very persons whose views of the truths of religion are the soundest, we can see how it happens that the latter class of religionists stir up against themselves and have to experience the hatred of the world, however indifferent it may otherwise be with respect to the truth.—L. R.

³ So haben wir's von dem Metzger erkaufft. . . . (Bullinger, MSC.)

authority shall have decided in the case ; an opinion to which the other members of the clergy gave their adhesion.

This was too fortunate a circumstance for the enemies of truth not to profit by. Their influence was escaping from them ; victory remained on Zwingli's side ; they saw that it was necessary to take strong measures. They assailed the bishop of Constance. "Zwingli," said they, "is the ravager of the flock, not its pastor."¹

The ambitious Faber, Zwingli's former friend, had now returned surcharged with zeal for the popedom, from a journey he had made to Rome. The first troubles of Switzerland behoved to issue from the inspirations of that haughty city, and a decisive struggle between the truths of the Gospel and the partisans of the Roman pontiff, was now inevitable. It is chiefly from the attacks that are made upon it that the truth derives its energies ; it was beneath the shadow of opposition and persecution that Christianity in its early days acquired the might that overthrew all its enemies. At the epoch of that revival whose history we are now relating, God desired to guide his truth through such arduous paths. Then, as in the apostolic times, the priests rose to put down the new doctrine, and without such assaults, it might possibly have remained obscurely seated in some faithful souls. But God took care that it should be manifested to the people at large. Opposition opened up new means of entrance, launched it into a new career, and brought the nation's eyes to bear upon it. It was like the windy blast dispersing far and wide those seeds which, but for it, might have lain inert in the place where they were first deposited. The tree which was to provide a shade for the Helvetic races, though firmly planted in the bosom of their valleys, required storms to strengthen its roots and to expand its boughs. Perceiving the fire that was now smouldering in Zurich, the partisans of the popedom threw themselves upon it with the view of extinguishing it, but they only spread its flames into new and remote quarters.

In the afternoon of 7th April 1522, three clergymen were seen entering the walls of Zurich, deputed thither by the bishop of Constance. Two of the three bore a grave and fretful expres-

¹ *Ovilis dominici populator esse, non custos aut pastor.* . . (Bullinger, MSC.)

sion; the third had a milder look; they consisted of the bishop's coadjutor, Melchior Battli, doctor Brendi, and John Vanner, cathedral preacher, an evangelical man, and who held his peace during the whole affair.¹ Night had now come on, when Luti ran to Zwingli's house and said to him: "The bishop's officers have arrived; a great blow is about to be struck; all the abettors of the old customs are in movement. A notary is intimating to all the priests that they are to meet to-morrow morning at an early hour, in the chapter hall."

This meeting of the clergy being convened in fact next morning, the coadjutor rose and pronounced a discourse which his adversaries considered replete with violence and pride;² however he affected not to mention Zwingli's name. Some priests who had been lately gained over to the Gospel and were still weak, felt annihilated; their pale faces, their silence, and their sighs, showed that their courage was gone.³ Zwingli rose and delivered a discourse which shut the mouths of his adversaries. At Zurich, as in other cantons, the most violent enemies of the new doctrines were to be found in the little council. Defeated in their appeal to the clergy, the deputation carried their complaints to the magistrates, and there, as Zwingli was absent, they had no reply to dread. The result apparently was decisive. The Gospel and its defender were about to be condemned without a hearing. Never was the Reformation in Switzerland placed in such jeopardy; it was on the eve of being smothered in its cradle. Zwingli's friends among the councillors then appealed to the jurisdiction of the great council; this was their sole remaining plank of safety, and God made it available for saving the cause of the Gospel. The Two-hundred were convened. The partisans of the popedom did their utmost to prevent Zwingli from being admitted, Zwingli meanwhile doing his utmost to secure his appearing there. He knocked at every door, and turned every

¹ Zw. Opp. iii. p. 8.—J. J. Hottinger, (iii. 77.) Ruchat, (i. 134. 2d edit.) and others say that the deputation had Faber at its head. Zwingli names the three deputies, and makes no mention of Faber. These authors have doubtless confounded two different offices of the Roman hierarchy—that of coadjutor, and that of vicar-general.

² *Erat tota oratio vehemens et stomachi supercilique plena.* (Ibid. 8.)

³ *Infirmos quosdam nuper Christo lucrifectos sacerdotes offensos ea sentirem ex tacitis palloribus ac suspiriis.* (Ibid. p. 9.)

stone,¹ he said, but all in vain! . . . "The thing is impossible," said the burgomasters; "the council has determined otherwise."—"Thereupon," Zwingli tells us, "I remained quiet, and laid the case with many sighs before him who hears the groaning of the prisoners, beseeching him to defend his Gospel himself."² Never has the patient and submissive waiting of the servants of God, disappointed their expectations.

The Two-hundred met on the 9th of April. "We wish to have our pastors here," was immediately said by such of the members as were friendly to the Reformation. The little council resisted; but the grand council decreed that the pastors should be present at the accusation, and should even reply, did they think fit. The deputies from Constance were first introduced and then the three Zurich priests, Zwingli, Engelhard, and old Roeschli.

After the opponents, when thus brought together, had for some time eyed each other, the coadjutor arose. "Had but his heart and head been equal to his voice," says Zwingli, "in sweetness he would have surpassed Apollo and Orpheus, and, in force, the Gracchi and Demosthenes."

—"The civil constitution," said the champion of the pope-dom, "and the faith itself are threatened. Men have appeared, who teach doctrines at once new, shocking and seditious." Then, after many words, fixing his eyes on the senate before him: "Abide with the Church," said he, "abide in the Church! Beyond it none can be saved. The ceremonies alone can conduct the simple to the knowledge of salvation,³ and the pastors of flocks have only to explain the meaning of these to the people."

No sooner had the coadjutor finished his discourse, than he rose, and was about to leave the council chamber with his followers, when Zwingli warmly said to him: "Mr. Coadjutor, and you who accompany him, stay, I pray you, until you have heard me justify myself."

THE COADJUTOR. "We are not commissioned to dispute with any person whomsoever."

¹ Frustra diu movi omnem lapidem. (Zw. Opp. iii. p. 9.)

² Ibi ego quiescere ac suspiriis rem agere cœpi apud Eum qui audit gemitum compeditorum. (Ibid.)

³ Unicas esse per quas simplices Christiani ad agnitionem salutis inducerentur. (Ibid. p. 10.)

ZWINGLI. "My wish is not to dispute, but fearlessly to explain to you what up to this hour I have been teaching."

THE BURGOMASTER ROUST, to the deputies from Constance:—"I pray you, hear what the parish priest has to say."

THE COADJUTOR:—"I too well know the man that I have to do with. Ulrich Zwingli is too violent for a man to dispute with him!"

ZWINGLI:—"When was there ever innocent man attacked with so much force, and then refused a hearing? In the name of the faith that is common to us, in the name of the baptism which we have both received, in the name of Christ, the author of salvation and of life, listen to me.¹ If you cannot do so as deputies, do it at least as Christians."

After having fired off a discharge into the air, Rome hastily retreated from the field of battle. The Reformer asked only to be allowed to speak, and the agents of the popedom thought only of flight. A cause pleaded thus was already gained on the one side, and lost on the other. The Two-hundred could no longer restrain their indignation; murmurs broke out at the meeting;² the burgomaster urged the deputies anew. Abashed and disconcerted, they returned to their places, whereupon Zwingli spoke thus:

"Mr Coadjutor speaks of doctrines that are seditious and subversive of the laws of the state. Let him know that Zurich is more tranquil and submissive to the laws than any other city of the Helvetians, a result which all good citizens attribute to the Gospel. Is not Christianity the strongest bulwark for the maintenance of justice in the midst of a people?³ What do all the ceremonies do but shamefully daub the visage of Christ and of Christians?⁴ Yes, there is another way besides those vain practices for conducting the simple people to the knowledge of the truth. It is that which was followed by Christ and his apostles; it is the Gospel itself! Fear not that the people may not comprehend it! Whosoever believes, comprehends. The

¹ Ob communem fidem, ob communem baptismum, ob Christum vitæ salutis-que auctorem. (Zw. Opp. iii. p. 11.)

² Cœpit murmur audiri civium indignantium. (Ibid.)

³ Imo Christianismus ad communem justitiam servandam esse potentissimum. (Ibid. 13.)

⁴ Cerebras haud quicquam aliud agere, quam et Christo et ejus fidelium os oblinere. (Ibid.)

people can believe, they can therefore comprehend. Here the work is that of the divine Spirit; not that of human reason.¹ As for the rest, let him who thinks forty days not enough, fast, if he pleases, all the year round; to me it is of little consequence! All that I request is that no one be constrained to do so, and that for an observance of the pettiest description the Zurichers be not accused of seceding from the communion of Christians." . . .

"I did not say that," exclaimed the coadjutor.—"No," said his colleague, Dr. Brendi, "he said not so." But the whole senate confirmed Zwingli's assertion.

"Excellent citizens." the latter went on to say, "let not this accusation discompose you! The foundation of the Church is that rock, that Christ, who gave Peter his name, because of his faithfully confessing him. In every nation whosoever believes from the heart in the Lord Jesus, is saved. It is beyond this Church that none can be saved.² To explain the Gospel and to follow it, such is the whole duty of us ministers of Christ. Let those who live by ceremonies charge themselves with the explanation of them!" This was putting the finger upon the sore.

The coadjutor blushed and held his peace. The Two-hundred separated, and that same day passed a resolution that the pope and the cardinals should be invited to explain the point in dispute, and that meanwhile flesh should be abstained from during Lent! This was to leave matters as they were, and to reply to the bishop by gaining time.

This contest forwarded the work of the Reformation. The champions of Rome and those of the new doctrines had met face to face, as it were in presence of the whole people, and the former had failed to gain the day. It was the first engagement in a campaign which behoved to be long and rude, and to be marked by many alternations of grief and joy. But a first victory, at the opening of a struggle, encourages a whole army, and spreads alarm amid the enemy. The Reformation had now gained ground which it was not again to lose, and though the council might have considered itself obliged to maintain some reserve, the people loudly proclaimed the defeat of Rome.

¹ Quicquid hic igitur divino fit afflatu, non humano ratiocinio. (Zw. Opp. iii.)

² Extra illam neminem salvavi. (Ibid. 15.)

“Never,” it was said under the excited feelings of the moment, “never can they again bring together their beaten and dispersed troops.”¹ Zwingli was told that he had “with the spirit of St. Paul attacked those false apostles and their Ananias, those whited walls. . . . The satellites of antichrist can now do no more than gnash their teeth against you!” Voices from the centre of Germany loudly proclaimed “the glory of the renascent theology.”²

But the foes of the Gospel were at the same time re-assembling their forces. There was no time to be lost if they wished to reach a blow at it, for it might soon be expected to be beyond their reach. Hoffman handed in to the chapter a long accusation against the Reformer. “Granting,” said he, “that the parish priest could bring witnesses to prove what sins and what disorders have been committed by the ecclesiastics in such a monastery, such a street, such a tippling house, still he ought not to mention names! Wherefore does he give people to understand (it is true, I have hardly ever heard him myself) that he alone derives his doctrines from the spring itself, and that the rest go for theirs only to sinks and puddles.³ Is it not impossible, looking to the diversity of spirits, that all preachers should preach alike?”

Zwingli justified himself, in full chapter, dispersing his opponent’s accusations, “as a bull with its horns would toss chaff into the air,”⁴ and this apparently serious matter ended with laughter at the prebend’s expense. But Zwingli did not stop there; on the 16th of April, he published a work *on the free use of meats*.⁵

XII. This immovable firmness on the part of the Reformer gladdened the friends of the truth, and particularly the evangelical Christians of Germany whom Luther’s imprisonment in the Wartburg, had so long deprived of that powerful apostle, the first that had raised his head in the midst of the Church. Already had pastors and others of the faithful, who had fled in consequence of the pitiless decree obtained from Charles V. by the popedom at Worms, found an asylum in Zurich. “Oh! how I

¹ Ut vulgo jactatum sit, nunquam ultra copias sarturos. (Zw. Epp. 203.)

² Vale renascentis Theologiæ decus. (Letter of Urban Regius. Ibid. 205.)

³ Die andern aber aus Rinnen und Pfützen. (Simml. Samml. Wirz. i. 244.)

⁴ Ut cornu vehemens taurus aristas. (Zw. Epp. p. 203.)

⁵ De delectu et libero ciborum usu. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 1.)

rejoice," wrote to Zwingli, Nesse, the Frankfort professor whom Luther visited when on his way to Worms, "to learn with what authority you preach Jesus Christ! Do you confirm, by your exhortations, those who by the cruelty of bad bishops have been removed from us in distress."¹

But it was not in Germany alone that the adversaries plotted the worst designs against the friends of the Reformation. Not an hour passed at Zurich in which the means of disembarassing themselves of Zwingli, were not talked over.² He one day received an anonymous letter, which he immediately communicated to his curates. It told him "snares are surrounding you on all sides; a mortal poison is prepared to take away your life.³ Eat no where but at home, and bread made by your own cook. The walls of Zurich contain men who are planning your destruction. The oracle that has revealed this to me, is truer than that of Delphos. I am thine. You will recognise me afterwards."⁴

The day following that of Zwingli's receiving this mysterious epistle, just as Stäheli was entering the Water church, a chaplain stopt him and said: "leave Zwingli's house with all expedition; a catastrophe is preparing." Desperate characters, seeing no prospect of the Reformation being arrested by argument, armed themselves with the dagger. When mighty revolutions take place in society, assassins are commonly thrown up from the impure dregs of the fermenting populace.

While cut-throats were thus witnessing the failure of their machinations, the legitimate organs of the popedom were exerting themselves anew. The bishop and his councillors resolved to begin the war afresh, and reports to that effect poured upon Zwingli from all quarters. It was then that, reposing on the Word of God, the Reformer said with a noble scorn: "I dread them. . . as the rock-bound shore dreads the threatening billows. . . .—*σὺν τῷ Θεῷ*—with God!" he added.⁵ On the 2d of May the bishop of Constance published a charge in which, without naming either Zurich or Zwingli, he complained

¹ Et ut iis, qui ob malorum episcoporum sævitiam a nobis submoventur, prodesse velis. (Zw. Epp. p. 208.)

² Nulla præterierat hora, in quâ non fierent. . . . consultationes insidiosissimæ. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

³ *Ἐτοιμα φαρμακα λυκρᾶ.* (Zw. Epp. 199.)

⁴ *Σὺς ἰμὶ;* agnosces me postea. (Ibid.)

⁵ Quos ita metuo, ut litus altum fluctuum undas minacium. (Ibid. 203.)

that cunning men were reviving doctrines that had been condemned, and that the most awful mysteries were everywhere made subjects of disputation by both the learned and the ignorant. The first person attacked was John Wanner, cathedral preacher at Constance. "I should prefer," said he, "to be a Christian at the cost of having many to hate me, than forsake Christ for the friendship of the world."¹

But it was at Zurich that heresy was to be crushed at its birth. Faber and the bishop were aware that Zwingli had several enemies among the prebends, and this antipathy they wished to turn to account. About the close of May, there came to Zurich a letter from the bishop, addressed to the provost and his chapter. "Sons of the church," said the prelate, "let those who choose to perish, perish! but let no one remove you out of the church."² The bishop at the same time besought the prebends to prevent those culpable doctrines which were giving birth to pernicious sects, from being preached and discussed among them, whether in private or in public. This letter being read out in the chapter, all eyes were fixed on Zwingli, who saw what those looks meant, and said: "You suppose, I perceive, that I am the person concerned in this letter; be so good as hand it over to me, and I will answer it."

Zwingli replied in his *Archeteles*, a word signifying beginning and ending; "for," said he, "I hope that this first reply will also be the last." He spoke in it very respectfully of the bishop, and threw back on some intriguing persons all the attacks of his enemies. "What, then, have I done?" said he, "I have called all men to the knowledge of their own sores; I have earnestly endeavoured to lead them to the only God, and to Jesus, his Son. For that purpose I have employed, not captious exhortations, but the words of simplicity and truth, such as are level to the capacity of the sons of Switzerland." Then, passing from defence to attack: "Julius Cæsar," he finely added, "when he found himself stabbed to death, endeavoured to gather up the folds of his mantle, that he might fall with decency. The fall of your ceremonies is at hand! See at least that they fall

¹ Malo esse Christianus cum multorum invidia, quam relinquere Christum propter mundanorum amicitiam. (Zw. Epp. 200. of 22d May.)

² Nemo vos filios ecclesiæ, de ecclesiæ tollat. (Zw. Opp. iii. 35.)

becomingly, and that light everywhere be speedily substituted for darkness.”¹

Such was the whole success that followed the bishop's letter to the chapter at Zurich. Since all friendly remonstrances were vain, it was needful that more decisive blows should be struck. Faber and Landenberg looked to another quarter; to the Diet, the grand council of the Helvetic nation, they turned at last.² Deputies from the bishop there presented themselves; they represented that their master had forbidden, in a charge, all the priests of his diocese to innovate in matters of doctrine; that his authority being slighted, he called for support from the chiefs of the confederation, to assist him in maintaining the obedience of rebels, and in defending the true old faith.^{3 4} In that supreme national assembly, the enemies of the Reformation had the ascendancy. It had already shortly before that, passed an order, interdicting preaching to all those priests whose discourses were said to promote dissension among the people. This order of the Diet, which then for the first time occupied itself about the Reformation, had been followed by no result: but now the meeting wished to act with rigour, and summoned into its presence Urban Weisse, pastor of Fislispach, near Baden, whom public rumour accused of preaching the new faith, and rejecting the old. Weisse was allowed his liberty for some time upon the intercession of many, on finding caution to the amount of an hundred florins, which was given by his parishioners.

But the Diet had taken a side: it had given proof of its having done so; and everywhere the courage of the monks and priests revived. Already, upon the passing of the first public order of that assembly, these had been perceived to show themselves more imperious at Zurich. Several members of the

¹ In umbrarum locum, lux quam ocissime inducatur. (Zw. Opp. iii. 69.)

² Nam er ein anderen weg an die Hand; schike seine Boten. . . . &c. (Bullinger, MSC.)

³ Und den wahren alten glauben erhallten. (Ibid.)

⁴ The abettors of the Popedom in our times would fain exculpate that most loving mother, the church, from the guilt of bloody persecutions on account of religion, and would charge these on the secular power alone. They would, accordingly, at the present day that the secular government should tolerate every man in his own religion. Yet who were they then that in this case instigated the civil power at Zurich to defend the ancient faith, and to punish those whom they called rebels? And how would it be now were they to have the mastery again, and did they once but know how to possess themselves of the upper hand?—L. R.

council were in the practice of paying morning and evening visits to the three monasteries, and even of taking their meals there. These good-natured messmates the monks indoctrinated with their views, and solicited them to obtain an order in their favour, from the government. "If Zwingli won't hold his peace," they would say, "we will only cry the louder!" The Diet had taken the side of the oppressors. The Zurich council was puzzled how to act. On June 7th it passed an ordinance, in which it prohibited preaching against the monks: but hardly had the resolution been passed, "when a sudden noise was heard in the council chamber," says Bullinger's chronicle, "so that every one looked to himself."¹ Peace was not restored; the contest waged from the pulpit, grew warmer and warmer. The council nominated a deputation which convened the Zurich pastors, and the conventual readers and preachers, at the provost's residence, when, after a keen discussion, the burgomaster enjoined the two parties not to preach anything that was likely to promote dispeace. "I cannot accept of that injunction," said Zwingli; "I wish to preach the Gospel freely and unconditionally, as was prescribed by the preceding order. I am bishop and pastor of Zurich; to me the care of souls has been committed, I, not the monks, have sworn to this. They, not I, ought to yield. If they preach lies, I will contradict them, aye, even in the pulpit, and in their own monastery. If I myself preach doctrines contrary to the Gospel, then I ask to be reprehended, not only by the chapter, but, further, by any citizen whomsoever;² and, which is more, to be punished by the council."—"We," said the monks, "beg to be permitted to preach the doctrines of St. Thomas." The commission of the council having deliberated, ordained that Thomas, Scot, and the other doctors, should be laid aside, and that nothing should be preached but the holy Gospel." Thus did the truth once more win the day; only, however, to increase the resentment of the partisans of the popedom. The ultramontane prebends could not conceal their rage, they impudently stared at Zwingli in the chapter, and seemed by their looks as if they would fain have had his life.³

¹ Liess die Rathstuben einen grossen Knall. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Sondern von einem jedem Bürger wyssen. (Ibid.)

³ Oculos in me procacius torquent, ut cujus caput peti guaderent. (Zw. Opp. iii 29.)

These threatening appearances did not stop Zwingli. There was one spot in Zurich, which, thanks to the Dominicans, the light had not yet reached; this was the nunnery of *Ætenbach*. There the daughters of the chief families of Zurich took the veil. It seemed unfair that these poor persons, enclosed within the walls of their convent, should alone be excluded from hearing the Word of God. The great council appointed Zwingli to proceed thither. The Reformer entered the pulpit which had till then been engrossed by the Dominicans, and preached from it "on the clearness and the certainty of the Word of God."¹ He afterwards published this remarkable discourse, which did not fail to produce fruit—a result that still further incensed the monks.

A circumstance now occurred which extended this feeling of enmity, and lodged it in many other hearts. The Swiss, with Stein and Winkelried at their head, had experienced a bloody defeat near *Bicocca*. They had charged the enemy impetuously, but *Pescaro's* artillery and the infantry of *Freundsberg*, the same whom Luther met at the hall-door at *Worms*, overthrew both chiefs and standards, and whole companies were seen all at once to fall and disappear. Winkelried and Stein, the *Molinens*, the *Diesbachs*, the *Bonstettens*, the *Tschoudis*, the *Pfyffers*, were left on the field of battle. Schwytz, in particular, had been mown down. The blood-stained remains of that frightful conflict had re-entered Switzerland, bearing everywhere the marks of mourning as they passed. A groan of distress resounded from the Alps to the Jura, and from the Rhone to the Rhine.²

But of all who mourned on this occasion, none felt a keener pang than Zwingli. He immediately wrote an address to Schwytz,

¹ *De claritate et certitudine Verbi Dei.* (Zw. Opp. i. 66.)

² Zschokke thus recapitulates the disasters which disgusted the Swiss with foreign service. "The confederates now once more united with him (Francis I.) against the emperor, the pope, and Milan; and, in 1521, a treaty of alliance and amity was concluded between them. Year after year did the Swiss dye with their blood, the plains of Italy, to be rewarded at last with the king's invitation to become sponsors to his new born son. On this occasion a deputy from every canton was despatched to Paris, to be present at the ceremony, each bearing with him fifty ducats, as a baptismal present. Far more welcome, however, than their donatives was the alacrity with which the Swiss sent 16,000 troops to his assistance in Italy: but the loss of 3000 men on the 20th of April, 1522, near *Bicocca*; the return in 1524, of scarcely 4000 out of 15,000 who had entered Lombardy, together with the loss of 7000 men in the battle of *Pavia*, on the 24th of February 1525, gradually damped their ardour for Italian wars. Tr.

with the view of dissuading the citizens of that canton from foreign service. "Your forefathers," said he, with all the warmth of a Swiss heart, "fought with their enemies in defence of their freedom; but never did they put Christians to death for the sake of money. These foreign wars bring countless woes on the land of our fathers. The plagues of God are now punishing our confederated tribes, and Helvetic liberty is ready to perish between the interested caresses and the mortal enmities of foreign princes."¹ Zwingli gave his hand to Nicolas de Flue, and urged afresh the solicitations of that man of peace. On this exhortation being laid before the assembled people of Schwytz, such was the effect it produced that it was decreed that the canton should abstain provisionally from all capitulations for five and twenty years. But the French party soon succeeded in obtaining the revocation of this generous decree, and from that time Schwytz was, of all the cantons, the one most opposed to Zwingli and his work. The very disgraces in which the friends of foreign capitulations had involved their country, only increased the hatred that those men bore to the courageous minister who was struggling to rescue his native land from so many calamities and disgraces, and a party violently opposed to Zurich and to Zwingli, showed itself more and more in the confederation. The Church's customs and the artifices of the recruiting agents, being simultaneously attacked, mutually propped each other when shaken by the impetuous blast that threatened to destroy both at once. At the same time foes were multiplying beyond the confederation, and not only the pope, but other foreign princes besides, vowed relentless hostility to the Reformation. It was endeavouring to deprive them of those Helvetic pikes to which their pride and ambition were indebted for so many triumphs. . . . There remained to befriend the cause of the Gospel, God and the most excellent of the people: it was enough. Besides, divine Providence was now bringing to its aid, from various countries, men who were persecuted at home on account of their faith.

XIII. On Saturday, the 12th of July, there was seen entering the streets of Zurich, a tall lean monk, stiff and all of one cast, dressed in the grey frock of the cordeliers, mounted on a she-ass,

¹ Ein gottlich Vermanung andie cersamen, &c., eidgnossen zu Schwyz. (Zw. Opp. ii. 2d. p. 206.)

having a foreign aspect, and with his bare feet almost reaching to the ground.¹ Thus did he arrive from Avignon without knowing a word of German, though with the help of Latin, he contrived to make himself understood. Francis Lambert, for that was his name, asked for Zwingli, and handed him a letter from Berthold Haller. "This Franciscan," the letter of the Bernese priest came to say, "who is no less than the apostolic preacher of the general monastery at Avignon, has been for some years teaching the truths of the Gospel; he preached in Latin to our priests at Geneva, at Lausanne before the bishop, at Fribourg, and finally at Berne, treating of the Church, of the priesthood, of the sacrifice of the mass, of the traditions of the Roman bishops, and of the superstitions of the religious orders. To me it seemed a thing unheard of to listen to such things from a cordelier and a Frenchman, qualities which, you are aware, both imply a sea of superstition."² The Frenchman himself related to Zwingli, how on Luther's writings being discovered in his cell, he had been compelled to leave Avignon in all haste; how, first, he had preached the Gospel in the city of Geneva, and afterwards near the same lake, at Lausanne. Overjoyed at this recital, Zwingli opened the Church of our Lady to the monk, and gave him a seat in the choir, on a chair, in front of the high altar. There Lambert delivered four sermons, in which he powerfully attacked the errors of Rome; in the fourth, however, he defended the invocation of the saints and of Mary.

"Brother, you are mistaken,"³ forthwith exclaimed an animated voice. It was that of Zwingli. The prebends and chaplains now thrilled with delight at the prospect of a quarrel between the Frenchman and the heretical priest. "He has attacked you," said they all to Lambert; "ask him to meet you at a public disputation!" The man from Avignon did so, and on the 12th of July, at ten o'clock, the two champions met in the prebendal conference chamber. Zwingli opened the Old and the New Testament, in Greek and Latin; he discussed the subject, he delivered instructions on it, until two o'clock; and

¹ . . . Kam ein langer, gerader barfüsser Mönch. . . . ritte auf einer Eselin. (Füsslin Beyträge, iv. 39.)

² A tali Franciscano, Gallo, quæ omnia mare superstitionum confluere faciunt, inaudita. (Zw. Epp. 207.)

³ Bruder da irrest du. (Füsslin Beytr. iv. p. 40.)

then the French monk, clasping his hands and raising them to heaven,¹ spoke thus: "I give thee thanks, O God! in that by such an illustrious instrumentality, thou hast given me so clear a knowledge of the truth! Henceforth," added he, turning towards the meeting, "in all my distresses I will call upon God alone, and throw all the rosaries aside. To-morrow I resume my journey, and go to Basel to see Erasmus of Rotterdam, and from that to Wittemberg, to see the Augustinian monk, Martin Luther." And, in fact, he did set off on his she-ass. We shall again fall in with him. He was the first to leave the French territory for the sake of the Gospel, and appear in Switzerland and Germany; the modest harbinger of many thousands that followed.

Far from having any such sources of consolation, Myconius, on the contrary, had to see Sebastian Hofmeister, who had come from Constance to Lucerne, and had there boldly preached the Gospel, compelled to quit that city. This still further augmented Oswald's distress. The moist climate of Lucerne disagreed with him; he was consumed by a fever, and was told by the physicians that unless he changed his residence he must die. "No where should I like better to be than near you," he wrote to Zwingli, "and no where less than at Lucerne. I am tormented by the men, and consumed by the climate. My bodily complaints, I am told, are the punishment of my iniquity: ah! it matters not what I may say or do, all is poison to them. . . . There is one in heaven on whom alone my hopes repose."²

This hope was not disappointed. March was now drawing to a close, and the feast of the Annunciation was at hand. On the preceding eve a great festival was held in commemoration of a fire which, in 1340, had reduced the greater part of the city to ashes. Already a multitude of people from the neighbouring territories had congregated at Lucerne, and several hundreds of priests were to be found there. Some famous preacher ordinarily preached on that solemn occasion, and the Commander of the Johannites, Conrad Schmid of Küssnacht, had

¹ Dass er beyde Hünde zusammen hob. (Füsslin Beytr. iv. p. 40.)

² Quicquid facio venenum est illis. Sed est in quem omnis spes mea reclinat. (Zw. Epp. 192.)

come to discharge that duty. An immense crowd filled the church. What was the general astonishment when the Commander was heard to lay aside the display of Latin to which people were accustomed; to speak in good German, so that all might understand him;¹ to set forth with authority and with holy fervour, the love of God in the sending of his Son; eloquently to prove that external works cannot save, and that God's promises are the very essence of the Gospel! "God forbid," cried the Commander, before the astonished people, "that we should receive a chief so laden with sins as is the bishop of Rome, and that we should reject Jesus Christ!"² If the bishop of Rome distributes the bread of the Gospel, let us receive him as pastor but not as head, and if he distributes it not, let us not receive him in any way." Oswald could not contain himself for joy. "Such a man!" he exclaimed, "such a discourse! such majesty! such authority! what an abundance of the Spirit of Christ!" The impression was general. The agitation that pervaded the town was followed by solemn silence; but all this proved transient. If nations will shut their ears to calls addressed to them by God, these calls become daily fewer, until they altogether cease. Such was the case at Lucerne.

While the truth was there announced from the pulpit, the popedom was attacked at Berne in the festive meetings of the populace. A distinguished layman, celebrated for his poetical talents, and who was afterwards promoted to the first offices in the state, Nicolas Manuel, feeling indignant at seeing his fellow-citizens relentlessly pillaged by Samson, composed certain dramas for the carnival, in which he attacked, with the pungent arms of satire, the avarice, pride, and sumptuous living of the pope and his clergy. On the Shrove-Tuesday of the Lords (the lords were at that time the clergy, and the clergy began Lent eight days before the people), nothing was spoken of in Berne but a drama, a mystery, intitled *the Devourers of the Dead*. It was to be acted by boys in Cross street, and the people pressed in crowds to witness the show. Viewed as pieces of art, these first attempts at the drama in the early part of the

¹ Wolt er keine pracht tryben mit latein schwätzen, sondern gut teutsch reden. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Absit a grege Christiano, ut caput tam lutulentum et peccatis plenum acceptans, Christum alijciat. (Zw. Epp. 195.)

sixteenth century offer some interest; but it is under another point of view that we bring them before the reader; we would rather, no doubt, that we had no attacks of this nature to quote on the side of the Reformation, for it is not by such arms that truth triumphs. But history does not create; it gives what it finds.

The play at last began, to the delight of the impatient public which had met in Cross street. The pope was seen decked out in brilliant attire, and seated on a throne. Around him were placed his courtiers, his body-guards, and a confused crowd of priests of higher and lower degree; behind these were nobles, laymen, and beggars. By and bye there appeared a funeral procession; that of a wealthy farmer, whose remains they were carrying to their last home. Two of his relations slowly paced before the coffin, with handkerchiefs at their eyes. When the procession had come in front of the pope, the bier was placed at his feet, and then the action commenced.

FIRST RELATION, (*in a piteous tone.*)

Oh that the noble army of saints
Would kindly listen to our complaints!
Our cousin, alas! ev'n in life's bloom,
Has left us all, and gone to the tomb.

SECOND RELATION.

For his soul's repose we are ready at once
To pay for the prayers of priests, monks, and nuns,
Although it should cost us a hundred good crowns;
His relations at any such cost will glory
In delivering his soul from purgatory.—
How dreadful those torments we shudder to think!¹

The SACRISTAN, (*quitting the crowd that surrounds the pope, and running in all haste to priest MORE-AND-MORE.*)

Lord parson! pray let me have something for drink,
A farmer of substance has breathed out his last.

THE PRIEST

One farmer! . . . why one is too mean a repast.
One! . . . would it were ten, for the more that there die
With our order life moves the more merrily.²
That death is the best of diversions for me—

¹ Kein kosten soll ons dauern dran
Wo wir Mönch und Priester mögen ha'n
Und sollt'es kosten hundert kronen. . .

(Bern. Mausol. iv. Wirz. K. Gesch. i. 383.)

² Je mehr, je besser! Kämen doch noch zehn! (Ibid.)

THE SACRISTAN.

Ah would that thus it might ever be!
 I would rather toll
 For a dead man's soul
 Than be toiling still
 The ground to till.
 The dead—he has ever a liberal purse,
 And pay as he may, he is never the worse.

THE PRIEST.

If the bell for the dead can an entrance find
 To heaven I know not—as little I mind:
 My house it enriches, which else were without
 Both barbel and salmon, both jackfish and trout.

THE PRIEST'S NIECE.]

'Tis well, but this soul must provide for my back
 A dress of the richest, white, green, red, and black
 Besides I insist that a handkerchief fine,
 As my share in the spoil, shall this day be mine.

Cardinal HIGH-PRIDE, (*wearing a red hat near the pope.*)

Ah! did we not love death's inheritance red,
 We'd ne'er cause be number'd in youth with the dead,
 Those thousands of soldiers—poor dupes of intrigue,
 And victims of jealousies sown in the league.²
 The blood of poor Christians Rome maketh fat
 Hence blood gives its tinge to my cardinal's hat;
 By the dead I grow great—for they are the donors
 To whom I'm indebted for riches and honours.

BISHOP WOLF'S-BELLY.

By the pope's code of law I'll live to life's end,
 With silk for my clothing, and plenty to spend;
 I wager at matches, or hunt when it chimes,
 With humours unknown in those primitive times,
 When if I the Church's plain pastor had been,
 No coarser stuff garment than mine had been seen.³
 Ah! once we were shepherds, but kings we are now,
 Though shepherds at times to this day, I avow.

A VOICE.

Say when? . .

THE BISHOP.

. . . When the flocks must be shorn, you'll allow,
 Both wolves to the sheep, and their shepherds are we—
 They feed us; or else they our victims must be.

¹ The German has a clearer but not quite so decent an expression, *Pfaffen-metze*.

² Wenn mir nicht wär' mit Todten wohl,
 So läg nicht mancher Acker voll, &c.

(Bern. Mausol. iv. Wirz. K. Gesch. i. 383.)

³ Wen es stünd, wie im Anfang des Kilchen,
 Ich trüge vielleicht gobes Tuch und Zwilchen. (Ibid.)

The pope has forbidden that priests should have wives ;
 'Tis well ; but each priest some evasion contrives.
 No doubt, those evasions must furnish a handle
 To slanderous folks for surmises and scandal ;
 I care not—no scandal shall e'er make me wince
 That brings me in money, to live like a prince.
 I'm prudent, and never small gains can refuse,
 Hence priests that bring money may live as they choose.
 Four florins a year make me blink the offence ;
 If children are added new bleedings commence.
 I count upon two thousand florins a year,
 While virtuous priests would bring nothing 'tis clear.¹
 The pope then be honoured ;—before him I bend ;
 I hold by his creed, and his church I'll defend.
 On no other god during life I'll depend.

THE POPE.

People think that from suffering souls are releast,
 And sent straight to heav'n at the beck of a priest.
 Preach, then, the decrees of the Conclave's elect,
 Whom poor laymen slaves as a king must respect.
 But soon from our throne must we look to be hurled,
 The Gospel, if once, like a standard, unfurled ;
 The Gospel no sanction affords for the cheat
 That Christ's only sacrifice priests must repeat.
 To follow the Gospel ! one cannot be sure,
 It does not imply that we priests should be poor.
 Instead then of coursers and equipage gay
 In which friends and family make a display,
 The pope's sacred majesty men might see pass
 Unhonoured and slighted, astride a poor ass.²
 No, never. I'll keep this magnificent throne
 As popes, my august predecessors, have done.
 I'll strike with my thunderbolts all who endeavour
 The church from her riches and pleasures to sever.
 A god !—lo, the people adores at my knees,
 I only need wish, and I have what I please.
 The people I tread on when mounting my throne ;
 There seated, the world I survey as my own.
 The earth's best delights to my servants I give,
 But strangers to such things poor laymen must live.
 While honours and wealth 'mong the clergy I scatter,
 To these I dispense drops of cheap holy water.

¹ The German expressions are very strong :—
 So bin Ich auf gut Deutsch ein Hurenwirth, &c. (Bern. Mausol. iv. Wirz. K.
 Gesch. i. 383.)

² Wir möchten fast kaum ein Eselein ha'n. (Ibid.)

We will not pursue this literal translation of Manuel's drama. The anguish of the clergy at perceiving the efforts of the Reformers, and their resentment at those who threatened to disturb their irregularities, are all depicted in the liveliest colours. The dissolute morals of which this mystery presented so striking a picture, were too prevalent for the representation not to be recognised by every one. The populace became agitated. Many sarcastic remarks might be heard as the spectators withdrew from the Cross street show; but some of them viewed the matter more seriously; they spoke of Christian liberty, and of the despotism of the pope; they contrasted the simplicity of the Gospel with the pomps of Rome. Ere long the contempt entertained by the people broke out in the streets. On Ash-Wednesday the indulgences were promenaded through the whole town, the procession being accompanied by satirical songs. In Berne, and throughout all Switzerland, a heavy blow had been struck at the ancient edifice of the popedom.

Some time after the above exhibition, another farce was acted at Berne, but in this case nothing was left to fiction. The clergy, the council, and the burgesses were assembled before the upper gate; they there waited for the arrival of the skull of St. Anne, which the famous knight, Albert von Stein, had gone to Lyons in search of. Stein appeared at last, holding the sacred relic, which was wrapt up in silk stuff, and which the bishop of Lausanne, as it passed that way, had worshipped on his bended knees. The precious skull was borne in procession to the church of the Dominicans, the steeple bells were tolled, the church was entered, and the skull of the mother of Mary was solemnly deposited on the altar, specially consecrated to it behind a sumptuous trellis. But, lo! in the midst of all this rejoicing, there comes a letter from the abbot of the monastery at Lyons, where the remains of the saint were deposited, stating that the monks had sold to the knight a profane skull, found in the churchyard among other remains of the dead. This hoax upon the illustrious town of Berne excited the indignation of the citizens beyond measure.

The Reformation was now making progress at other points of Switzerland. In 1521, Walter Klarer, a young Appenzeller, returned from the university of Paris to his own canton.

Luther's writings had fallen into his hands, and in 1522 he preached the doctrines of the Gospel with all the fervour of a young Christian. An innkeeper of the name of Rausberg, who happened to be a member of the Appenzel council, and was moreover a wealthy and godly person, opened his house to all the friends of the truth. Bartholomew Berweger, a celebrated officer, who had fought for Julius II. and Leo X., being then come back from Rome, straightway began to persecute the evangelical ministers. One day, notwithstanding, calling to mind that he had seen much wickedness at Rome, he set himself to read the Bible, and to attend the ministrations of the new preachers: his eyes were opened and he embraced the Gospel. Perceiving that the crowds that frequented the churches could not find room in them: "Let there be preaching in the fields and in the market places," said he; and in the face of keen opposition, the knolls, and meadows, and mountain sides of Appenzel, from that time forward would often resound with the news of salvation.

This doctrine found its way up the Rhine until it reached even the ancient Rhetia. A stranger from Zurich happened one day to pass that stream, and presented himself at the house of the master saddler of Flasch, the first village of the Grisons. The saddler, Christian Anhorn, listened with amazement to the discourses of his guest. The whole village joined in inviting the stranger, whose name was James Burkli, to preach; he accordingly took his place in front of the altar; a body of armed men, with Anhorn at their head, stood round to defend him from any unexpected attack, and he preached to them the Gospel. The news of this preaching spread far and wide, and on the following Sunday, an immense crowd flocked to the spot. Ere long a great proportion of the inhabitants of those parts called for the administration of the supper as instituted by Jesus Christ, but one day the parish bell was suddenly heard at Mayenfield; the people ran in alarm to learn what was the cause; the priests pictured forth to them the danger with which the Church was threatened, and then, at the head of the population which they had thus excited to fanaticism, they hastened to Flasch. Anhorn, who happened to be at work in the fields, surprised to hear the pealing of church bells at so unusual an

hour, ran home in all haste, and concealed Burkli in a deep trench that had been dug in his cellar. The house was speedily surrounded, the doors forced in, the heretical preacher was every where sought for but in vain, and the persecutors at length abandoned the place.¹

The Word of God now diffused itself throughout the entire league of the ten jurisdictions. Returning from Rome whither his rage at the success of the Gospel had sent him, the priest of Mayenfield exclaimed: "Rome has made me a Gospeller!" and he became a fervent Reformer. The Reformation soon spread into the league of "the house of God:" "Oh, saw you but how the inhabitants of the mountains of Rhetia cast away from them the yoke of the Babylonish captivity!" wrote Salandronius to Vadian.

Revolting disorders hastened the day when Zurich, and the neighbouring cantons, entirely broke that yoke. A married schoolmaster wishing to become a priest, in order to this obtained his wife's consent and they separated; but the new parson, finding it impossible to keep his vow of celibacy, from regard for his wife, left the place of her residence, and establishing himself in the bishopric of Constance, he there formed an improper connection. His wife hastened to the spot. The poor priest compassionated her, and, dismissing the woman who had usurped her rights, he took back his lawful spouse. Forthwith the procurator-fiscal drew up a charge against him; the vicar-general put himself in movement; the consistorial councillors had the case brought before them . . . and the priest was obliged to abandon either his wife or his living. The poor woman left her husband's house in tears: her rival entered it in triumph. The Church declared itself satisfied, and from that time allowed the adulterous priest to remain undisturbed.²

Shortly after this, one of the parish priests of Lucerne ran off with a married woman, and lived with her. The husband having gone to Lucerne, took advantage of the priest's absence to take back his wife. But as he was convoying her home, the clerical seducer met them, threw himself on the injured husband,

¹ Anhorn, Wiedergeburt der Evan. Kirch in den 3 Bänd-ten. Chur, 1680. Wirz. i. 557.

² Simml. Samml. vi.—Wirz K. Gesch. i. 275.

and inflicted a wound of which the latter died.^{1 2} All God-fearing men felt the necessity of re-establishing the law of God which declares that *marriage is honourable in all*.³ Evangelical ministers acknowledged that the law imposing celibacy was of purely human origin, the mere imposition of the Roman pontiffs, and contrary to the Word of God, which in describing the true bishop, speaks of him as a husband and a father, (1 Timothy, chap. iii. v. 2—4.) They saw at the same time that of all the abuses that had found their way into the Church, none had caused more vices or scandals. They believed accordingly, not only that it was a lawful thing, but further, a positive duty before God, to throw it off. Many of them returned to the old way of the times of the apostles. Xylotect was married, Zwingli married about the same time. No woman enjoyed more consideration in Zurich, than Anna Reinhard, widow of Meyer of Knonau, and mother of Gerold. Ever since Zwingli's arrival she had been one of his most assiduous hearers; she resided in his neighbourhood, and he had remarked her piety, her modesty, and the tender love she bore her children. Young Gerold, who had become like his adopted son, led him into greater intimacy with his mother. The trials already experienced by that Christian woman, who was doomed to be one day the most cruelly tried of all the women whose memory has been preserved to us by history, had given her a seriousness which placed her evangelical virtues in still stronger relief.⁴ She was then about five and thirty, and her own fortune amounted to no more than four hundred florins. Upon her Zwingli cast his eyes as the person whom he desired for his future companion through life. He could enter into all that was sacred and mutually endearing in

¹ Hinc cum scorto redeuntem in itinere deprehendit, aggreditur lethiferoquo vulnere cædit et tandem moritur. (Zw. Epp. p. 206.)

² The most vehement antagonists of the Church-reformation, who even in our day cease not to calumniate and condemn it, yet cannot but acknowledge that there did exist abuses that required a reformation, but insist that that Church itself, as then constituted, that is to say, the hierarchy, ought not to have been attacked on account of these. Yet when we contemplate such scandalous doings as are related in the above, and the preceding statement, how can we suppose that a hierarchy which could itself allow such godless deeds to remain unchecked, nay, which even protected them, and by its arbitrary institution of the celibacy of the clergy was the cause of them, could remain untouched? It was absolutely necessary that it should be assailed and completely overthrown, and it had long made itself deserving of such a fate.—L. R.

³ Ep. to the Hebr. chap. 13. v. 4.

⁴ Anna Reinhard von Gerold Meyer von Knonau, p. 25.

the conjugal union. He would call it, "a most holy alliance."¹ "Just as Christ," he would say, "died for his own, and gave himself wholly for them, in like manner ought spouses to do all, and endure all things for each other." But while he took Anna Reinhard as his wife, Zwingli did not as yet make his marriage known.² This was culpable weakness, no doubt. The light that he and his friends had acquired on the question of marriage, was not generally enjoyed. The weak might be offended. He dreaded lest giving publicity to his marriage might paralyse his usefulness in the Church.³

XIV. Meanwhile, interests of a still higher order at that time engrossed the friends of truth. We have seen that the Diet, urged by the enemies of the Reformation, had enjoined the evangelical preachers no longer to preach doctrines that disquieted the people. Zwingli felt that the moment for acting had arrived; and with the energy that marked his character, he called upon such of the Lord's ministers as were friendly to the Gospel, to hold a meeting at Einsidlen. The strength of Christians does not lie either in the force of arms, or in the flames of bonfires, or in the intrigues of parties, or in the protection of the mighty of this world. It lies in a simple but unanimous and bold

¹ Ein hochheiliches Bundniss. (Anna Reinhard von Gerold Meyer von Knonau, p. 25.)

² Qui veritus sis, te marito non tam feliciter usurum Christum in negotio Verbi sui. (Zw. Epp. p. 335.)

³ The most respectable biographers and historians, together with all the authors who have copied them, place Zwingli's marriage two years later, namely, in April 1524. Without entering here into all the reasons which have convinced me that this is an error, I will simply point to the most decisive authorities. A letter from Zwingli's intimate friend, Myconius, dated 22d July 1522, bears: *Vale cum uxore quam felicissime*. Another letter from the same friend, written towards the close of that year, also bears: *Vale cum uxore*. The very contents of those two letters prove that they are correctly dated. But what is still stronger evidence, a letter written from Strasburg by Bucer, at the very time that Zwingli's marriage was made public, 14th April 1524. (the date of the year is wanting, but it is evident that the letter is of 1524), contains several passages which show that Zwingli must have been long married by that time; take the following in addition to that quoted in the preceding note:—"Profes-sum *palam* te maritum legi. Unum hoc desiderabam in te.—Quæ multo facilius quam *conuulsi tui confessionem* Antechristus posset ferre.—" *Ἀγγερον*, ab eo, quod cum fratribus episcopo Constantiensi congressus est nullus credidi.—Quæ ratione id *tam diu celares* non dubitarim, rationibus huc adductum, quæ apud virum evangelicum non queant omnino repudiari . . . etc. (Zw. Epp. p. 335.) Zwingli, accordingly, did not marry in 1521; but he then made public his marriage, which had been contracted two years before. The learned editors of Zwingli's letters say: "Nun forte jam Zwinglius Annam Reinhardam clandestino in matrimonio habebat?" p. 210. This to me appears not a matter of doubt, but a fact possessing all the historical certainty that can be required.

profession of those great truths to which the world must one day submit. God specially calls those who serve him to hold these heavenly doctrines steadily before the whole people, without allowing themselves to be frightened by the shouts of their opponents. These truths can themselves answer for their triumph being assured to them; and idols fall to the ground before them, as of old before the ark of God. The time was now come when God desired that the great doctrine of salvation should be thus confessed in Switzerland; and when the standard of the Gospel behoved to be planted on some commanding spot. Providence was now to draw forth humble but intrepid men from unknown retreats, and to make them bear a clear and open testimony in the face of the nation.

Towards the end of June and the beginning of July, 1522, godly ministers were seen wending from all parts towards the celebrated chapel of Einsidlen, on a new pilgrimage.¹ From Art, in the canton of Schwytz, came the priest of the parish, Balthasar Trachsel; from Weiningen, near Baden, the priest Stäheli; from Zug, Werner Steiner; from Lucerne, the prebend Kilchmeyer; from Uster, the parish priest Pfister; from Hongg, near Zurich, the parish priest Stumpff; from Zurich itself, the prebend Fabricius, the chaplain Schmidt, the hospital preacher Grosmann, and Zwingli.² All these ministers of Jesus Christ were received into the ancient abbey with the utmost joy, by Leo Juda, the priest at Einsidlen, which since Zwingli's residence there, had become one of the strongholds of the truth, and the hostelry of the righteous.³ Thus did there meet, two-hundred and fifteen years before, on the solitary plain of Grutli, thirty-three bold patriots fully resolved to break the yoke of Austria. The yoke which was proposed to be broken at Einsidlen, was that of human authority in the things of God. Zwingli suggested to his friends that a pressing request should be presented to the cantons and to the bishop, with the view of obtaining the free preaching of the Gospel, together with the abolition of forced

¹ Thaten sich zusammen etliche priester. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² In the edition of Zwingli's works now before me, printed at Zurich in 1581, the name *Joannes Faber* appears next before Huldrychus Zwinglius, which is the last. Faber may have signed it afterwards. Tr.

³ Zu Einsidlen hatten sie alle Sicherheit dahih zu gehen und dort zu wohnen (J. J. Hottinger Helv. K. Gesch. iii. 86.)

celibacy, that prolific source of criminal irregularities. All were of this opinion.¹ Ulrich had himself prepared the addresses. The petition to the bishop was read first; it was now the 2d of July 1522; and all the evangelists we have mentioned put their names to it. The preachers of the truth were united together in Switzerland by warm mutual affection. Many others sympathised with those who had met at Einsidlen, such were Haller, Myconius, Hedio, Capito, Œcolampadius, Sebastian Meyer, Hoffmeister and Wanner. This harmony constituted one of the finest traits of the Swiss Reformation. These excellent personages ever acted as one man, and remained friends until death.²

The Einsidlen men could perceive that by nothing short of the power of faith, could the members of the confederation, after being divided by the foreign capitulations, be made to form one body. But their views went beyond that. "The heavenly doctrine," said they to their ecclesiastical chief, in their address of 2d July, "that truth which God, the Creator, hath manifested by his Son to the human race, when immersed in evil, hath long been concealed from our eyes by the ignorance, not to say by the malice, of some men. But the same Almighty God hath resolved to re-establish it in its original condition. Do you join those who call on the whole mass of Christians to return to their Head, who is Christ.³ . . . For us, we have resolved to promulgate his Gospel with indefatigable perseverance, and at the same time with such wisdom that nobody shall have matter of complaint against us.⁴ Do you favour this undertaking which, however it may excite wonder, cannot be deemed rash. Be you like Moses on the journey, at the head of the people as they.

¹ Und wurden eins an den Bischoff zu Constantz und gmein Eidtgnossen ein Supplication zu stellen. (Bullinger, MSC.)

² From such a spirited and harmonious union of right-minded persons, who saw the corruption of the Church, and desired to set themselves against it, something good might be expected. The fruits of it could not be long of appearing. Thus may it be, also, in our own time! In that case would the Church receive speedy assistance. But every man now has his own plan to propose; and on account of some differences in their views, people abandon each other as soon as the time for co-operation arrives. Many look only to orthodoxy or purity of doctrine but do not take to heart the deep decline of the Church in other respects.—L. R.

³ Ut universa Christianorum multitudo ad caput suum quod Christus est, redeat. (Supplicatio quorundam apud Helvetios evangelistarum. Zw. Opp. iii. 18.)

⁴ Evangelium irremisso tenore promulgare statuimus. . . . (Ibid.)

depart out of Egypt, and do you yourself overthrow those obstacles that would arrest the triumphant march of the truth.”

After this warm appeal, the evangelists that met at Einsidlen took up the subject of the celibacy of the clergy. Zwingli had nothing further to crave on that point; he had for his spouse such a Christian pastor's wife as is described by St. Paul, *grave, sober, faithful in all things*. (1 Tim. iii. 11.) But he thought of his brethren whose consciences were not yet emancipated, as his own was, from human ordinances; and, besides, he sighed for the time when all God's servants might live, openly and fearlessly, in their own families, *having their children in submission*, says the apostle, *and in all manner of honesty*. “You are not ignorant,” said the Einsidlen men, “how deplorably, down to this moment, chastity has been violated by the priests. When, at the consecration of the Lord's ministers, it is asked of him who speaks in the name of all: Are those whom you present righteous?—He replies: They are righteous.—Are they learned?—They are learned. But when it is asked: Are they chaste? he replies: In so far as human weakness permits.¹ Everything in the New Testament condemns a licentious commerce, everything authorises marriage.” Here follows the quotation of a great many passages. “Therefore it is,” they go on to say, “that we beseech you, by the love of Christ, by the liberty which He hath obtained for us, by the wretchedness of so many weak and stumbling souls, by the sores of so many ulcerated consciences, by all that is divine and human. . . . suffer what has been rashly done to be wisely undone; lest the majestic edifice of the Church should tumble to pieces with a frightful crash, and spread ruin far and wide.² See with what tempests the world is threatened! If prudent measures be not taken, it is all over with the order of the priests.”

The petition to the confederation was a longer document.³ “Excellent men,” thus spoke the Einsidlen associates to the confederates at the close of their petition, “we are all Swiss, and

¹ Suntne casti? reddidit: Quatenus humana imbecillitas permittit. (Supplicatio quorundam apud Helvetios Evangelistarum. Zw. Opp. iii. 18.)

² Ne quando moles ista non ex patris cœlestis sententia constructa, cum fragore longe perniciosiore corruat. (Ibid.)

³ Amica et pia parenêsis ad communem Helvetiorum civitatem scripta, ne evangelicæ doctrinæ cursum impedian, &c. (Zw. Opp. i. 39.)

ye are our fathers. There are those among us whose fidelity has been tested on fields of battle, in the midst of the pestilence, and in other calamities. It is in the name of true chastity that we address you. Who knows not that we might satisfy carnal passions far more by not subjecting ourselves to the laws of a legitimate union? But we must lay an arrest upon the scandals that afflict the Church of Christ. If the tyranny of the Roman pontiff will oppress us, fear nothing, ye courageous heroes. The authority of God's Word, the rights of Christian liberty, and the sovereign power of grace, guard and encompass us.¹ We have all one country, we have all one faith, we are Swiss, and the virtue of our illustrious ancestors hath ever manifested its potency by its indomitable defence of those who have been the victims of injustice."

Thus was it that at Einsidlen itself, that ancient stronghold of superstition, and in our own days one of the most famous sanctuaries of Roman practices, Zwingli and his friends had the hardihood to unfurl the standard of truth and liberty. They appealed in favour of these to the chiefs of the state and the Church. They, too, like Luther placarded their theses, but it was on the gate of the bishop's palace, and on that of the councils of the nation. The friends who had met at Einsidlen parted from each other, calm, joyful, full of hope in that God to whom they had committed their cause; and passing, some near the field of battle at Morgarten,² others over the chain of the Albis, others

¹ Divini enim verbi auctoritatem, libertatis Christianæ et divinæ gratiæ præsidium nobis adesse conspicietis. (Zw. Opp. i. 63.)

² These Einsidlen Reformers could not fail to have their courage animated in face of the vast preponderance of power arrayed against them, by the remembrance of the events with which the scenes amid which they met were associated in their country's annals. If the fathers could vanquish the might of Austria in combatting for civil freedom, what might not the sons hope to do in the cause of God? The great battle of Swiss independence fought at Morgarten, nearly synchronises with that in which Scotland achieved her independence at Bannockburn. Both were fought A.D. 1315. Duke Leopold of Austria advanced with the flower of his army from Aegeri to Morgarten, towards the mountains of Schwytz, carrying with him an abundant supply of ropes for the execution of the rebellious chiefs of this people. The confederates posted themselves to the number of about 1300 men on the height near the Einsidlen boundary. The men of Schwytz had been joined by 400 from Uri, 300 from Unterwalden, and 50 others who had been banished from Schwytz, but who now implored leave to atone to their country by their courage. On November 16th the Austrian host had commenced the ascent under the ruddy light of the morning sun, when the confederates issuing from a narrow valley near the Haselmatt rushed upon them with deafening shouts upon their reaching a grassy projection from the mountain. The fifty exiles rolled down upon them huge fragments of rock from the Sigler Flue,

still by other valleys or mountains, they all returned to their posts. "It was truly something great for those times,"¹ says Henry Bullinger, "that these men should thus have dared to stand forward and expose themselves to every danger while rallying around the Gospel. But God has protected every one of them, so that no evil has touched them; for God at all times preserves his own." Indeed it was something great; it was a great step made in the progress of the Reformation, one of the most illustrious days in the religious regeneration of Switzerland. A holy confederation had been formed at Einsidlen. Humble yet courageous men had seized the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and the shield of faith. The gauntlet had been thrown down; the challenge had been given no longer by a single man only, but by men from different cantons, ready to sacrifice their lives; and the conflict might now be expected.

Every thing betokened that the encounter would be rude. So soon as five days after, on July 7th, the chief magistrate of Zurich, to satisfy the Romish party, summoned before him Conrad Grebel and Claus Hottinger, two of those men of extreme views who seemed inclined to exceed the limits of a wise Reformation. "We forbid you," said burgomaster Roust, "to preach against the monks, and on controverted points." At these words a loud noise was heard in the chamber, says an old chronicle. God so manifested himself in this work that people would have had signs of his intervention everywhere. Each looked round in amazement, without being able to discover the cause of this mysterious circumstance.²

But it was chiefly in the monasteries that the indignation was extreme, and at every meeting held in these, whether for purposes of discussion or enjoyment, some new ebullition took place. One day that there happened to be a grand entertainment in the monastery at Fraubrunn, the wine began to

and then emerging from the morning mists, rushed upon them while unprepared for the shock, and compelled them to retreat. Their enemies, by the Swiss plan of attack, were forced into a narrow pass by the side of the lake Aegeri, where the flower of the Austrian nobility fell beneath the halberts and iron-pointed clubs of the herdsmen, Leopold himself narrowly escaping from his pursuers. See *Zschokke*. Tr.

¹ Es wass zwahren gros zu denen Zyten. . . . (Bullinger, MSC.)

² Da liess die Stube einen grossen Knall. (Füsslin Beytr. iv. 39.)

affect the heads of the guests, and they commenced assailing the Gospel in the bitterest manner.¹ What mainly excited the resentment of the priests and the monks that were present, was that point of Gospel doctrine which maintains that in the Christian Church there ought not to be any sacerdotal caste raised above believers in general. Only one friend of the Reformation, a simple layman, Macrinus, schoolmaster at Soleure, was present; and at first he avoided the controversy by passing from table to table. But at last, unable to endure any longer the furious shouts of the guests, he boldly stood up, and said aloud: "Yes! all true Christians are priests, according to what is said by St. Peter: *Ye are priests and kings.*" At these words one of the most blustering of the bawlers, the dean of Burgdorff, a tall man, with a stentorian voice, burst into a horse laugh, and intending to be jocose as well as insolent, exclaimed: "So then, you Greeklings, you school rats, you are the royal priesthood? . . . A fine priesthood! . . . Begging kings. . . . priests without prebends, and without livings."² And instantly priests and monks fell with one accord on the impertinent layman.

It was in Lucerne, however, that the bold procedure of the Einsidlen men could not fail to produce the greatest commotion. The Diet was assembled in that town, and complaints came up to it from all quarters, against those rash preachers who would prevent Helvetia from quietly disposing of the blood of her sons to strangers. On the 22d of July 1522, as Oswald Myconius was dining in his own house with the prebend Kilchmeyer and several other persons who were favourably disposed to the Gospel, a boy sent by Zwingli, came to the door.³ He had brought with him the two famous Einsidlen petitions, and a letter from Zwingli, requesting that they might be circulated in Lucerne. "My advice," added the Reformer, "is that this be done quietly and gradually rather than all at once; for the love of Christ, a man must be prepared to forsake all, and even his wife."

The crisis was thus approaching with respect to Lucerne; the

¹ Cum invalescente Baccho, disputationes imo verius jurgia. . . . (Zw. Epp. 230.)

² Estote ergo græculi ac Donatistæ regale sacerdotium. . . . (Ibid.)

³ Venit puer quem misisti, inter prandendum. . . . (Ibid. 209.)

shell had fallen there, and must soon be expected to burst. The guests read the petitions. . . . "May God bless this commencement,"¹ exclaimed Oswald turning his eyes to heaven, and then added: "That prayer ought from this moment to be the constant occupation of our hearts." The petitions were forthwith put in circulation, with more eagerness possibly than Zwingli would have asked for. But the moment could not occur again. Eleven men, the flower of the clergy, had placed themselves in the breach; it was necessary that the people's minds should be enlightened; that irresolute characters should be brought to a decision, and that the most influential members of the Diet should be gained to the cause.

Amid all this labour, Oswald did not forget his friend. The young messenger had informed him of the attacks that Zwingli had to endure from the monks at Zurich.² "The truth of the

¹ Deus cœpta fortunet! (Zw. Epp. p. 209.)

² Zwingli must have offended the great body of the monks, both by the general opposition of his theology to theirs, and by the opinions he expressed on the subject of monastic vows in general, and the monks of his own days. Their vows he treated with contempt as a profanation and absurdity; and as endeavours are made in our own days to throw a religious charm round the conventual life, I subjoin some of Zwingli's views on the subject. In his Article *De Votis* he gives some excellent answers to the practical difficulties that beset those who had already come under vows; he shows that what God requires of us in his Word we are bound to do whether we vow it or not, and that in vowing what God does not require, we subject ourselves to the reproof of the prophet—"Who hath required these things at your hands?" He then compares the presumption of those who take the monastic vows to that of Peter and the apostles, when they told our Lord that they were willing to go with him to prison and to death. The words of his father, says he, will always avail more with an ingenuous son than his own vows. We are the sons of God, and the brethren of Christ; of ourselves, therefore, we neither can nor ought to vow anything, for we wholly belong to God. The moment that we vow that *we will be* God's, we acknowledge that at the time *we are not* God's. Even when vows are faithfully fulfilled, they are wholly opposed to the Scriptural doctrine of justification by faith.

His opinion of the monks and monasteries is given in the 27th Article, intitled: "All Christians are the brethren of Christ and of each other, therefore ought they to call no man father on the earth. Factions and sects are opposed to this." The monks must have been cut to the quick by such sentiments as the following, and just the more so on account of the reservation he makes in favour of the really godly among them. "I say nothing now of the impostures and vices of the monks, who vow poverty while none so rich as they, and obedience while they withdraw men from all true obedience. They withdraw themselves not only from God, but from the magistrate, who is the minister of God. They obey not God for he commands us to call no man father on earth, whereas they call Bernard or Benedict their father. God enjoins us to honour our parents: this they forbid, commanding men to forsake father and mother, wresting the words of Christ into a false meaning. O ye corruptors of God's Word! Then doth Christ teach that parents are to be forsaken when they turn men away from Christ, from the faith, and forbid them to follow Christ. But say where hath Christ commanded men to leave their parents to follow factions?"

He proceeds to reprove their disobedience to magistrates and even to the

Holy Ghost is invincible," Myconius wrote to him that very day. "Armed with the buckler of the holy Scriptures, thou hast come off victorious, not in one conflict only, not in two, but in three, and the fourth is now commencing. . . . Seize thou those potent weapons, harder than adamant. Christ, in order to protect his own, needs nothing but his Word. Thy struggles are inspiring with indomitable courage all who have devoted themselves to Jesus Christ."¹

The two petitions failed at Lucerne to produce the effect that was expected from them. Some pious men approved of them, but they were very few. Many, unwilling to compromise themselves, would neither praise nor blame.² "These people," said others, "will never succeed in obtaining their object!" All the priests murmured, spoke low, and muttered between their teeth. As for the populace, they violently opposed the Gospel. A mad passion for war revived in Lucerne after the bloody defeat near Bicocca, and nothing was thought of but military expeditions.³ Oswald, who was attentively watching these various impressions, found his courage shaken by what he observed, and the evangelical prospects which he had fondly anticipated for Lucerne, and for Switzerland, seemed to vanish. "Our people are blind as respects the things of heaven," said he with a deep sigh. "We can expect nothing to be done by the Swiss in matters that are likely to promote the glory of Christ."⁴

pope's bulls—their sensuality—their worldliness—their extreme selfishness in withdrawing themselves from familiar intercourse and community of interest with their fellow-men, which notwithstanding, is the very essence of Christian obedience; that they did not condole with those that suffer; nor share in the toils of the laborious, or in the annoyances and vexations of those who were in trouble, and never gave alms but when they themselves had a full stomach. "What use of words?" says he, "the world does not contain more useless creatures than these hypocrites and fatted pigs." He then goes on to say: "Meanwhile, I know that there are living in monasteries many godly believers in Christ, who although they wear the hood, yet have a free conscience in Christ, and are ready as soon as they can, to make a free profession of the truth." These he begs not to be offended at reproaches intended only for the ungodly. He mocks at monkish pretensions to chastity, and insists that the monastic life was mere hypocrisy, an invention of Satan against the Word and deed of God. *Observa crapulam eorum et ventris ingluviem et statim videbis quam casti, nam cibus eorum non in nihilum vertitur. Avaritiam et fastum eorum cuncti vident, idque manifeste.* (See *Operum D. Huld. Zwinglii, &c. pars prima*. Tiguri. 1581. p. 66, 67.) Tr.

¹ Is permanceas, qui es, in Christo Jesu. . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 210.)

² Boni qui pauci sunt, commendant libellos vestros; alii non laudant nec vituperant. (Ibid.)

³ Belli furor occupat omnia. (Ibid.)

⁴ Nihil ob id apud Helvetios agendum de iis rebus quæ Christi gloriam possunt augere. (Ibid.)

It was chiefly in the Council and at the Diet that resentment ran high. The pope, France, England, the empire, all were astir around Switzerland after the defeat at Bicocca and the evacuation of Lombardy by the French under Lautrec. Were not political interests, it was said at that moment, sufficiently complicated, without these eleven men thrusting themselves forward with their petitions, and thus adding religious questions to those already agitated.¹ The Zurich deputies alone leaned to the side of the Gospel. The prebend Xylotect, trembling for his own life and that of his wife (for he had married a daughter of one of the first families in the country), with tears in his eyes had refused to go to Einsidlen and subscribe the addresses. The prebend Kilchmeyer had displayed greater courage, and accordingly had everything to dread. "I am threatened with a sentence," he wrote to Zwingli on August 13th, "and am looking for it without dismay." As he was tracing these words, the usher from the council entered his room with an intimation that he must next day appear before it.² "If I am thrown into irons," he said, continuing his letter, "I ask your assistance; but it were easier to transport a rock from our Alps than to withdraw me by a finger's breadth from the Word of Jesus Christ." The regard that was considered due to his family, and the resolution that had been taken to make the storm fall on Oswald, saved the prebend.

Berthold Haller did not sign the petitions, possibly from his not being a Swiss. But he had no lack of courage, and like Zwingli, he expounded the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The cathedral at Berne was crowded. The people were wrought upon more powerfully by the Gospel than by Manuel's dramas. Haller was summoned to the town house; the people accompanied that meek man thither, and remained assembled on the open ground in front. The council was divided. "This is the bishop's affair,"

¹ Thus were worldly interests preferred to those of the kingdom of God. And it is the same with many persons now. Religion is with most a matter of indifference. Their sole aim is what men call their country's honour and welfare. Would that there were now, as then, many who dare wisely and boldly row against the stream, at the risk and sacrifice of themselves and theirs; then should the cause of God's kingdom, now as well as then, triumph at last over all opposition.—L. R.

² Tu vero audi. Hæc dum scriberem, irruit præco, a Senatoribus missus. . . (Zw. Epp. 213.)

said the most influential members; "we must hand the preacher over to his lordship of Lausanne." At these words Haller's friends trembled, and sent notice to him to withdraw without delay. The people came around him, and convoyed him home; a great many burgesses in arms remained in front of his house, ready to make a rampart of their bodies in behalf of their humble pastor. Before this energetic manifestation the bishop and the council gave way, and Haller was saved. Moreover, Haller was not the only one who was maintaining the conflict at Berne. It was then that Sebastian Meyer refuted the pastoral letter of the bishop of Constance, and that hackneyed charge in particular, "that the disciples of the Gospel teach a new doctrine, and that it is the old that is true."—"To have been in the wrong for a thousand years," said he, "does not imply being in the right for an hour; otherwise the pagans ought to have remained in their faith. If the most ancient doctrines ought to carry the day, fifteen hundred years are more than five hundred, and the Gospel is older than the ordinances of the pope."¹

At this period the magistrates of Friburg intercepted letters addressed to Haller and to Meyer by a Friburg prebend, called John Hollard, a native of Orbe. They threw him into prison, deprived him of his place, and finally banished him. John Vannius, a cathedral chorister, ere long declared himself for the doctrines of the Gospel; for in that war, no sooner does one soldier fall than another takes his place. "How can the muddy water of the Tiber," Vannius would say, "subsist by the side of the limpid stream which Luther has drawn from the spring of St. Paul?" But the chorister's mouth was shut. "There are hardly to be found in all Switzerland, men worse disposed to sound doctrine than are the people of Friburg," Myconius wrote to Zwingli.²

Lucerne, however, as Myconius well knew, formed one exception. He had not signed the famous petitions, but if he had not, his friends had done so, and a victim was required. The ancient literature of Greece and Rome, had, thanks to him, begun to shed some light in Lucerne; persons came from various

¹ Simml. Samml. vi.

² Hoc audio vix alios esse per Helvetiam, qui pejus velint sanæ doctrinæ. (Zw. Epp. p. 226.)

places to hear the learned professor; and the friends of peace were charmed there with listening to softer tones than the clash of halberts, swords and cuirasses, the only sound that till then had resounded in that war-enamoured city. Oswald had sacrificed everything for his country; he had abandoned Zurich and Zwingli; he had lost his health; his wife was in a languishing state;¹ his son was a mere boy; were Lucerne once to reject him, he could no where look for an asylum. But that was made of no consequence; parties have no pity, and what ought to make them compassionate, only makes them angry. Hertenstein, burgomaster of Lucerne, an old and gallant soldier, who had acquired celebrity in the wars of Suabia and Burgundy, urged the schoolmaster's dismissal, and along with him would have banished from the canton his Greek, his Latin, and his Gospel. In this he succeeded. On leaving the sitting of council at which Myconius had been discharged from his office, Hertenstein met the Zurich deputy Berguer: "We are going to send you back your schoolmaster," said he to him with a sneer, "you may be preparing good lodgings for him."—"We won't let him lie out of doors,"² was the instant reply of the courageous deputy. But Berguer promised more than he could make good.

The news communicated by the burgomaster was but too true. It was immediately intimated to the distressed Myconius, who found himself dismissed from office and banished, while the sole crime charged against him was, his being a disciple of Luther.³ He looked to every quarter, but no where could he find shelter. He saw his wife, his son, and himself, all three very sickly, spurned from their country . . . and all around him, Switzerland lying tossed by a whirlwind that dashed to pieces all who ventured to brave it. "See," said he then to Zwingli, "see poor Myconius expelled by the council of Lucerne."⁴ . . . Whither shall I go? . . . I know not. . . . Assailed as you are yourself by such furious storms, how shall you be able to shelter me. I cry therefore in my tribulations to that God in whom first I desire to hope. Ever rich and ever good, he

¹ *Conjux infirma.* (Zw. Epp. p. 192.)

² *Veniat! efficiemus enim ne dormiendum sit ei sub dio.* (Ibid. p. 216.)

³ *Nil exprobrarunt nisi quod sim Lutheranus.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Expellitur ecce miser Myconius a Senatu Lucernano.* (Ibid. p. 215.)

does not allow any who call upon him to withdraw from him without being heard. May he provide for my needs!"

Thus spoke Oswald, nor had he long to wait for the language of comfort. There was then in Switzerland one who was well seasoned in the battles of the faith. Zwingli went up to his friend, and raised him from his depression. "The blows by which people are endeavouring to subvert the house of God are so rude," said Zwingli to him, "and the assaults made upon it are so frequent, that it is not only the winds and the rain that beat upon it, according to our Lord's prediction, (Matth. vii. 27.) but hail and lightning.¹ Had I not perceived that the Lord was preserving the vessel, I should long ago have thrown the helm into the sea; I behold him through the tempest, strengthening the cordage, adjusting the yards, spreading the sails; what do I say? commanding the very winds . . . should I not then be a coward, unworthy of the name of man, were I to abandon my post in order to find a shameful death in flight? I commit myself wholly to his sovereign goodness, let him govern, let him transport, let him hasten, let him delay, let him accelerate, let him retard, let him even plunge us into the bottom of the abyss.

. . . We will fear nothing.² We are earthen vessels that belong to him. He can employ us in his service according to his good pleasure, whether for honour or for dishonour." After these words, expressive of so lively a faith, Zwingli continues: "As for thee, my advice is as follows." "Present thyself before the council, and there pronounce a discourse worthy of Christ and of thyself, that is to say, fitted to affect, not to irritate men's hearts. Deny that you are a disciple of Luther's, declare that you are one of Jesus Christ's. Let your pupils surround you and let them speak; and if all this succeed not, come to thy friend; come to Zwingli, and look on our city as thine own home."

Fortified by these words, Oswald followed the Reformer's magnanimous advice; but his efforts were unavailing. The witness for the truth had to leave his native land; and the Lucerners so decried him that the magistracy was everywhere opposed to

¹ Nec ventos esse, nec imbres, sed grandines et fulmina. (Zw. Epp. p. 217.)

² Regat, vehat, festinet, maneat, acceleret, moretur, mergat! . . . (Ibid. p. 217.)

his being offered an asylum. "Nothing more remains for me," exclaimed this confessor of Jesus Christ, with his soul crushed at the sight of so much hostility, "than to beg from door to door for wherewithal to support a life of misery.¹ Forthwith Zwingli's friend and most powerful assistant, the first man in Switzerland who combined the teaching of literature with the love of the Gospel, the Lucerne Reformer, and afterwards one of the chiefs of the Swiss Church, had with his infirm wife and child to leave that ungrateful city, where, of all his family, one only of his sisters had received the Gospel. He crossed its ancient bridges, he hailed those mountains which seem to rise from the lake of Waldstetten to the region of clouds. The prebends Xylotect and Kilchmeyer, the only friends whom the Reformation could reckon among his countrymen, followed close by. And at the moment when that poor man, accompanied by two feeble beings, who were dependent on him for their support, with his eyes turned towards the lake, shed tears over his blinded country, and bade farewell to the sublime scenes whose majestic grandeur had encompassed his cradle, the Gospel itself forsook Lucerne, and Rome reigns there down to this day.²

Erelong the Diet itself, while met at Baden, excited by the rigorous treatment of Myconius, irritated by the Einsidlen petitions which, having been printed, were everywhere producing a great sensation, urged by the bishop of Constance, who insisted on its smiting the innovators at last, threw itself into the course

¹ Ostiatim quærere quod edam. (Zw. p. 245.)

² As was remarked in a former note, Lucerne seems now to have become more than ever an apauge of the popedom in consequence of the political preponderance, and influence in regard to the popular education, secured by a recent revolution there to the Romish priesthood. This is a result, no doubt, of the favour with which the Jesuits have been received in that canton as well as in Friburg, where they have a college for the reception of five hundred pupils from all countries; receiving a liberal education in all things but religion, at an extremely moderate charge.

The revival of the strictest principles of the popedom in the Roman Catholic, and of the Scriptural principles of the Reformation in so many of the Protestant cantons, such as Basel-city, Berne, Geneva, Neufchatel, Vaud, and Zurich, among all of which indications of such a revival are visible, shows a return to positive creeds and religious convictions after a long interregnum of scepticism and worldliness. In this respect, indeed, Switzerland seems to be but a type of Europe at large, and while the latter of these two phenomena refutes the infidel prognostication that the philosophy of the 18th century would annihilate the religion of the Bible, the former unhappily disappoints the sanguine expectations of many a superficial-minded Christian, that popular infidelity would at least for ever destroy the influence, by exploding the delusions of the popedom. Now as ever the change from free-thinking to superstition is easy and natural. Ta.

of persecution, ordained the authorities of the common bailliewicks to inform against all priests and laymen who should speak against the faith, gave orders in its impatience for the apprehension of the evangelist who happened to be nearest within its reach, Urban Weiss, pastor of Fislispach, who had previously been set at large on giving bail, and caused him to be taken to Constance, where it delivered him over to the bishop, by whom he was long detained in prison. "Thus it was," says Bullinger's Chronicle, "that a beginning was made of the persecutions of the Gospel by the confederates, and that, too, at the instigation of the clergy, who in all times have accused Jesus Christ before Herod and Pilate."¹

Zwingli was not to remain beyond the reach of trial, and it was now that he was doomed to suffer in a manner that most keenly affected him. The report of his doctrines and his struggles had passed the Sântis, penetrated into the Tockenbourg, and reached the highlands of the Wildhaus, carrying alarm into the pastoral family from which the Reformer had sprung. Of Zwingli's five brothers some had never relinquished their peaceful mountain toils, while others, greatly to their brother's distress, had at times taken up arms, forsaken their herds and flocks, and served foreign princes. Both the former and the latter were in consternation at the news which fame had conveyed even as far as their huts. Already they seemed to behold their brother apprehended, dragged perhaps to Constance before the bishop, and a bonfire piled up for him at the spot where the body of John Huss had been consumed. Those proud herdsmen could not endure the idea of being called the brothers of a heretic; they accordingly wrote to Ulrich, and represented to him what were their perplexities and their fears. Zwingli wrote in reply: "As long as God shall permit me, I will discharge the task committed to me, without any dread of the world and its haughty tyrants. I am aware of all that may possibly come upon me. There is not a danger, not a calamity, that I have not long ago carefully estimated. My own powers are absolutely nothing, and I know the power of my enemies; but I know, also, that I can do all things through Christ strengthen-

¹ Uss anstiffen der Geistlichen, Die zu alten Zyten, Christum Pilato und Herodi vürstellen. (MSC.)

ing me. Though I were to be silent, another would be constrained to do that which God is now doing by me, and as for me, I should be punished by God. Put away from you, Oh my dear brothers, all your anxieties. If, indeed, I have any fear, it is that of having been milder and more tractable than our age permits.¹ In what disgrace, say you, our whole family will be involved, if you are either burnt or put to death in any other way!² O my beloved brothers! The Gospel holds that astonishing peculiarity from the blood of Christ, that the most violent persecutions, far from arresting its course, only accelerate it. They only are the true soldiers of Christ, who are not afraid to bear about in their bodies their Master's wounds. Now the sole aim of all my labours is to make known to men the treasures of happiness which Christ hath acquired for us, in order that all may flee for refuge to the Father, by the death of his Son. Should this doctrine offend you, your anger cannot stop me. You are my brothers, yes, my own brothers, sons of my father, and we have been borne on the same breast . . . but if you are not my brethren in Christ, and in the work of faith, then I should be grieved so vehemently that nothing could equal my sorrow. Farewell.—Never shall I cease to be your true brother, if you will but never cease yourselves to be the brethren of Jesus Christ.”³

The confederates seemed to rise as one man against the Gospel. The Einsidlen petitions had given them the signal. Affected with the fate of his beloved Myconius, Zwingli saw nothing in his mishap but the commencement of calamities. Enemies within Zurich, enemies without; a man's own relations becoming his adversaries; furious opposition on the part of priests and monks; violent measures pursued by the Diet and the councils; coarse, possibly sanguinary attacks from the partisans of the foreign service; those highest valleys of Switzerland which formed the cradle of the confederation, vomiting forth their battalions of invincible soldiers, for the purpose of saving Rome and annihilating, at the cost of men's lives, the

¹ Plus enim metuo ne forte lenior, mitiorque fuerim. (De semper casta virgine Maria. Zw. Opp. i. p. 104.)

² Si vel igni vel alio quodam supplicii genere tollaris e medio. (Ibid.)

³ Frater vester germanus nunquam desinam, si modo vos fratres Christi esse perrexeritis. (Ibid. p. 107.)

reviving faith of the sons of the Reformation, such were the objects which the piercing ken of the Reformer descried in the distance, and which he shuddered to contemplate. What a prospect! The work was hardly begun, and did it not seem about to fall to nothing? Thoughtful and agitated, Zwingli then laid all his anguish before his God. "O Jesus!" said he, "thou beholdest how wicked men and blasphemers stun the ears of thy people with their cries.¹ Thou knowest how much, from mine infancy, I have hated disputes, and yet, in spite of me, thou hast not ceased to urge me into conflicts. . . . Therefore do I confidently appeal to thee, in order that thou mayest finish what thou hast begun. If I have built up ought amiss, do thou with thy mighty hand pull it down again. If I have laid any other foundation besides thee, do thou with thy dread arm demolish it.² O sweetest Vine, of which the vine-dresser is the Father, and of which we are the branches, forsake not thy post!³ For thou hast promised to be with us until the consummation of all things!"

It was on the 22d of August 1522, that Ulrich Zwingli, the Swiss Reformer, foreseeing the descent of heavy storms from the mountains on the frail bark of the faith, thus poured out before God the disquietudes and the hopes of his soul.

¹ Vides enim, piissime Jesu, aures eorum septas esse nequissimis susurronibus sycophantis, lucrionibus. . . . (Zw. Opp. iii. 74.)

² Si fundamentum aliud præter te jecero, demoliaris! (Ibid. 74.)

³ O suavissima vitis, cujus vinitor pater, palmites vero nos sumus, stationem tuam ne deseras! (Ibid.)

BOOK NINTH.

FIRST REFORMS.

(1521—1522.)

I. AN old doctrine had now for four years been preached anew in the Church. The grand announcement of a free salvation, published in former times by St. Paul and his brethren, in Asia, in Greece, and in Italy, and found again in the Bible, after the lapse of several centuries, by a Wittenberg monk, had resounded from the plains of Saxony as far as Rome, Paris, and London; and the lofty mountains of Switzerland had re-echoed its spirit-stirring notes. The fountain-heads of truth, liberty, and life, had been opened up afresh; people resorted to them in crowds, and drank from them with delight, but those who eagerly pressed the beverage to their lips, still observed the same appearances. While all within was new, all without seemed to remain as before.

The constitution of the Church, together with its service and its discipline, had undergone no change. In Saxony and even at Wittenberg, in short wherever the new way of thinking had penetrated, the papal worship continued gravely to display its pomps; the priest at the foot of the altar, in offering the host to God, seemed to work an ineffable change; monks and nuns entered monasteries and convents, there to come under vows of eternal obligation; pastors of flocks lived without families; religious confraternities met; pilgrimages were performed; the faithful attached their votive offerings¹ to the chapel pillars, and

¹ Certain offerings or gifts, brought by persons who had been delivered from peril or recovered from sickness, and devoted, in fulfilment of vows to that effect, to such or such a saint, whom they had invoked in peril or sickness, and

all the ceremonies, even to the most insignificant act of the sanctuary, were solemnised as before. A new word had gone forth into the world, but it had not created a new body. The priest's discourses presented the most striking contrast to the priest's actions. He might now be heard thundering from the pulpit against the mass as a piece of idolatrous worship; and next be seen to come down to the altar, and celebrate the pomps of that mystery with scrupulous exactness. The new Gospel everywhere struck the ear in the midst of ancient rites. The very priest who offered the sacrifice was unconscious of this strange contradiction; and the same people that listened with acclamation to the bold discourses of the new preachers, devoutly practised their old customs, as if they never behoved to break them off. All remained the same at family firesides and in social life, as well as in the house of God. There was a new faith in the world but there were no new works. The sun of the vernal season had appeared, yet winter seemed still to bind up nature, so that neither flowers nor leaves could be seen, and there was nothing in the outward aspect of things to indicate a change in the season. But these were deceptive appearances; a powerful though hidden sap circulated already in the lower parts, and was about to change the whole world.

To this course, so full of wisdom, the Reformation may have owed its triumphs.¹ Every revolution ought to be accomplished

to whom they ascribed their deliverance, and hung up as memorials round the statues of the saints in the churches, consisting chiefly of representations in wax of the limbs that had been healed, or of paintings embodying the history and main circumstances of their wonderful deliverances, with writings attached to them, quite according to the taste of the heathen of old, and consisting, also, of gifts from kings and princes, in the shape of massive pieces of silver plate, vases, candlesticks, lamps, images, &c. A fuller account of these will be seen in the *Heidensche Rome van Roussel toegelicht en uitgebreid*, printed sometime ago by the publishers of this work, bl. 12—18.—L. R. I am happy to find that this *Rome Payenne* of my friend M. Roussel, has appeared in Dutch. A translation into English, intituled *Pagan Rome*, was published by Messrs. J. Nisbet and Co., of London, some years ago. Middleton's Letters from Italy, also may be consulted. TR.

¹ Here again many British readers will dissent from the Author's views, and I confess it is not easy to reconcile them with Scripture or sound morality. No doubt the gradual enlightenment of the Reformers was wisely ordered. But that "most striking contrast between the discourses and actions of priests," who thundered against the mass from the pulpit, and then scrupulously celebrated it at the altar, presents an inconsistency which must have been far more gross, less excusable, and more hurtful than those of the Judaising Christians of the primitive Church, who were so warmly reprobated by the apostle Paul in his rebuke to Peter, and in his epistle to the Galatian converts, whom he

in the thoughts of men before it passes into overt acts. The contradiction to which we have alluded did not strike even Luther at the first blush; for he thought it quite natural that while people were receiving his writings enthusiastically, they should remain devoutly attached to the abuses which these attacked. One might almost suppose that he had traced out this plan beforehand, and had resolved to transform men's minds, before he changed any outward forms; but this were to attribute to him a wisdom, the merit of which must be ascribed to a higher intelligence. He executed a plan which it was not he that had conceived. At a later period he might recognise and comprehend these things, but neither had he imagined nor had he arranged them thus. God advanced in front; it was his part simply to follow.¹

Had Luther begun with an external reform; if, immediately after announcing his views, he had wished to abolish monastic vows, the mass, the confession, and the existing forms of worship, he would assuredly have met with the keenest resistance. Time is necessary for man to adapt himself to great revolutions. But Luther was in no wise that violent, imprudent, rash innovator which some historians have depicted.² Perceiving no change in the ordinary routine of his devotions, the people felt no apprehension in surrendering themselves to their new master;

does not scruple to call *foolish* Galatians. Nor is it easy to avoid the conclusion, that the deplorable relapse of so large a part of Germany into popery in the following century, may have been greatly owing to an impression among the people, that priests who thundered against practices as idolatrous, which nevertheless they encouraged by their own example, could not have been sincere both in the pulpit and at the altar, and must have attached little real importance to doctrines which they so grossly contradicted by their deeds. In proof of the wisdom of a directly opposite course—that of uncompromising hostility, not only to every directly idolatrous act of the Romish worship, but even to those which though perfectly innocent in themselves, like kneeling at the supper, tended to keep alive an old superstition, we may appeal to Scotland, whose Reformers utterly repudiated the author's "wisdom," and where, nevertheless, the Reformation has been far more widely and permanently established, and more fruitful in good results, than in Germany. TR.

¹ Had it been otherwise, the Reformation would have been a purely human work and would not have made that blessed progress. What men in their wisdom may think, often disappoints their expectations; and matters often take quite another turn, altogether contrary to their preconceived and preconcerted plan. LUTHER followed the leadings of Providence. It was God who arranged all things beforehand beyond and without him, and matured everything in proper time, sometimes even contrary to LUTHER's own views. Thus must it be with every reform or amelioration truly proceeding from God, and from which anything salutary is to be expected.—L. R.

² See Hume, &c.

may, they were even astonished at attacks aimed at a man who left them their mass, their rosary, and their confessor, and imputed these to the paltry jealousy of obscure rivals, or to the cruel injustice of powerful opponents. Meanwhile, Luther's ideas stirred men's minds, renewed their hearts, and so effectually undermined the ancient edifice, that it fell ere long of itself, and without the intervention of the hand of man. Ideas do not operate instantaneously; they speed their course in silence, like the waters that by filtrating behind our rocks, loosen them from the mountains on which they repose; all at once the secret working reveals itself, and a single day suffices to give proofs of the operation of many years, perhaps even of many centuries.

A new period was now opening for the Reformation. The truth had already been re-established in doctrine, and now sound doctrine began to re-establish the truth in all the forms of the Church and of society. The agitation had become too great to admit of men's minds remaining fixed and motionless at the stage which they had now reached. On the points of doctrine now so powerfully unsettled, usages had depended which were already declining, and which behoved with them to disappear. The new generation had too much courage and too much life to restrain itself in presence of error. Sacraments, worship, hierarchy, vows, constitution, domestic life, public life, all was about to be modified. The slowly and laboriously constructed vessel was now about to quit the building-yard, and to be launched upon the vast sea. We shall have to follow its course through many rocks and shoals.

These two periods were separated by the Wartburg captivity. Providence, which was about to give so great an impulse to the Reformation, had provided for its forward movements by conducting the instrument which it desired to employ, into a profound retreat. The work for a time seemed to be buried with the workman; but the grain of seed must be deposited in the earth in order that it may bear fruit, and it was from that very prison which seemed likely to prove the tomb of the Reformer, that the Reformation was to go forth to make new conquests, and ere long to diffuse itself throughout the entire world.

Hitherto the Reformation had been concentrated in the person of Luther. His appearance before the Diet of Worms was,

without doubt, the most sublime moment of his life. His character appeared then to be almost without a stain; and this led to its having been said, that if God, who during ten months concealed the Reformer within the walls of the Wartburg, had at that instant removed him for ever from the view of the world, his end would have resembled an apotheosis. But God desires not any apotheosis for his servants; and Luther was preserved to the Church in order that he might teach men by his very faults, that the faith of Christians ought to be founded on nothing but the Word of God. He was suddenly removed to a distance from the scene where the grand revolution of the sixteenth century was in course of accomplishment; the truth which during four years he had so powerfully announced, continued to operate upon Christendom during his absence; and the work of which he was the feeble instrument, from that time forth bore the seal, not of a man, but of God himself.

Germany was deeply affected at Luther's imprisonment. The most contradictory reports ran through the provinces regarding him, and his absence agitated men's minds more than his presence ever could have done. At one place it was positively asserted that friends from France had provided for his safety on the other side of the Rhine.¹ At another it was reported that he had been put to death by assassins. Information about Luther was in request even in the smallest villages; travellers were questioned with regard to him; the people met upon the subject in places of public resort. At times some unknown orator would entertain the crowd with an animated recital of the manner in which he had been carried off, would describe how barbarous troopers had bound tight their prisoner's hands together, urged on their horses while they dragged him after them on foot, exhausting his strength, giving no heed to his cries, making the blood spurt from his fingers.² . . . "Luther's dead body," he would add, "has been seen pierced all over."³ Then would cries of lamentation be heard. "Ah!" the crowd

¹ Hic . . . invalescit opinio, me esse ab amicis captum e Francia missis. (L. Epp. ii. 5.)

² Et iter festinantes cursu equites ipsum pedestrem raptim tractum fuisse ut sanguis e digitis erumperet. (Cochlæus, p. 39.)

³ Fuit qui testatus sit, visum a se Lutheri cadaver transfossum. (Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trid. i. p. 122.)

would say, "we shall no more see him; we shall no more hear that generous man whose words used to make our hearts thrill within us!" Luther's friends were incensed beyond measure, and vowed that they would avenge his death. Women, children, men of peaceful temper or softened by old age, were alarmed at the prospect of new struggles. Nothing could equal the terror of the partisans of Rome. Priests and monks who at first had been unable to repress their delight, and who had raised their heads with an air of insolent triumph, would now fain have fled far from the threatened resentment of the people.¹ Those men who while Luther was at large, had given loud expression to their fury, now that he was a prisoner, trembled with alarm.² Alexander in particular was in consternation. "The sole remaining means we have of self-preservation," wrote a Roman Catholic to the archbishop of Mainz, "is to light so many torches, and to seek through the whole world for Luther, so that we may restore him to the demands of the nation."³ One might have said that the ghost of the Reformer, pale and dragging chains after it, was everywhere spreading terror and calling for vengeance. "Luther's death," it was the cry, "will cause blood to flow in torrents."⁴

No where did this excitement prevail more than at Worms itself; there both people and princes gave utterance to their sentiments in murmurs that showed the intensity of their feelings. Ulrich of Hutten and Hermann Busch filled those parts of the country with their plaintive songs, and with calls to arm for war. Charles V. and the nuncios were openly accused; the whole nation took up as its own, the cause of the poor monk who, by the simple power of his faith, had become its chief.

At Wittemberg, his colleagues and friends, but most of all Melancthon, gave way at first to a moody melancholy. To that learned youth Luther had imparted those treasures of sound theology which thenceforth had wholly occupied his soul; it was Luther that had given life and substance to the purely intellect-

¹ *Molem vulgi imminentis ferre non possunt.* (L. Epp. ii. p. 13.)

² *Qui me libero insanierunt, nunc me captivo ita formidant ut incipiant mitigare.* (Ibid.)

³ *Nos vitam vix redempturos, nisi accensis candelis undique eum requiramus.* (Ibid.)

⁴ Gerbelli Ep. in MSC. Heckelianis. Lindner, *Leb. Luth.* p. 244.

ual culture which Melanchthon had brought with him to Wittenberg. The young Greek scholar had been struck with the depth of the Reformer's doctrine, and had seen with enthusiasm the courage with which, as a doctor, he had asserted the rights of the eternal Word against all human authorities. He had become an associate in his work; he had taken up his pen and, with a perfection of style derived from the study of antiquity, his powerful hand had made the authority of the fathers and that of the councils, to bow in succession before the sovereign Word of God.

That decision of character which Luther exhibited in his life, Melanchthon displayed as a scholar, and never did any other two men present at once so much diversity and so much unity. "The Scripture," Melanchthon would say, "slakes the thirst of the soul with a holy and marvellous deliciousness; nay, it is a celestial ambrosia."¹ "The Word of God," Luther would exclaim, "is a sword, a war, a destruction; it springs upon the children of Ephraim like a lioness in the forest." Thus what the one mainly beheld in Scripture was a power to console, while the other beheld in it an energetic opposition to the corruption of the world; but to both it was the greatest of all things on earth, and therefore they perfectly understood each other. "Melanchthon," Luther would say, "is a world's wonder: all now acknowledge this. He is the most formidable enemy of Satan and the schoolmen, for he knows their foolishness and the rock which is Christ. This Greekling surpasses me even in theology; he will be of as much use to you as many Luthers." And he added that he was ready to abandon an opinion if Philip did not approve of it. Melanchthon, on his side, so warmly admired Luther's acquaintance with the Scriptures as to place him far above the fathers of the Church. He loved to excuse the strokes of wit with which some reproached the doctor, and would then liken him to an earthen vessel, containing a precious treasure in a coarse case. "I will be well on my guard against finding fault with him inconsiderately," he would say.²

But now these two souls, after so much intimate union, were

¹ *Mirabilis in iis voluptas, immo ambrosia quædam cælestis.* (Corp. Ref. i. 128.)

² *Spiritum Martini nolim temere in hac causa interpellare.* (Ibid. i. 211.)

placed apart; these two valiant soldiers could no longer march on together to effect the deliverance of the church. Luther disappeared, and seemed possibly to have been lost for ever. Great was the consternation at Wittenberg: it seemed as if an army, with sunken and sullen looks, stood before the bloody corpse of the general that had led it on to victory.

Suddenly news arrived of a more cheering kind. "Our beloved father is still in life,"¹ exclaimed Philip in the gladness of his soul, "take courage and be strong." But depression soon prevailed again; Luther though alive was in prison. The edict of Worms with its terrible proscription clauses,² had been circulated by thousands of copies throughout the empire, even as far as the mountains of the Tyrol.³ Might not the Reformation come to be crushed by the iron hand that now pressed it down? This thought threw Melancthon's gentle soul back upon itself with a sigh that told its grief.

But above the hand of men, a mightier hand now made itself to be felt, and God himself deprived the dreadful bull of all its efficacy. The German princes, who had ever sought to weaken the power of Rome within the empire, trembled when they beheld the emperor allied with the pope, and dreaded that the result of that alliance might prove the ruin of all their franchises. Accordingly, when in passing through the Netherlands, Charles V. greeted, with an ironical smile, the flames which some flatterers and some fanatics were lighting in the public squares with the works of Luther, these writings were read in Germany with an ever-growing relish, and numerous pamphlets in favour of the Reformation, were every day dealing new blows at the popedom. The nuncios were beside themselves with rage at seeing an edict which had cost them so many intrigues, produce so little effect. "The ink with which Charles V. signed his public order," they would bitterly remark, "has hardly had time to dry, and already this imperial decree is in all places treated with contempt." . . . The people became more and more attached to that admirable man who, making no account of the fulmina-

¹ *Pater noster carissimus vivit.* (Corp. Ref. i. p. 389.)

² *Dicitur parari proscriptio horrenda.* (Ibid. p. 389.)

³ *Dicuntur signatæ chartæ proscriptionis bis mille missæ quoque ad Insbruck.* (Ibid.)

tions of Charles V. and the pope, had confessed his creed with the courage of a martyr. "He has offered to retract on being refuted," it was said, "and no one has ventured upon the task. Does not that prove the truth of what he teaches?" Hence, both at Wittenberg and throughout the empire, the first movement of alarm was succeeded by one of enthusiasm. The archbishop of Mainz himself, on seeing the people thus loud in the expression of their sympathy, dared not grant the cordeliers permission to preach against the Reformation. The university, which seemed likely to have received its death-blow, again raised its head. The new doctrines were too firmly established there to be unsettled by Luther's absence; and the lecture rooms could soon hardly contain the crowds that flocked to them.¹

II. Meanwhile, Sir George, for that was Luther's name at the Wartburg, lived solitary and unknown. "Were you to see me," he wrote to Melancthon, "you would take me for a knight, and even you would hardly recognise me."² Luther at first reposed himself a little, enjoying a degree of leisure which down to that hour had never been afforded him. He could range through the fortress at will but was not allowed to pass beyond the walls.³ All his wants were satisfied, and he had never been so well treated.⁴ Many thoughts crowded into his mind, but none that could disquiet him. By turns he looked down on the forests that surrounded him and upwards to heaven above. "A singular imprisonment this of mine," he would say, "for here I remain both with my will and against my will!"⁵

"Pray for me," he wrote to Spalatin; "your prayers are the only thing I need. I never vex myself about what may be said or done with me in the world; now at last I am at rest."⁶ That, as well as several other letters belonging to the same period, is dated from the Isle of Patmos, Luther comparing the Wart-

¹ Scholastici quorum supra millia ibi tunc fuerunt. (Spalatini annales. 1521. October.)

² Equitem videres ac ipse vix agnosceres. (L. Epp. ii. 11.)

³ Nunc sum hic otiosus, sicut inter captivos liber. (Ibid. p. 3. 12th May.)

⁴ Quamquam et hilariter et libenter omnia mihi ministret. (Ibid. p. 13. 15th August.)

⁵ Ego mirabilis captivus qui et volens et nolens hic sedeo. (Ibid. p. 4. 12th May.)

⁶ Tu fac ut pro me ores: hac una re opus mihi est. Quicquid de me fit in publico, nihil mœror; ego in quiete tandem sedeo. (Ibid. p. 4. 10th June, 1521.)

burg to that celebrated spot to which, in former times, the anger of the emperor Domitian banished the apostle St. John.¹

The Reformer now reposed amid the sombre forests of Thuringia, from the violent struggles that had been agitating his soul, and there he studied truth, not for purposes of controversy, but as a means of regeneration and of life. The commencement of the Reformation was necessarily polemical, but new times called for new labours. After having used the knife in clearing the ground of briars and thorns, the next step was the peaceable sowing of the Word of God in men's hearts. Had Luther been destined to give battle unceasingly to his opponents, never could he have effected any lasting good in the Church, but by his imprisonment he escaped a danger which might have ruined the Reformation, that of ever attacking and destroying, without ever defending and building up.

That humble retreat was followed by a still more precious result. When lifted up, as if on a shield, by his people,² he was on the brink of the abyss; and a little giddiness would have sufficed to precipitate him into it. Some of the earliest actors in the Reformation, both in Germany and in Switzerland, made shipwreck of themselves by running upon the rocks of spiritual pride and fanaticism.³ Now, Luther was a man very subject to the weaknesses of our nature, and he was unable to shun these dangers entirely. Meanwhile the hand of God rescued him from them for a time, by suddenly removing him from intoxicating ovations, and by casting him into the obscurity of a retreat unknown to all men. While there, his soul drew near to God, and concentrated its thoughts within itself; there it was plunged again in the waters of adversity; his sufferings and his humili-

¹ Luther, it appears, had other designations for his retreat, dating his letters sometimes from the *region of the air*, from the *region of birds*, or from *amid the birds that sweetly sing upon the branches*, and *praise God day and night with all their powers*; sometimes from the *mountain*. See Michelet, vol. i. p. 88. TR.

² By this expression the author alludes to the ancient custom of raising the person chosen as king or chief on a shield, and then carrying him through the army.—L. R.

³ The author cannot refer here to anything that had occurred previous to Luther's appearance, although his words might be understood in that sense, for this would be inconsistent with history, but he probably refers to something that took place afterwards, and of which he has yet to speak more at large, to wit, in Germany, to the so-called new prophets and other fanatics, and in Switzerland, to certain imprudent zealots.—L. R.

ations constrained him to advance, for some time at least, with the humble, and the principles of the Christian life, from that time forward, developed themselves more vigorously and freely in his soul.

Luther's peace was not one of long continuance. Seated alone on the walls of the Wartburg, he would continue for whole days immersed in profound meditations. At times he would place the Church before him, arrayed in all its miseries.¹ At times looking hopefully towards heaven, he would say: "Wherefore, O Lord, hast thou made all men in vain?" . . . (Psalm lxxxix. 48.) At other times, still, relinquishing that hope, he would exclaim in the dejection of his spirits: "Alas! there is no one, who in this the final day of his wrath, stands up like a wall before the Lord for the salvation of Israel!" . . .

Next, reverting to his own calling, he dreaded being charged with having abandoned the field of battle,² and this supposition quite overwhelmed him. "I would rather," said he, "be burning in the midst of live coals than stagnate here, half dead."³

Transporting himself, then, in imagination to Worms, to Wittemberg, into the midst of his enemies, he felt regret at having yielded to the counsels of his friends, at not having remained in the world, and presented his breast to the fury of men.⁴ "Ah," he would say, "there is nothing I desire more than to expose my neck to the resentment of my cruel adversaries."⁵

Some sweet thoughts, however, gave a truce at times to these fits of anguish. All was not torment for Luther; his tempest-tost spirit from time to time had its moments of calm and of comfort. Next to the assurance that God would succour him, one thing above all others solaced him in his affliction, and that was thinking of Melancthon. "Should I perish," he wrote to him, "the Gospel will lose nothing: you will succeed me as Elisha did Elijah, having a double portion of my spirit." But

¹ Ego hic sedens tota die faciem Ecclesiæ ante me constituo. (L. Epp. ii. 1.)

² Verebar ego ne aciem deserere viderer. (Ibid.)

³ Mallem inter carbones vivos ardere, quam solus semivivus, atque utinam non mortuus putere. (Ibid. 10.)

⁴ Cervicem esse objectandam publico furori. (Ibid. 89.)

⁵ Nihil magis opto, quam furoribus adversariorum occurrere, objecto jugulo. (Ibid. 1.)

⁶ Etiam si peream, nihil peribit Evangelio. (Ibid. p. 10.)

recollecting Philip's timidity, he thus powerfully addressed him: "Minister of the Word! guard thou the walls and the towers of Jerusalem, until the adversaries shall have reached you. We stand alone on the field of battle; after me, they will strike at you."¹

That very thought of the last attack about to be made by Rome on the rising Church, threw him into new torments. The poor monk, now a lonely prisoner, engaged in rude conflicts with himself, when a prospect of deliverance suddenly opened upon him. It occurred to him that the assaults of the popedom might stir the tribes of Germany into revolt, and that the soldiers of the Gospel, proving victorious and surrounding the Wartburg, would set the prisoner at liberty. "Should the pope," said he, "lay hands on all who are on my side, there will be a rising in Germany; the more speed he makes to crush us, the more will he hasten his own end, and that of all his abettors. And as for me. . . . I shall be restored to you."² . . . God arouses the minds of many, and he makes the nations bestir themselves. Let but our enemies clasp our cause in their arms, and attempt to stifle it; it will expand in their clutches, and come out of them tenfold stronger than before."

But sickness came, and brought on him a relapse from those high thoughts which gave such an elevation to his courage and to his faith. He had already suffered much at Worms, and now his disease grew worse in solitude.^{3 4} His diet at the Wartburg, somewhat less homely than that of his monastery, was too much for him, so that he had to be provided with the coarse fare to which he was accustomed. He passed whole nights without sleep, and to bodily sufferings there was added mental anguish. No great work is ever accomplished without suffering and martyrdom, and Luther, alone upon his rock, then endured, in his mighty nature, a passion which the emancipation of humanity rendered necessary. "Seated at night in my chamber," says he, "I uttered cries like those of a woman in

¹ Nos soli adhuc stamus in acie: te quærent post me. (L. Epp. ii. p. 2.)

² Quo citius id tentaverit, hoc citius et ipse et sui peribunt et ego revertar. (Ibid. p. 10.)

³ Auctum est malum, quo Wormatiæ laborabam. (Ibid. p. 17.)

⁴ Luther's bodily sufferings were so severe that he thought of going openly to Erfurt, to consult the physicans or surgeons there. See Michelet, p. 91. TR.

labour; torn, wounded, bloody.”¹ . . . Then interrupting his complainings, and penetrated with the thought that his sufferings were benefits at the hand of God, he exclaimed with feelings of love: “Thanks be to Christ, who leaves me not without the relics of his holy cross!”² But ere long he becomes indignant at himself. “Insensate, hardened wretch that I am,” he exclaims: “Wo is me! I pray little, I wrestle little with the Lord, I groan not for the Church of God.”³ Instead of being fervent in spirit, it is my passions that inflame me; I continue idle, sleepy, and slothful.” . . . Then, at a loss to what he ought to ascribe the state in which he found himself, and accustomed to look for everything from the affection of his brethren, he exclaims in the desolation of his soul: “O my friends! are you forgetting then to pray for me, that God thus withdraws himself from me?” . . .

Those who were immediately about him, as well as his friends at Wittemberg, and at the court of the elector, were disquieted and alarmed at this state of suffering. They shuddered at the thought of a life that had been rescued from the stake prepared for him by the pope, and from the sword of Charles V., sinking miserably, and passing away like smoke. Was the Wartburg then to become Luther's tomb? “I have my fears,” said Melanchthon, “that the vexation that he feels on account of the Church, may bring him to his grave. He has lighted up a torch in Israel; should it go out, what hope will then remain for us? Would to God that I were able, at the cost of my paltry life, to retain in the world that soul which is now its brightest ornament!”⁴ “Oh! such a man!” he exclaimed, as if he were already on the verge of the tomb, “we have never sufficiently appreciated him!”⁵

¹ *Sedeo dolens, sicut puerpera, lacer et saucius et cruentus.* (L. Epp. ii. p. 50. 9th Sept.)

² *Gratias Christo, qui me sine reliquiis sanctæ crucis non derelinquit.* (Ibid.)

³ *Nihil gemens pro ecclesia Dei.* (Ibid. 22. 13th July.)

⁴ *Utinam hac vili anima mea ipsius vitam emere queam.* (Corp. Ref. i. p. 415. 6th July.)

⁵ This whole mental conflict of Luther's, so ingenuously described in the preceding pages, clearly shows us how God had gradually prepared the Reformer more and more for his momentous work, and convinces us the more that this work proceeded from God, and not from men. In Luther's oppressed mind all manner of thoughts followed one after another, as to the turn that things would take; thoughts that at times bore him up and anon would throw him down again, while God in the meantime, pursuing his own course, went forth in silence, and

What Luther called the unworthy indolence of his prison, was a toil that almost exceeded the utmost powers of a single man. "I spend the whole day here," said he on the 14th of May, "in indolence and luxury," alluding, doubtless, to the somewhat more delicate nutriment which was at first provided for him. "I read the Bible in Hebrew and in Greek; I am about to write a discourse in German, on auricular confession; I shall go on with the translation of the psalms, and compose a course of sermons as soon as I shall have received from Wittenberg the things I require. I write without intermission."¹ Still all this formed but a part of Luther's labours.

His enemies comforted themselves with the thought that though he were not dead, at least they should never more hear him spoken of; but the satisfaction they felt was of short continuance, and doubts could not long be entertained in the world as to his being alive. A multitude of writings composed at the Wartburg, came out in rapid succession, and everywhere the Reformer's much cherished voice was enthusiastically welcomed. Luther, at one and the same time, published works fitted to edify the Church and polemical works that threw a cloud over the premature joy of his enemies. For nearly a year he, by turns, instructed, exhorted, reproved, and thundered from his mountain top; and his confounded enemies asked themselves whether there were not something mysterious and supernatural in this prodigious activity.² "He was incapable of taking any rest," says Cochläus.³

Now, the only mystery was the imprudence of the partisans of Rome. They hastened to take advantage of the edict of Worms, in order to give the Reformation its death-blow; and Luther, condemned, placed at the ban of the empire, shut up in the Wartburg, undertook to defend it as if he were still at liberty and victorious. It was chiefly at the tribunal of pen-

had arranged and appointed all things beforehand. "A man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps:" this is still truth, important truth, which we cannot sufficiently attend to, but is to none more seasonable than to him who would willingly make himself an instrument in God's hand for the furtherance of the interests of his kingdom. He calmly follows the hand of Providence, and the Lord, in his own time, will direct his paths.—L. R.

¹ *Sine intermissione scribo.* (L. Epp. ii. p. 6, 16.)

² This was the more extraordinary as he found few books at the Wartburg, Tr.

³ *Cum quiescere non posset.* (Cochläus, *Acta Lutheri*, p. 39.)

ance that the priests sought to rivet the chains of their docile parishioners; the practice of confession, accordingly, was what Luther first attacked. "People bring forward," says he, "those words of St. James, *Confess your faults one to another*. Singular confessor! He is called *one to another*! Whence it should follow that the confessors should confess likewise to their penitents; that every Christian in his turn should be pope, bishop, priest; and that the pope himself should confess to all!"¹

Hardly had Luther concluded that small work when he commenced another. A divine of Louvain, called Latomus, who had already acquired some celebrity by his opposition to Reuchlin and Erasmus, had attacked the Reformer; in twelve days Luther's refutation was ready, and it forms one of his masterpieces.² In it he clears himself of the reproach of want of moderation which had been brought against him. "The moderation of the world," says he, "consists in bowing the knee before sacrilegious pontiffs and impious sophists, and in saying to them: Gracious lord! Excellent master! Then, after having done this, put to death whomsoever you please; you may even turn the world upside down, you will not the less be a moderate man. . . . Far from me be such moderation, I prefer being frank, and deceiving nobody. The shell may possibly be hard, but the fruit within is sweet and tender."³

Luther's health continuing bad, he had thoughts of escaping from the Wartburg within which he was confined. But how was this to be done? To appear in public was to put his life in

¹ Und der Papst müsse ihm beichten. (L. Opp. xvii. p. 701.)

² Milner quotes the following opinion of this work from Seckendorff, adding that "all this is true in the strictest sense;" and it is singular to contrast so many valuable testimonies to the value of one of Luther's Latin works with Mr. Hallam's low appreciation of all of them, to the unfairness of which I may yet allude: "a confutation," says Seckendorff, "replete with so much learning and sound divinity, that it was impossible to reply to it without being guilty of obvious cavilling or downright impiety." "This little book," continues he, "shines among the contemporary publications like the moon among the stars; and I will venture to assert that if the author of it had never published anything else in his whole life, he would, on account of this single tract, deserve to be compared to the greatest divines which ever existed in the church. At the time of writing it he was furnished with no other book but the Bible; and yet he interprets the leading passages of the prophets and the apostles, and does away the deceitful glosses of sophistical commentators with so much exquisite erudition and ability, that the genuine meaning of the inspired writers cannot but be clear to every pious reader." See Milner, vol. v., p. 8. Tr.

³ Cortex meus esse potest durior, sed nucleus meus mollis et dulcis est (L. Opp. xvii. sat. ii. p. 213.)

jeopardy. The reverse of the height which was crowned by the fortress, was intersected by numerous bye-paths, bordered with tufts of strawberries. The ponderous castle gate opened, and the prisoner ventured, not without alarm, stealthily to gather some of the fruit.¹ Becoming bolder by degrees he began to traverse, in his knight's habiliments, the surrounding country, accompanied by a castle guard, a rough but faithful person. Happening one day to be in an inn, Luther laid aside his sword, which he found an incumbrance, and ran to some books that were lying there. His guard frowned at this, dreading lest a movement, so unlike what might be expected of a soldier, might suggest a doubt whether the doctor were really a knight. On another occasion the two soldiers alighted at the monastery of Reinhardsbrunn, where Luther had slept not many months before when on his way to Worms.² All at once a lay brother allowed an expression of surprise to escape him. Luther was recognised; the guard perceived this; hurried him away at the utmost speed; and both were already galloping off at a distance from the monastery before the poor confounded friar was well recovered from his astonishment.

The chivalrous life now led by the knight had something in it occasionally of a truly theological character. One day the nets were prepared, the castle gates were thrown open; the dogs with their long pendulous ears rushed out. Luther had felt a wish to have a taste of the pleasures of the chase. Ere long the huntsmen became keenly interested, the dogs beat the covers, and drove the game into the brushwood. Amid all this tumult, Sir George stood motionless, and was absorbed in serious reflections. Contemplating the scene around him, his heart was crushed with grief.³ "Don't we here find," said he, "an image of the Devil, who urges on his hounds, that is, the bishops, those mandatories of antichrist, and sends them out in pursuit of poor souls!"⁴ A leveret happened to be caught; delighted at having saved it, Luther carefully wrapt it in his mantle, and then

¹ Zu zeiten gehet er inn die Erdbeer am Schlossberg. (Mathesius, p. 33.)

² See vol. 1st p. 600.

³ Theologisabar etiam ibi inter retia et canes. . . . tantum misericordiae et doloris miscuit mysterium. (L. Epp. ii. p. 43.)

⁴ Quid enim ista imago, nisi Diabolum significat per insidias suas et impios magistros canes suos. (Ibid.)

deposited it in a bush; but hardly had it moved away when the dogs scented the poor creature, and killed it. Attracted by the noise, Luther uttered an exclamation of distress: "O pope, and thou Satan! it is thus that you would fain destroy the very souls which have already been saved from death!"¹

III. Meanwhile as the doctor, now dead to the world, enjoyed these recreations in the neighbourhood of the Wartburg, the work went forward of itself; the Reformation commenced; it no longer confined itself to doctrines; it powerfully entered into men's lives. Bernard Feldkirchen, who was the first under Luther's direction to attack the errors of Rome,² was the first, also, to throw off the yoke of her institutions. He married.

The German character loves a family life and the delights of home; accordingly, of all the ordinances of the popedom, forced celibacy was the one attended by the most unhappy consequences. As imposed on the higher church dignitaries, that law had prevented the fiefs of the Church from becoming hereditary property. But as extended to the inferior clergy by Gregory VII., it had had effects the most deplorable. Many of the priests slunk from the obligations imposed upon them, and by indulging in the most shameful disorders, drew hatred and contempt upon their caste; while such as submitted to the law of Hildebrand, were in their own hearts indignant at the church for condemning humble ministers, who nevertheless were her most useful supports, to a self-denial so contrary to the Gospel, while at the same time she invested her high dignitaries with so much power, so much wealth, and so many terrestrial enjoyments.

"Neither popes nor councils," said Feldkirchen and another pastor, called Seidler, who followed his example, "can impose upon the Church a commandment that endangers both soul and body. The obligation of keeping the law of God, constrains us to violate the traditions of men."³ The re-establishment of marriage was, in the sixteenth century, an act of homage rendered to the moral law. The ecclesiastical authority forth-

¹ Sic sævit Papa et Satan ut servatas etiam animas perdat. (L. Epp. ii. p. 44.)

² See page 196, vol. 1st.

³ Coegit me ergo ut humanas traditiones violarem, necessitas servandi juris divini. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 441.)

with took alarm, and launched its decrees against the two priests. Seidler, who happened to be settled within duke George's territories, was delivered over to his superiors, and died in prison; but the elector Frederick refused to give up Feldkirchen to the archbishop of Magdeburg. "His highness," said Spalatin, "has no wish to do the work of a policeman." Feldkirchen, accordingly, remained pastor of his flock, although he had become both a husband and a father.

The Reformer's first feeling on being informed of these things, was one of unmingled delight. "I admire," said he, "this new Kemberg bridegroom, who fears nothing, but pushes on into the midst of the tumult." Luther was convinced that priests should be married men. But that question led to another, that of the marriage of the monks; and here Luther had to endure one of those inward struggles which marked his whole life; for every reform behoved to be fought out by a spiritual struggle. Melanchthon and Carlstadt, the one a layman, and the other a priest, thought that the monks as well as the priests should be absolutely free to enter into the bonds of matrimony. Luther, who was a monk, did not at first think this. One day on the commandant of the Wartburg bringing him Carlstadt's theses on celibacy: "Is it possible then!" he exclaimed, "that we Wittenbergers should give wives even to the monks!" . . . The very thought of such a thing astonished and confounded him; his soul was disquieted at it. He rejected for himself the liberty which he claimed for others. "Ah," he exclaimed indignantly, "they never shall compel me at least to take a wife."¹ This saying of his is, no doubt, not known to those who pretend that Luther introduced the Reformation in order that he might marry. Searching out the truth, not under the influence of passion, but with honest intentions, he defended what seemed to him to be true, although opposed to his system as a whole. He advanced through a medley of truth and error, looking for the time when all error should give way, and when truth alone should be left.

Between the two questions there was, in fact, a wide difference. The marriage of the priests was not to bring the priesthood to its end; on the contrary, it alone could restore popular

¹ At mihi non obtrudent uxorem. (L. Epp. ii. p. 40.)

respect to the secular clergy; but the marriage of the monks involved the destruction of monachism. The question then was whether that powerful army which the popes kept under their command, should be dissolved and dismissed. "Priests," Luther wrote to Melancthon, "are instituted by God, and consequently are not subject to the commandments of men. But monks have of their own free choice adopted a single life; hence they are not free to withdraw from under the yoke which they themselves have chosen."¹

This new position of the adversary the Reformer had to advance upon, and carry by a fresh struggle. He had ere now trampled under foot so many of the abuses of Rome and Rome itself; but monachism still maintained its place. That monachism which had introduced life of old into many a desert, and which, after having come down through so many centuries, was now filling many a cloister with sloth, often, too, with luxury, seemed to have taken to itself a body and to have come to defend its rights in the castle of Thuringia, where within the conscience of one man, the question of its life and death began to be agitated. Luther wrestled with it; at times he was at the point of overmastering it, at times he was on the eve of being himself overcome. At last, finding that he could not sustain the combat any longer, he threw himself in prayer at the feet of Jesus Christ and exclaimed: "Instruct us! deliver us! establish us by thy mercy, in the liberty which is ours, for assuredly we are thy people!"²

This liberty had not long to be waited for; an important revolution was wrought in the mind of the Reformer; and it was still the doctrine of justification by faith that gave him the victory. That weapon which had thrown down the indulgences, the practices of Rome, and the pope himself, threw down the monks likewise, both in the mind of Luther and in Christendom. Luther saw that monachism and the doctrine of salvation by grace were in flagrant opposition, and that the monastic life was wholly founded on the pretended merits of man. From

¹ *Me enim vehementer movet, quod sacerdotum ordo, a Deo institutus est liber, non autem monachorum qui sua sponte statum eligerunt.* (L. Epp. ii. p. 34.)

² *Dominus Jesus erudiat et liberet nos, per misericordiam suam in libertatem nostram.* (To Melancthon on the celibate, 6th Aug. 1521. Ibid. p. 40.)

that time, under the conviction that the glory of Jesus Christ was interested therein, he heard a voice ever sounding in his conscience: "Monachism must fall!" "As long as the doctrine of justification by faith shall abide pure in the Church, no one will become a monk," said he.¹ This conviction became stronger and stronger in his heart, and about the commencement of September he sent "to the bishops and deacons of the Church of Wittenberg" the following theses, embodying his declaration of war against the monastic life:

"All that is not of faith is sin. (Rom. xiv. 23.)

"Whoever makes a vow of virginity, of chastity, of the service of God without faith, makes an impious and idolatrous vow, and he makes it to the devil himself.

"The making of such vows implies a man's being worse than the priests of Cybele, or than the pagan Vestals; for monks pronounce their vows, thinking that by these vows they are to be justified and saved, and what ought to be attributed solely to the mercy of God, is thus attributed to meritorious works.

"Such monasteries ought to be utterly overthrown, as being houses of the devil.

"There is but one order that both holy is and holy makes; that order is Christianity, or the faith.^{2 3}

¹ L. Opp. (W.) xxii. p. 1466.

² "Er ist nicht mehr denn eine einige Geistlichkeit, die da heilig ist, und heilig macht," . . . (L. Opp. xvii. p. 718.)

³ In a former Note the opinions of Zwingli on the monastic life were given in his own words. Erasmus probably knew much more of that sort of life than Zwingli did, and had seen it in many different countries, yet neither the general moderation of his opinions, nor his adhesion to the Romish communion, deterred him from reprobating it. So early as 1514 he expressed an opinion remarkably corresponding with that which the Author here reports as held by Luther: "Consider even those (religious orders) that are in best esteem, and you shall find in them nothing that resembles Christianity, but only I know not what cold and Judaical observances. Upon this the religious orders value themselves and by this they judge and despise others. Would it not be better, according to the doctrines of our Saviour, to look upon Christendom as upon one house, one family, one monastery, and all Christians as one brotherhood? Would it not be better to account the sacrament of baptism the most sacred of all vows and engagements, and never trouble ourselves where we live, so we live well?" See Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, p. 61. The religious orders were commonly called *religious* and the monks and nuns *the religious*, as if no other kind of life could consist with real godliness, thus involving a severe satire on the general state of society in Roman Catholic countries. It also shows that the name of *the religion* and *people of the religion*, commonly given afterwards to the Reformed doctrine and the Reformed, in France, could only have arisen from the characters and habits of the Reformed being such as to impress the public mind with the conviction that, though not bound by special vows, they had the special

“Monastic institutions, to be useful, ought to be schools, in which children may be brought up until they become adults; whereas they are houses in which adults become children and continue ever to be such.”

Luther, it will be perceived, could still have tolerated, at this period, monasteries as institutions for education; but ere long his attacks upon those establishments became more energetic. The immorality of the cloisters and the shameful practices that prevailed in them, pressed strongly on his soul. To Spalatin, on the 11th of November, he wrote: “I would rescue the young from that hell of the celibacy.”¹ He next wrote a book against the monastic vows, which he dedicated to his father: “Would you,” says he to the Mansfeld old man, “would you still have me rescued from monachism? You have a right to do so, for you are my father and I am still your son: but that is no longer necessary; God has anticipated you and has already mightily delivered me. What matters it whether I retain or drop the tonsure and the hood? Is it the hood, is it the tonsure, that makes a man a monk? *All things are yours*, says St. Paul, *and ye are Christ’s*. I belong not to the hood but the hood to me. I am a monk, and yet no monk; I am a new creature, not the pope’s, but Jesus Christ’s. Christ alone, and without any intermediate person, is my bishop, my abbot, my prior, my lord, my father, my master; and of these I know no other. What though the pope should condemn and slay me? He cannot make me come forth from the tomb to slay me a second time. The great day approaches when the kingdom of abominations shall be overthrown. Would to God that it were worth the pains for us to be slaughtered by the pope! Our blood would cry to heaven against him; hence his condemnation would be hastened and his end would soon follow.”²

The transformation took place in Luther himself; he was no longer a monk. No outward causes, no human passions, no carnal precipitation produced this change. There had been a

devotedness of men who were so bound—in other words, that they realised the idea expressed by Erasmus and Luther, that Christianity, or the faith, is the true religious order. TR.

¹ *Adolescentes liberare ex isto inferno cœlibatus.* (L. Opp. xvii. p. 95.)

² Dass unser Blut möcht schreien, und dringen sein Gericht, dass sein bald ein Ende würde. (L. Epp. ii. p. 105.)

struggle: Luther had at first sided with monachism; but truth, also, had gone down into the lists and monachism was vanquished. Conquests won by passion are ephemeral; those won by truth are lasting and decisive.

IV. While Luther was thus preluding to one of the greatest revolutions ever to occur in the Church, and while the Reformation was beginning to pass so powerfully into the very life of Christendom, the partisans of Rome, with all the blindness commonly found in persons who have long been in possession of power, supposing that because Luther was at the Wartburg, the Reformation might be considered as dead and buried for ever, thought that they might re-commence in peace their old practices after being disturbed in them for a time by the Wittenberg monk. The elector-arch-bishop of Maintz, Albert, was one of those feeble souls who, all things being equal, declare themselves on the right side, but the moment their own interests are thrown into the scale, are quite ready to go over to the side of error. The grand concern with him was that his court should be equally brilliant with that of any other prince in Germany, his equipages as rich, and his table equally well provided, objects which the trade in indulgences was admirably calculated to promote. Accordingly, hardly had the condemnatory sentence against Luther and the Reformation issued from the imperial chancery, when Albert, then with his court at Halle, convened the traders in indulgences, while still smarting under the infliction of the Reformer's words, and strove to re-assure them by some such address as the following: "Be no more alarmed, we have silenced him; let us quietly begin again to fleece the flock; the monk is a prisoner; bars and locks have shut him in; he must be a clever man indeed, should he succeed this time, also, in troubling our affairs." The market was re-opened, the wares exhibited for sale, and the churches of Halle resounded anew with the discourses of the mountebanks.

But Luther still lived, and his voice was sufficiently powerful to reach far beyond the walls and gratings behind which he was hid. Nothing could have so enkindled his indignation. What! conflicts the most violent had been waged; he had faced all perils; truth had won the day, and now forsooth, men dared to trample her under foot as if she had been the vanquished! . . .

She shall yet again sound forth those words which had already subverted this criminal traffic. "I shall have no rest," he wrote to Spalatin, "until I have attacked the idol of Maintz, together with his prostitutions at Halle."¹

Forthwith Luther set to work; he cared very little about the mystery in which it was sought to envelope the fact of his residence at the Wartburg. Elijah in the desert forged new bolts wherewith to smite the impious Achab. On the 1st of November he (Luther) finished a piece of writing, intituled *Against The New Idol at Halle*.

The archbishop received intelligence of Luther's designs, and so agitated and frightened was he at the thought of it, that, towards the middle of October, he sent two officers of his court, Capito and Auerbach, to Wittemberg, to conjure the storm. "Luther," said they to Melanchthon, who received them warmly, "must moderate his impetuosity." But with all his mildness Melanchthon was not one of those who consider wisdom to consist in perpetual concession, tergiversation and silence. "It is God himself who calls him," said he, "and these times of ours require a strong and pungent salt."² Capito then applied to Jonas, and endeavoured through him to work upon the court, where by this time Luther's design had come to be known and had produced the utmost consternation. "What!" the courtiers had been saying, "is the flame to be rekindled which it has cost so much trouble to put out? Luther can save himself only by making himself to be forgotten, and now he pretends to lift himself up against the first princes of the empire!" "I will not," said the elector, "suffer Luther to write against the archbishop of Maintz, and thus to trouble the public peace."³

On these words being reported to him, Luther swelled with indignation. It was not enough, forsooth, that his body should be imprisoned, but an attempt was to be made to chain down his mind and the truth itself! . . . Could it be imagined that he was led to conceal himself because he was afraid, and that his retirement was the confession of his defeat? He main-

¹ Non continebor quin idolum Moguntinum invadam, cum suo lupanari Hui-
lensi. (L. Epp. ii. p. 59. 7th October.)

² Huic seculo opus esse acerrimo sale. (Corp. Ref. i. 463.)

³ Non passurum principem, scribi in Moguntinum. (L. Epp. ii. p. 94.)

tains for his part that it is a victory. Who, when at Worms, dared rise to oppose him and contradict the truth? Accordingly, when the Wartburg prisoner had read the chaplain's letter informing him of the prince's sentiments, he threw it away from him and was resolved not to answer it. But, unable any longer to restrain himself; he again took up the letter. "The elector will not permit!" . . . he wrote to Spalatin;—"and I, I will not suffer that the elector should not permit me to write. . . . Better lose for ever you, the elector, and all created things!¹ If I have resisted the pope, who is the creator of your cardinal, why should I yield to his creature? All well, indeed, to hear you say that the public peace must not be troubled whilst you are allowing the eternal peace of God to be troubled! . . . It shall not be so, O Spalatin! It shall not be so, O Prince!² I have sent you a book which I had already prepared against the cardinal when I received your letter. Let Melanchthon have it." . . .

The perusal of this manuscript made Spalatin tremble; he again urged upon the Reformer the imprudence of publishing a work which would compel the imperial government to throw off its seeming ignorance of Luther's fate, and to punish a prisoner who could dare to attack the first prince of the empire and of the church. Were Luther to persist, peace would be troubled afresh and the Reformation possibly ruined. Luther consented to delay the publication of what he had written; he even allowed Melanchthon to erase the more offensive expressions.³ Still, indignant at his friend's timidity, he wrote to the chaplain: "He lives, he reigns, even that Saviour in whom you gentlemen at court believe not, except in so far as he so accommodates his doings to your reason, that faith is no longer called for." He then resolved to write directly to the elector-cardinal.

It is the whole episcopacy that Luther summons to his bar in the person of the German primate. His words are those of a bold man burning with zeal for the truth, and who has the conscience to speak in the name of God himself.

¹ Potius te et principem ipsum perdam et omnem creaturam. (L. Epp. ii. p. 94.)

² Non sic, Spalatine, non sic, princeps. (Ibid.)

³ Ut acerbiore tradat. (Ibid. p. 110.) It ought no doubt to be *radat*.

"Your electoral highness," he writes from the recesses of this retreat where he had been secreted, "has again set up in Halle the idol which devours at once the money and the souls of poor Christians. You suppose, perhaps, that I am not in a fighting state, and that the imperial majesty will easily stifle the poor monk's cries. . . . Know, however, that I will acquit myself of the duty that Christian charity imposes on me, without fearing the gates of hell, and still less, of course, popes, bishops, and cardinals.

"Therefore is it my most humble prayer that your electoral highness would call to mind how this affair began, and how, from a mere spark, there burst forth a terrible conflagration. Every body at that time, too, felt secure. 'This poor monk,' it was thought, 'who would singly attack the pope, forsooth! is too petty a person for such an undertaking.' But God intervened; and he has put the pope to more toil and anxiety than he has ever had since first he seated himself in the temple of God, there to lord it over the Church. That same God is living still; let none doubt it.¹ He knows how to oppose a cardinal of Maintz, even were he abetted by four emperors; for he loves above all things to bring down the lofty cedars and to humble the haughty Pharaohs.

"Therefore do I give your highness to wit in writing, that if the idol be not taken down, it is my duty, in obedience to the doctrine of God, to make a public attack on your highness, as I attacked the pope himself. Let your highness act as now advised. I look for a prompt and favourable reply within the space of a fortnight. Given in my desert, Sunday after St. Catherine's day, 1521.

"From your electoral highness's devoted and submissive,

"MARTIN LUTHER."

This epistle was sent to Wittenberg, and from Wittenberg to Halle, where the electoral-cardinal was then residing, for none dared to intercept it, foreseeing what a storm such a piece of audacity would have been sure to produce. But Melancthon sent along with it a letter addressed to the prudent Capito, by

¹ Derselbig Gott lebet noch, da zweifel nur niemand an . . . (L. Epp. ii. p. 113.)

which he endeavoured to pave the way for this difficult affair turning out well in the end.

We cannot say what were the feelings of the young, and weak archbishop on receiving the Reformer's letter. The work it announced *against the Halle idol*, was like a sword suspended over his head. And, at the same time, what might not have been expected to be the angry feelings enkindled within him by such insolence from a peasant's son, an excommunicated monk, daring to speak thus to a prince of the house of Brandenburg, the primate of the German church! Capito besought the archbishop to comply with the monk's request. Dismay, pride, conscience, whose voice he could not smother, produced a terrible conflict in Albert's soul. At last, however, dread of the book, and possibly remorse likewise, prevailed there; he humbled himself; he brought together all that he thought likely to appease the man at the Wartburg, and hardly had the fortnight elapsed, when Luther received the letter that follows; a still more astonishing production than even his own terrible epistle:

"My dear Mr. Doctor, I have received and read your letter, and have taken it in good part. Still, I think that the motive which induced you to write such a letter has now for a long while ceased to exist. It is my desire, with God's help, to conduct myself like a godly bishop and Christian prince, and I own that I stand in need of the grace of God. I deny not that I am a sinful man, who can sin and err, nay, who sins and errs daily. I know well that without the grace of God I am no better than useless and fetid mud, like other men, if I be not even worse. In replying to your letter I have felt unwilling to conceal from you this favourable disposition; for I am more than desirous to testify to you, for the love of Christ, all manner of goodwill and favour. I know how to receive a Christian and fraternal reprimand.

"With my own hand,

"ALBERT."

Such was the language held by the elector archbishop of Maintz and Magdeburg, whose office it was to represent and maintain the constitution of the church in Germany, to the excommunicated of the Wartburg. Shall we say that, in writing thus, Albert yielded to the generous inspirations of his conscience,

or to slavish fears?¹ In the former case, this letter is noble; in the latter, it deserves our contempt. We would rather ascribe it to a good movement of his heart; but, be that as it may, it shows how immensely superior the servants of God are to all that is great in this world. While the solitary condemned prisoner, Luther, found indomitable courage in his faith, the archbishop-electoral-cardinal surrounded with all the might and all the favours of this world, trembled on his Sec. This contrast is perpetually occurring, and it furnishes a key to the astonishing enigma presented to us in the history of the Reformation. The Christian has no need to reckon up his forces and to make a calculation of the means by which to secure a victory. The only thing that need perplex him is to know whether the cause for which he contends be indeed that of God himself, and whether he have no other aim but his Master's glory. He has an examination to make, no doubt; but it is an examination wholly spiritual; the Christian looks to the heart and not to the arms; he weighs the justice of his cause, not the force he can command. That question once solved, his course is plain. He may then fearlessly go forward, were it even against the world and all its armies, in the unwavering conviction that God himself will fight for him.

Thus did the enemies of the Reformation pass from extreme rigour to extreme weakness; they had done so already at Worms; and these sudden transitions are continually recurring

¹ In reply to a letter from Capito blaming the bitterness of Luther's language to the archbishop, the Reformer plainly enough intimates his suspicions that the mildness of the prelate's letter was mere hypocrisy—he insists that the Christian faith is a public and sincere faith, that sees things as they are, and proclaims things to be as they are—and again appeals to the curse pronounced by the prophet Jeremiah on whosoever shall do the work of the Lord *negligently*, adopting the rendering of the margin of our Bible. Referring to St. Paul's injunction with regard to him that is weak in the faith, he says: "I hope I cannot be charged with having been wanting, for my part, in charity and patience towards the weak. . . . Had your cardinal written in the sincerity of his heart, Oh, with what delight, with what humility should I have fallen at his feet! how I should have thought myself unworthy to kiss the very dust of them! for as to myself, am I anything but dust and ordure? Let him accept the Word of God, and we will be to him as loyal and submissive servants. . . ." These expressions show how ready Luther still was to return to those sentiments of humble deference to Albert's high rank in church and state, which we have seen him exhibit in his first letter to the elector-archbishop, written in 1517; and may be added to the vast amount of evidence that might be brought to refute the favourite idea of some modern historians, that the main-spring of the Reformation was a spirit of revolt against all established authorities—a democratical contempt for superiority of every kind. Tr.

in the warfare of error with truth. Every cause that is doomed to fall, is inwardly affected with a morbid restlessness which renders it tottering and uncertain, and makes it vacillate from one extreme to another. It were better to be consistent and energetic; one might possibly thus accelerate his fall, but that fall, should it follow, would not at least be inglorious.

A brother of Albert's, the elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I., presented an example of that force of character which is so rare, especially in our own days. Steady to his principles and firm in his actions; capable too, when the occasion required, of resisting the encroachments of the pope; he opposed the progress of the Reformation with an iron hand. Before this, at Worms, he had insisted that Luther should not obtain a hearing, and even that, notwithstanding his safe-conduct, he should be punished as an heretic. Hardly was the edict of Worms passed when he ordained that it should be rigorously executed in all his states. Luther could appreciate such a character, and distinguishing Joachim from his other opponents: "One may still pray for the elector of Brandenburg," he would say.¹ And this disposition on the part of the prince seems to have communicated itself to his people. Berlin and Brandenburg long remained completely closed against the Reformation. But what is slowly received, is faithfully preserved; while other countries which at that time welcomed the Gospel joyfully, Belgium for example, and Westphalia, were ere long to forsake it, Brandenburg, which last of all the states of Germany entered into the paths of the faith, was at a later period to place itself in the first ranks of the Reformation.²

Luther had his suspicions, on receiving cardinal Albert's letter, that it was to be ascribed to hypocrisy, and had been written in compliance with the counsels of Capito. He held his peace however, contenting himself with declaring to the latter that as long as the archbishop, who was hardly capable of administering the affairs of a petty parish, did not lay aside the mask of the cardinalship and episcopal pomp, and did not become a

¹ Helwig. *Gesch. der Brandeb.* ii. p. 605.

² Hoc enim est proprium Morum hominum (ex March; Brandenburg), ut quum semel in religione sententiam approbaverint, non facile deserant. (Leutingeri. *Opp.* i. 41.)



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simple minister of the Word, he could not possibly be on the road to salvation.¹

V. While thus combatting error as if he were still on the field of battle, Luther was at work in his retreat at the Wartburg as if he never mingled in the least with what was passing in the world. The time was now come when the Reformation was to pass from the learning of theologians into the lives of the people at large; and yet the grand machine by means of which this advance was to be effected, did not yet exist. That mighty and marvellous instrument, which was destined to launch from all its parts those bolts against the edifice of Rome that were to level her walls with the ground, to upheave the enormous weight beneath which the popedom was smothering the Church, to communicate an impulse to the whole of humanity, and which was to last as long as time itself, behoved to come forth from the old castle of the Wartburg, and to enter the world with the Reformer, on the day that his imprisonment was to expire.

The farther the Church was removed from the times when Jesus, the true light of the world, was upon the earth, the more did it stand in need of the torch of the Word of God, by which the brightness of Jesus Christ is intended to be transmitted intact to men in the most distant future ages. But that divine Word was then unknown to the people. Attempts at translation from the Vulgate,² made in 1477, in 1490, and in 1518, had failed to succeed: they were almost unintelligible, and owing to their dearness, were beyond the reach of the common people.³ A prohibition had even been issued against giving the

¹ *Larvam cardinalatus et pompam episcopalem ablegare.* (L. Epp. ii. p. 132.)

² The common Latin version received by the Romish church, and by it accounted almost infallible, and held as equal to the original.—L. R.

³ M. Michelet in his "Additions and Elucidations," states that several German versions of the Bible had already been published at Nuremberg, in 1477, 1483, 1490, and at Augsburg, in 1518; but they were not made for the people. (*Nec legi permittebantur, nec ob styli et typorum horriditatem satisfacere poterant.* Seckendorf, lib. i. 204.)

"Previous to the close of the fifteenth century, Germany possessed at least twelve editions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, whilst Italy had by that time only two, and France no more than one." (Jung. *hist. de la Reforme à Strasbourg.*)

These are highly interesting facts, and although the German Bibles of the fifteenth century were not meant for the vulgar, and might have been rude both in style and printing, their number shows that they were extensively in demand somewhere, and must have greatly contributed towards the rapid and extensive growth of the Reformation when it came. Tr.

Bible in the vulgar tongue to the German Church.¹ Moreover, the number of those who were in a condition to read it, became considerable, only when there was to be found in the German tongue a book of deep and universal interest.

Luther was called to give the Scriptures of God to the nation to which he belonged. The same God who had conducted St. John to Patmos to write his revelations there, shut up Luther in the Wartburg that he might there translate his Word. That great task, which he could with difficulty have undertaken amid the distractions and occupations of Wittenberg, was to place the new edifice on the primitive rock, and, after so many ages had gone by, was to recall Christians from the subtilities of the school to the pure first fountain-head of redemption and salvation.

The necessities of the Church pleaded powerfully; they called for this great work; and Luther's deep and varied experience might be expected to induce him to execute it. In fact, he had found in the faith, that peace of soul which his troubled conscience and monastic notions had for long led him to seek in his own merits and holiness. The doctrines of the Church, the theology of the school, knew nought of the consolations bestowed by faith; but Scripture presents them very forcibly, and there it was that he found them. Faith in the Word of God had set him free; by it he felt emancipated from the dogmatical authority of the church, from her hierarchy, from her tradition, from scholastic opinions, from the power of prejudices, and from all domination on the part of man. Those many strong ties which had for ages kept Christendom in chains and swaddling-bands, were snapt asunder and destroyed; they lay scattered all around him, and he nobly raised his head, free from all things except the Word. And the same independence of men and submission to God which he had found in the holy Scriptures, he wished to see restored to the Church; but in order to this, it was requisite that she should have restored to her the revelations of God. Some powerful hand was required to roll back upon their hinges the ponderous portals of that arsenal of the Word of God where Luther himself had found his arms, and that those antique vaults and halls

¹ Codex diplom. Ecclesiæ Magunt. iv. p. 460.

which no foot had traversed for ages, had at length to be opened again to prepare the Christian people for the day of combat.

Luther had before this translated sundry detached parts of Holy Scripture; the seven penitential psalms had been his first task.¹ John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and the Reformation commenced alike with the preaching of repentance; that lying at the root of all true renovation, whether for man individually or for mankind at large. These essays had been received with avidity; every body wanted more of them, and to Luther this voice of the people was as the voice of God himself. He purposed complying with the call, and finding himself immured as a prisoner within walls that forbade egress, he resolved to devote his leisure to the translation of the Word of God into the language of his countrymen. That Word would ere long go down with him from the Wartburg; would traverse the tribes of Germany, and put them into possession of spiritual treasures up to that hour confined within the hearts of a few godly men. "Let this sole book," he exclaimed, "be familiar to all men's tongues, hands, eyes, ears, and hearts!"² Admirable words, which an illustrious society, by transferring the Bible into the peculiar dialects of all nations, now undertakes after the lapse of three centuries, to accomplish.³ "Scripture without any commentary," he further says, "is the sun from which all the doctors derive their light."

Such are the principles of Christianity and the Reformation. According to these venerable voices, it is not the fathers we ought to take for the purpose of elucidating Scripture, but it is Scripture that ought to elucidate the fathers. The reformers and the apostles point to the Word of God alone for light, even as they point to the sacrifice of Christ alone for righteousness. If we would mingle ought of human authority with this absolute authority of God, or ought of human righteousness with this perfect righteousness of Christ, we vitiate Christianity in its two foundations. Such are the two fundamental heresies of Rome; such, also, are the two which certain doctors would introduce,

¹ Psalm 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 147.

² Et solus hic liber omnium lingua, manu, oculis, auribus, cordibus versaretur. (L. Epp. ii. p. 116.)

³ The Bible society.

though doubtless, in a less degree, into the heart of the Reformation.

Luther now opened the Hellenic writings of the evangelists and apostles, and undertook the difficult task of making these divine doctors speak his mother tongue. Most important epoch in the history of the Reformation! The work of reform henceforth was no longer in the hands of the Reformer. The Bible stood forth; Luther withdrew. God unveiled himself and man disappeared. The Reformer placed the book in the hands of his contemporaries, and each could now hear what God himself had to say. As for Luther, he forthwith mingled with the crowd, and took his place among those who as one body drew from the common source of light and life.

In translating the holy Scriptures, Luther found that abundant comfort and strength which he did indeed require. Suffering from ill health, separated from all the world, grieved at the efforts of his enemies and the vagaries of certain of his own party, and seeing his life wasting away in a gloomy old castle, he had at times to sustain terrible conflicts. There was a prevailing tendency, in those days, to transport into the visible world the conflicts which the soul had to maintain with its spiritual enemies. Luther's ardent imagination easily embodied the feelings of his heart, and the superstitions of the middle ages had so far taken hold of his mind, that it might in this respect be said of him as has been said of Calvin with respect to the chastisements due to heretics, that he had some remains of popery in him.¹ Satan was not merely in Luther's apprehension an invisible, though quite a real being: he thought that that enemy of God appeared visibly to men as he had done to Jesus Christ. Although the authenticity of several of the statements that have been related on this subject in the "*Table Talk*" and elsewhere, are more than doubtful, still history has some ground for noticing this weakness in the Reformer.² Never did those

¹ M. Michelet, in his *Memoirs of Luther*, devotes above thirty pages to the various accounts that have been given of the apparitions of the devil.

² That part of the castle where Luther was lodged, seems to have been liable to disturbance from such noises as are often heard in old houses, and lead to the idea that they are haunted. No one was allowed access to Luther's apartments but two noble youths who twice a day brought him his meals. These on one occasion had brought for him a bag of nuts, which on his going to bed in a room adjoining that where they were left, he thought began to rattle in the box they had been

gloomy thoughts assail him more than in the solitude of the Wartburg. He had braved the devil at Worms in the days of his force; but now all the might of the Reformer seemed shattered and his glory to be in its decline. He was thrown out of his ordinary course; Satan was victorious in his turn, and Luther, in his soul's anguish, fancied that he saw him make his giant form stand out before him, point his threatening finger at him, exult over him with a bitter hellish sneer, and gnash his teeth with a rage that was frightful. One day among others, we are told, Luther while labouring at his translation of the New Testament, thought he saw Satan resolved in his abhorrence of such a work, to harrass him while engaged with it, and prowling around him, like a lion about to spring upon his prey. At once terrified and angry, Luther seized the inkstand, and threw it at his enemy's head. The figure vanished, and the inkstand was broken by its striking against the wall.^{1 2}

Longer stay at the Wartburg was now to Luther intolerable. He felt indignant at the pusillanimity of his protectors. At times he would remain for a whole day plunged in silent and profound meditations, out of which he would rouse himself only to ejaculate: "Ah! that I were at Wittenberg!" At last he could endure it no longer; he had made sufficient sacrifices of his own inclination: see his friends again he must, and hear them, and converse with them. He must needs, it is true, risk

put into, and even to make a noise against his bed. After falling asleep he was again awoken by a loud noise in the staircase, "as if a hundred hogsheads had been tumbled from the top to the bottom," yet the staircase was shut in with chains and an iron door. The first of these noises might have been caused by mice, the other by the waggishness of the two young nobles, or other inmates of the castle. On Luther's shifting his quarters to another part of the castle on his room being given to the wife of John von Berblib, who on the suspicion of his being at the Wartburg, had come to see him, the noises did not follow him, but were heard by the good dame who had taken his place, and seemed as if caused "by a thousand devils." See *Michelet*. Tr.

¹ The keeper of the Wartburg still carefully points out to the traveller the mark left by Luther's inkstand. . . .

² Who does not agree with us here in admiring, throughout this whole narrative of the manner in which Luther was led to undertake the translation of the Bible, and was directed therein, the Divine superintendence that made choice of the proper time for it, that provided for Luther without his seeking it and even against his intention, the requisite leisure and retirement, and while by his residence in the Wartburg, it placed him in the condition of mind best fitted for the task, at the same time by this very task provided for him a healthful diversion of thought and recreation! How wise and good are not God's ways with mankind, with his own servants in particular, for the advantage and well-being of his Church!—L. R.

falling into the hands of his adversaries, but nothing could stop him. About the end of November he secretly left the Wartburg, and set off for Wittenberg.¹

A fresh storm had just burst upon him. The Sorbonne² had broken silence at last. That illustrious school of Paris, the first authority in the church after the pope, the ancient and venerable source of theological doctrines, had launched its verdict against the Reformation.³

The following are some of the propositions which it condemned. Luther had said: "God ever gratuitously forgives and remits sins, and requires nothing of us in return unless it be that for the future we live according to righteousness." He had added: "Of all mortal sins, this is the most mortal, that any man should believe himself not guilty in God's sight of a damnable and mortal sin." He had said further: "The burning of heretics is contrary to the will of the Holy Ghost."

To all these propositions, and to many more besides which it had quoted, the theological faculty of Paris replied: "Heresy, anathema!"⁴

But a youth of four and twenty, of low stature, and modest and unassuming appearance, dared to take up the gauntlet

¹ Machete er sich heimlich aus seiner Patmo auf. (L. Opp. xviii. p. 238.)

² The Sorbonne, being the same that we in our academies call the theological faculty, or that part of the ministers which is devoted to the study of theology, was the theological school in the academy or university of Paris. That academy was the first university properly so called, where all the various departments of science were taught. The school there specially intended for the study of theology (See Mosheim's Church History vol. vth) was established and richly endowed in the year 1250 by a wealthy and religious man, of the name of Robert de Sorbonne, a special friend and favourite of King Louis X., or St. Louis, and hence it acquired the name of the *Sorbonne*. This theological school was so famous that on several occasions its decision was called in for the purpose of determining difficult controversies.—L. R.

³ Milner judiciously remarks that as in 1517, the university of Paris had ventured to question the pope's infallibility, as Luther himself is charged with having repeatedly acknowledged the Parisian doctors to be wise and orthodox theologians, and with having promised also to submit his cause to their arbitration, it seems extremely probable that he must have been disappointed, and in some degree chagrined, when he found that that assembly of divines on which he had most relied, and among whom there probably were some spiritual persons of an enlightened understanding, adhered IN THE MAIN to the old prejudices and the scholastic divinity, and had actually pronounced his doctrine to be "erroneous both in faith and manners, and proper only to deceive simple people; that it was injurious (*i. e.* insulting) to all the doctors, and derogatory from the power of the church; openly schismatical, contrary to Scripture, blasphemous against the Holy Spirit, and pernicious to the Christian common wealth." Tr.

⁴ *Determinatio theologorum Parisiensium super doctrina Lutherana.* (Corp. Ref. i. p. 366—388.)

which had been thrown down by the first school in the world. People were not ignorant at Wittemberg of the true meaning of all these pompous condemnations; it was known there that Rome had yielded to the suggestions of the Dominicans, and that the Sorbonne had been led away by two or three fanatical doctors who were commonly designated in Paris by ridiculous nicknames.¹ Moreover, Melanchthon did not confine himself to a mere defence of Luther in his apology, but with the hardihood that characterises his writings, he himself carried the attack into the camp of his adversaries. "You say: he is a manichean!² he is a montanist! let fire and sword repress his folly! And who is this montanist? Luther, who would have people believe in holy Scripture alone, or you, who believe the spirits of men rather than the Word of God?"³

To attribute more to the word of man than to the Word of God was, in fact, the heresy of montanists, as it is still that of the pope and of all who place the Church's hierarchical authority, or the inward suggestions of mysticism, above the positive declarations of holy Writ. Accordingly, the young master of arts who had said: "I would lay down my life sooner than the faith,"⁴ stopt not there. He accused the Sorbonne of darkening the Gospel, of having extinguished the faith, of having substituted a vain philosophy in the room of Christianity.⁵ After the appearance of this book of Melanchthon's, the state of the question was altered; he unanswerably demonstrated that heresy had its seat at Paris and at Rome, and the catholic truth at Wittemberg.

Luther, meanwhile, little caring for the damnatory sentences of the Sorbonne, repaired in his equestrian habiliments to the university city. Sundry reports met him on the road that a

¹ Damnarunt triumviri Beda, Quercus et Christophorus. Nomina sunt horum monstrorum etiam vulgo nunc nota *Belua, Stercus, Christo tomus*. (Zw. Epp. i. p. 176.)

² The Rev. George Stanley Faber has in a late learned publication satisfactorily shown how easily the Waldenses and their predecessors came to be accused of Manichean errors by opponents, whose ignorance of the language of Scripture led them to attribute the simple use of sundry scriptural expressions to the belief of Manichean opinions on the existence of a good and evil spirit.

³ Corp. Ref. i. 396.

⁴ Scias me positurum animam citius quam fidem. (Corp. Ref. i. 396.)

⁵ Evangelium obscuratum est, fides extincta. . . . Ex Christianismo, contra omnem sensum spiritus, facta est quædam philosophica vivendi ratio. (Ibid. p. 400.)

spirit of impatience and independence was manifested by some of his adherents, and these vexed him to the heart.¹ At length he reached Wittenberg without being recognised, and alighted at the house of Amsdorff. Forthwith means were secretly taken to assemble his friends,² Melancthon in particular, who had so often said: "I could better bear death itself than being deprived of him."³ They arrived: what a meeting! what joy must have been felt at it! The Wartburg captive, again in the midst of them, tastes all the delights of Christian friendship. He is told of the progress of the Reformation, and the hopes of his brethren; ravished with what he sees and hears,⁴ he prays, returns thanks to God, and then without waiting long, returns to the Wartburg.

VI. There was good ground for Luther's being satisfied: the work of the Reformation was advancing at the time with rapid strides. Feldkirchen, ever in the advanced guard, had first mounted to the assault; the main strength of the army was now shaken, and that power which had caused the Reformation to pass from the sphere of doctrine which it had purged from error, into the worship, the life, and the constitution of the church, now manifested itself by a new explosion, and a more formidable one for the popedom than the first had been.

On being rid of the Reformer, Rome had supposed that heresy was at an end. But in a short time all was changed. Death hurled from the pontifical throne the man who had laid Luther under an interdict. Troubles broke out in Spain, and obliged Charles V. to go beyond the Pyrennees. War burst forth betwixt that prince and Francis I., and as if all this were not enough to occupy the emperor, Soliman pushed his way into Hungary. Attacked on all sides, Charles found himself constrained to dismiss from his thoughts the monk of Worms and his religious innovations.

About the same time, the vessel of the Reformation, which, after being tossed hither and thither by contrary winds, had well nigh foundered, recovered itself, and proudly breasted the waves.

The monastery of the Augustinians at Wittenberg was the

¹ Per viam vexatus rumore vario de nostrorum quorundam importunitate. (L. Epp. ii. p. 109.)

² Liess in der Stille seine Freunde fodern. (L. Opp. xviii. p. 238.)

³ Quo si mihi carendum est, mortem fortius tulero. (Corp. Ref. i. 453, 455.)

⁴ Omnia vehementer placent quæ video et audio. (L. Epp. ii. p. 109.)

place where the Reformation first appeared ; a circumstance not to be wondered at ; for although the Reformer was gone, all the powers on earth could not expel from it the spirit that had animated him while there.

Strange discourses had for some time been delivered at the church in which Luther had so often been heard. Gabriel Zwillung, a very zealous monk, and preacher to the monastery, had preached the Reformation there with great warmth. As if Luther, whose name was now famous everywhere, had become too powerful and illustrious, God chose weak and obscure men for the actual commencement of the Reformation which the celebrated doctor had prepared. "Jesus Christ," said the preacher, "instituted the sacrament of the altar, as a memorial of his death, and not that it might be made an object of worship. To worship it, is an act of pure idolatry. The priest who communicates alone, commits a sin. No prior is authorised to constrain a monk to say mass alone.¹ Let one, two, or three officiate, and let all the rest receive the sacrament in both kinds."²

Such was the demand of friar Gabriel, and these audacious words were listened to with approbation by the other brethren,

¹ We have seen in Luther's case, how tyrannical the older monks in a convent could be towards their juniors. But as the authority of the abbot or prior was almost absolute, he must often have had it in his power grievously to tyrannise over the consciences of such of the friars as were beginning to be enlightened by the study of the scriptures or other means of grace. We learn from Erasmus that even when there was no such cause for exciting the enmity of an unconverted heart in the person of the superior in a monastery, his despotism might be of the most selfish and oppressive description, while the vow of obedience made by the monks, was cruelly taken advantage of to charge those who dared to resist, with the crime of perjury. Take the following passage from the *Ecclesiastes* of the Rotterdam doctor : "Some now preach up obedience to man in such a manner as to obscure that highest obedience which we owe to God. The pontiff exacts obedience so often from princes : a bishop from his clergymen and presbyters ; an abbot from his monks : an oath is added, that the charge of perjury may lie against any one who does not humour another man's will, not to say, his caprice (*libidini*) in all things. For it sometimes happens that some unlearned, stupid, perhaps not even sober superior, conjures a monk by holy obedience, as if by something divine, to comply with his desires. In what? Not that he should live chastely, abstain from drunkenness, and avoid hypocrisy. But what? Not to learn Greek, or not so much as to touch the works of eloquent authors, or something more foolish still, which I would rather should be understood than that I should express it. Though the monk be given to wine, though a gluttonous person, though incontinent, though he teem with hatred and envy, though he never touch the sacred writings, he is neither perjured nor disobedient. But should he neglect the commands of a drunken and haughty superior, then a horrible crime is committed, holy obedience is violated, and the felony must be punished with imprisonment or death." Tr.

² Einem 2 oder 3 befehlen Mess zu halten under die andern 12 von denen das sacrament *sub utraque specie*, mit empfaßen. (Corp. Ref. i. 460.)

and particularly by such as came from the Low Countries.¹ As disciples of the Gospel, they naturally asked themselves, why they should not be conformed in all points to its requirements. Had not Luther himself written in August to Melanchthon: "From this time forth and for ever, never will I say a private mass;"² Thus did the very monks, those soldiers of the hierarchy, on being set at liberty by the Word of God, boldly take part against Rome.

At Wittemberg they found themselves doggedly thwarted by the prior. Remembering that all things should be done in order, they yielded; still however, declaring that to continue the mass was to oppose the Gospel of God.

The prior having carried his point, one single monk having proved more powerful than all the rest; this movement among the Augustinians might have been supposed to be a mere caprice of insubordination, such as often occurred in monasteries. But it was in truth the Spirit of God himself which was then agitating Christendom. One solitary cry uttered from the recesses of a monastery, had found an echo in a thousand voices; and that which people would fain have confined within the walls of a convent, went forth and took a body to itself in the very midst of civic life.

The report of dissensions having arisen among the monks, soon spread through the city. The burgesses and the university students sided either with or against the mass. The court of the elector began to be disquieted on the subject. Frederick, in astonishment, sent his chancellor, Pontanus, to Wittemberg, with orders to put down the monks, by restricting them to bread and water should the case so require;³ and on the 12th of October, at seven in the morning, a deputation of professors, among whom was Melanchthon, repaired to the monastery to exhort the friars to make no innovations,⁴ or at least to wait for a time. Upon this all their zeal revived; being of one mind in regard to the faith, with the single exception of the prior who

¹ Der meiste Theil jener Parthei Niederländer seyn. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 476.)

² Sed et ego amplius non faciam missam privatam in æternum. (L. Epp. ii. p. 36.)

³ Wollen die Mönche nicht Mess halten, sie werden's bald in der Küchen und Keller empfinden. . . . (Corp. Ref. i. p. 461.)

⁴ Mit dem Messhalten keine Neuerung machen. (Ibid.)

combated their wishes, they appealed in the matter to holy Scripture, to the minds of the faithful, and to the consciences of the theologians, to whom, two days after, they transmitted a written declaration.

Upon this the doctors set themselves to examine the question more narrowly, and concluded with acknowledging that truth lay on the side of the monks. They had come for the purpose of convincing others, but, behold! were themselves convinced. What were they to do? Their consciences powerfully spoke within them; their mental anguish was daily growing worse; at length, after much hesitation, they resolved to act with courage.

On the 20th of October, the university made its report to the elector. "Let your electoral highness," it said to him after exposing the errors of the mass, "abolish all abuses, lest Christ, at the day of judgment, apply to you the reproach which he addressed of old to Capernaum."

Thus it was no longer some obscure monks that spoke: it was that university which all serious men had for some years greeted as the school of the nation; and the very means by which the Reformation was to have been stifled, were those which were to promote its advance.

With the view of throwing light upon this subject, Melancthon published fifty-five propositions, drawn up in the bold spirit which he carried into learned disquisitions:

"Just as looking at the cross," said he, "is not the doing of a good deed, but is the simple contemplation of a sign that recalls to us the death of Christ;

"Just as looking at the sun is not the doing of a good deed, but simply contemplating a sign which recalls to us Christ and his Gospel;

"So participating at the Lord's table, is not the doing of a good deed, but simply the making use of a sign which brings to mind the grace that has been bestowed upon us by Christ.

"But here lies the difference, to wit, that symbols discovered by men simply recall what they signify, whereas the signs given by God not only recall the things, but, further, assure the heart with respect to the will of God.¹

¹ Signa ab hominibus reperta admonent tantum; signa a Deo tradita, præ-

“As the sight of a cross does not justify, so the mass does not justify.

“As the sight of a cross is not a sacrifice either for our sins, or for the sins of others, so the mass is not a sacrifice.

“There is but one sacrifice; there is but one satisfaction; Jesus Christ. Beyond him there is nothing of the kind.

“Let the bishops who do not oppose the impiety of the mass, be anathematised.” . . . Thus spoke the mild and godly Philip.

The elector was in consternation. He had wished to keep down the young monks, and behold! the entire university, and Melancthon himself, had risen on their side. To wait, appeared to him in all things to be the surest means of success. He had no liking for hasty reforms, and desired that every opinion might be allowed to manifest itself. “Time,” thought he “clears up and matures all things.” And yet the Reformation advanced in spite of him with accelerated speed, and threatened to hurry everything along with it. Frederick did his utmost to arrest its course. His authority, the influence of his character, what seemed to him the most decisive reasons, everything, in short, was employed by him for this purpose. “Don’t run too fast,” he made it be said to the divines; “you are too inconsiderable in point of numbers to attempt such a reform with success. If it be founded on the holy Gospel, others will perceive this and you will be abetted by the whole Church, in abolishing these abuses. You may talk, dispute, and preach on these matters as much as you please; but continue the old usages.”

Such was the conflict that began on the subject of the mass. The monks had mounted courageously to the assault; the divines, though for a moment undecided, ere long came to their assistance. The prince and his ministers were the sole defenders of the place. It has been asserted that the Reformation was affected by the power and authority of the elector; but, far from that, the assailants had to fall back at the venerated voice of Frederick; and for a brief space the mass was saved.

For the rest, the main attack was by this time directed upon another point. Friar Gabriel continued to deliver his fervid harangues in the church of the Augustinians, but it was now against monkery itself that he aimed his reiterated blows; if the mass contained the pith of the doctrines of Rome, monachism was the strength of her hierarchy. These, accordingly, were the two positions which had to be carried first.

"No one," exclaimed Gabriel, as reported by the prior, "no one in a convent keeps God's commandments; no one can be saved under a hood;¹ whoever is to be found in a cloister, entered it in the name of the devil. Vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, are contrary to the Gospel."

These strange expressions were related to the prior, who took good care not to go to church, being afraid that he might hear them.

"Gabriel," it was further told him, "would have every effort made to have the cloisters emptied of their inmates. When people meet with monks in the streets, they ought, according to him, to be pulled about and laughed at; and if ridicule fail to make them leave their convents, they ought to be expelled by force. Pull down, destroy, overthrow the monasteries, says he, so that not a trace of them may be left, and so that on the spots they have so long occupied, not a stone shall be found of all that have served as a shelter to so much sloth and so many superstitions."²

The monks were amazed; their consciences loudly told them that what Gabriel said was but too true, that the life of a monk was not conformed to the will of God, and that nobody could dispose of them but themselves.³

¹ Kein Mönch werde in der Kappe selig. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 433.)

² Dass man nicht oben Stück von einem Kloster da sey gestanden merken möge. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 433.)

³ Few things resulting from the Reformation have furnished matter of more violent abuse and complaint than the voluntary abandonment of their monasteries by so many monks under the influence, real or pretended, of the new doctrines, and the Author's opinions on the subject of the corruptions incident to that species of will-worship, will be deemed by most Roman Catholics among the most unfair portions of his work. We have seen Zwingli's opinion of monkery; let us now see what the mild and studious Erasmus, a man uninfluenced by any Lutheran or Calvinistic prejudices, thought of the conventual life, irrespective of the tyranny of abbots and priors. In 1514 he thus replies to a proposal to return to the society of monks: "Every time that I have thought of returning to you, I have considered that many of you would envy me and all of

Thirteen Augustinians all at once went out from the monastery, and throwing aside the habits worn by their order, assumed the common dress. Such of them as had received any schooling, attended the university lectures, in order that they might yet be of use to the Church, and those whose minds had received little culture, endeavoured to gain a livelihood by working with their own hands, according to the precept of the apostle and the example of the good burgesses of Wittenberg.¹ One of these, who could ply the trade of a carpenter, petitioned to be admitted as a burgess, and resolved to marry.

If Luther's entering the monastery at Erfurt had proved the first germ of the Reformation, the exit of these thirteen monks from that of the Augustinians at Wittenberg, betokened its taking possession of Christendom. Erasmus had thirty years before this made an exposure of the uselessness, the folly, and the vices of the monks; he had made all Europe join in his laughter and indignation: but it was no matter of mere sarcasm now. Thirteen high-minded and courageous men went back

you would despise me. I have considered the insipid and frivolous conversations held amongst you, in which there is nothing that savours of Christianity; your repasts altogether secular, and your whole way of life distinguished only by those things which are commonly called ceremonies. . . . Why should I return, only to die with you? But perhaps you imagine that it is a singular happiness to die in a fraternity. Alas! you are mistaken, and almost all the world are mistaken along with you. We make Christianity to consist in dress, in eating, and in little observances. We look upon a man as lost who quits his white garment for a black one, who wears a hat instead of a hood, and often changes his habitation. Shall I venture to affirm that the greatest mischief that hath been done to the Christian religion arises from these *religions* (or religious orders) as they are called, though perhaps a pious zeal first introduced them? They have since been augmented by slow degrees and multiplied into various kinds. The authority of popes, too easy and indulgent, hath supported them. For what is more absurd or more wicked, than these relaxed religions?" See Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, v. i. p. 61. Pasquier in his *Catechisme des Jesuites* describes the rise of the religious orders; the contrast between their rigid ascetism and ardent though unenlightened devotion in early times, and the corruption into which they had fallen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is minutely detailed in a small work intituled *l'Apocalypse de Meliton ou Revelations des Mysteres cenobitiques*—a work which Voltaire was mistaken in attributing to Camus, bishop of Belley, the real author having been Father Claud Pitheois, who died a Protestant, at Sedan, in 1676, at the age of 80. The still more recent corruptions of these institutions have been ludicrously described in another small work intituled *Les Recreations des Capucins ou Description Historique de la Vie que menent les Capucins pendant leurs Recreations*. To readers who have no access to the larger works of Hospinian and others, these small works afford a curious insight into many peculiarities of a kind of life, little known to most Protestants, and apt to be regarded with a romantic interest by the admirers of modern works of fiction. Ta.

¹ Etliche unter den Bürgern, etliche unter den Studenten, says the prior in his complaint to the elector. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 483.)

among their brethren, there to render themselves useful to society and to comply with the orders of God. Feldkirchen's marriage was the first defeat sustained by the hierarchy; the emancipation of these thirteen Augustinians was the second. Monachism, which became formally constituted on the Church's entering the period of her bondage and her errors, behoved to fall the moment that she recovered truth and liberty.

This bold deed produced a general fermentation in Wittemberg. People admired men who came to take their part in the labours of the community, and received them as brethren. At the same time some murmurs were heard at the expense of those who persisted in remaining lazily concealed behind the walls of the monastery. Such of the monks as continued faithful to the prior, trembled in their cells; and the latter, under the impulse of the universal movement, intermitted the celebration of low masses.

The smallest concession, at so critical a moment, could not fail to accelerate the march of events. Such an order on the part of the prior was keenly felt both in the city and in the university, and it led to a sudden explosion. Among the Wittemberg burgesses and students, there were to be found some of those turbulent spirits whom the least excitement suffices to rouse and hurry into culpable disorders. These were indignant that the low masses, though suspended by the superstitious prior, should continue to be said in the parish church; and on Tuesday, the third of December, as the mass was about to be chanted there, they suddenly advanced to the altar, took away the books, and dispersed the priests. Indignant at their proceedings, the council and the university held a meeting with the view of taking strong measures against those who had been engaged in them. But it is not easy to calm men's passions when once excited. The Cordeliers had taken no part in the reforming movement of the Augustinians. On the following day some of the students attached a menacing placard to the gate of their monastery; after which forty students entered their church, and without proceeding to actual outrages, by making game of the monks, prevented them from venturing to say mass except in the choir. Towards night-fall the fathers had warning sent them to be upon their guard. "The students," they

were told, "are coming to attack the monastery! . . ." The terrified monks, not knowing how to protect themselves against such real or supposed assaults, lost no time in applying to the council for protection; soldiers were sent to them, but no enemy appeared. The university caused the students who took part in these disturbances, to be arrested, on which it was discovered that they were students from Erfurt, and already notorious for insubordination.¹ They were subjected to the penalties of university discipline.

Meanwhile, people felt the necessity of carefully examining the lawfulness of monastic vows. A chapter, consisting of the Augustinians of Thuringia and of Misnia, met at Wittenberg in December; Luther's view was found to be theirs; they declared, on the one hand, that monastic vows were not sinful, and, on the other, that they were not obligatory. "In Christ," said they, "there is neither layman nor monk; every man is free to quit the monastery or to remain there. Let him who leaves it, not abuse his liberty; let him who remains in it, obey his superiors, but from love." They next abolished mendicity, and masses said for money; they resolved, likewise, that the most learned among them should apply themselves to teaching the Word of God, and that the rest should support their brethren by labouring with their hands.²

Thus the question with respect to vows seemed to be decided; but that of the mass remained in suspense. The elector constantly opposed the torrent, and protected an institution which he saw still maintaining its ground throughout all Christendom. The orders of so indulgent a prince could not, however, restrain men's minds for any length of time. The head of Carlstadt in particular, fermented amid the general fermentation. Zealous, straightforward, unflinching; ready, like Luther, to sacrifice all things to the truth, he was less wise and moderate than the Reformer; nor was he quite untainted with a love of vain glory, and, with a decided disposition to go to the root of every question, his ideas were not remarkable either for soundness of judg-

¹ In summa es sollen die Aufruhr etliche Studenten von Erffurth erwerkt haben. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 490.)

² Corp. Ref. i. p. 456. The editors place this decree in October, previous to the friars leaving the Wittenberg monastery.

ment or for clearness. Luther had drawn him forth from amid the disciples of the schoolmen, and directed him to the study of Scripture; but Carlstadt had not patience enough for the study of the original tongues, and had not followed his friend in owning the full sufficiency of the Word of God. Hence we see him often attach himself to the oddest interpretations. As long as Luther was at his side, the superiority of a master kept him within just bounds. But Carlstadt was now free. This sallow complexioned little man, although he had never shone as an orator, was heard at the university, at the church, everywhere, in short, in Wittemberg, to express in a captivating manner ideas profound at times, but often, too, enthusiastic and exaggerated. "What folly!" he would exclaim, "to think that we ought to leave the work of Reformation to the agency of God alone! A new order of things is commencing. The hand of man ought to intervene. Woe be to him who would lag behind instead of mounting to the breach in the cause of the mighty God. . . ."

The archdeacon's eloquence communicated to others the impatience that was felt by himself. "Every thing instituted by the pope is impious," would be said by the sincere and right-hearted men who adopted his tone. "Do we not implicate ourselves in the guilt of these abominations by suffering them to subsist? What is condemned by God's Word, ought to be abolished in Christendom, whatever may be the ordinances of men. If the chiefs of the state and the church will not do their duty, let us do ours. Let us have done with all negotiations, conferences, theses, and debates, and let us apply the true remedy to so many evils. We must have another Elias to destroy the altars of Baal."

The re-establishment of the supper at this moment of ferment and enthusiasm, doubtless could not be attended with the solemnity and the sanctity of its institution by the Son of God on the night before He died, and almost at the foot of his cross. But if God now employed weak and perhaps impassioned men, still it was his hand that re-established in the bosom of the Church the repast first instituted by his love.

Previous to this, in the month of October, Carlstadt had secretly celebrated the Lord's supper according to the institution of Christ, with twelve of his friends. On Sunday before Christ-

mas he announced from the pulpit that on the day of our Lord's circumcision, the first of the year, he would administer the supper under the two *species* of bread and wine, to all who should present themselves at the altar; that he would omit all useless ceremonies,¹ and in celebrating that mass, would put on neither cope nor chasuble.

Alarmed at this, the council applied to councillor Beyer to prevent so great an irregularity. Thereupon Carlstadt resolved not to wait for the time he had intimated. On Christmas day itself, 1521, he preached in the parish church on the necessity of abandoning the mass, and receiving the sacrament in both kinds. After sermon he went down to the altar; pronounced the words of consecration in German; then, turning towards the people, who were all attention, he said with a solemn voice: "Whosoever feels the burthen of his sins, and hungers and thirsts for the grace of God, let him come and receive the body and the blood of the Lord."² Thereafter, without elevating the host, he distributed the bread and the wine to all, saying: "This is the cup of my blood, of the blood of the new and everlasting Testament."

Various were the feelings that prevailed among those who were present at this solemn scene. Some, impressed with the conviction that God was bestowing a new favour on the Church, approached the altar with deep and silent emotion. Others, attracted chiefly by the novelty of the proceeding, went up to it in a bustling manner and with a certain degree of impatience. Five communicants only presented themselves at the confessional; the rest merely joined in the public confession of sins. Carlstadt gave the general absolution to all, laying no further penance on them than the following: "Sin no more." The hymn *Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God) was sung at the close.³

Carlstadt met with no opposition, for these reforms had already obtained the public assent. The archdeacon again administered the supper on New-year's day, then on the Sunday following; from which time forth it became an established practice. Ein-

¹ Und die anderen *Schirymstege* alle aussen lassen. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 512.)

² Wer mit Sünden beschwert und nach der Gnade Gottes hungrig und durstig. (Ibid. p. 540.)

³ Wenn mann communicirt hat, so singt man: *Agnus Dei* carmen. (Ibid.)

sidlen, one of the elector's counsellors, having reproached Carlstadt with seeking his own glory more than the salvation of his hearers: "Mighty Lord," he replied, "no kind of death can deter me from complying with Scripture. The Word came so swiftly to me. . . . Woe be to me if I preach not!"¹ Carlstadt married shortly afterwards.

The town council of Wittemberg and the university regulated the celebration of the supper according to the new rite in the course of January. Their attention was at the same time directed to the means of restoring its moral influence to religion; for the Reformation had simultaneously to re-establish faith, worship, and manners. It was resolved that mendicants, whether monks or not, should not be tolerated; and that some godly men should be appointed to take the oversight of the poor, and to summon scandalous offenders before the university or the council.^{2 3}

¹ Mir ist das Wort fast in grosser Geschwindigkeit eingefallen. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 545.)

² Keinen offenbaren Sünder zu dulden. (Ibid. p. 540.)

³ Roman Catholic authors too often take advantage of the ignorance into which the greater number of the members of their communion are consigned, in keeping out of sight such facts as these and others of a like kind, among which we may notice the regular catechisings for youth, a mode of promoting religion and morals for the introduction of which Colbert, the celebrated bishop of Montpellier, gives Protestants the credit, and to their zeal in which the minutes of the first sittings of the famous Synod of Dordrecht bear noble testimony. If the morals of Germany, after being greatly improved by the Reformation, declined afterwards, which they certainly did during the latter part of the eighteenth and the commencement of the present century, to whatever other causes, such as civil dissensions and foreign wars, this may be ascribed, it certainly was not owing to any zealous preaching of the grand doctrine of the Reformation—salvation by grace—that having notoriously declined during the same period.

The great importance of diffusing the knowledge of such facts as the above related of the Wittemberg Reformers, and of proving historically that the Reformation found popular morality low, and either revived or originated many admirable plans for its improvement, may be inferred from the following extract from a small popular work, sold in Flemish and French at the door of St. Gudule's church at Brussels, and which is but one of many such gross falsifications of history at the expense of the Reformation, and to the enhancement of the times preceding it. It is from the commencement of chap. x. of "*Histoire du Saint Sacrement de Meracle Bruxelles, 1835.*"

"Before the Lutherans and the Calvinists had propagated the poison of their false doctrines, our ancestors enjoyed profound peace; the people, obedient to the voice of their pastors, lived in the fear of God; the offices imposed by our holy religion were strictly observed; vice was unknown and man lived a better life. Children being brought up in a Christian manner, were teachable and obedient to their parents, the holy obligations of marriage were held in honour; families were numerous, concord and friendship prevailed everywhere; luxury, the cause of so many evils, found no asylum in our country; the people were laborious and faithful to their duties; arts and sciences made immense progress, &c." Tr.

Thus fell Rome's chief bulwark, the mass; thus did the Reformation pass from the domain of doctrine into that of worship. Three centuries had gone by since the mass and transubstantiation were definitively established;¹ and from that time all things had taken a new course in the church; all things had been done with an eye to the glory of man and the worship of the priest. The holy sacrament had been adored; festivals had been instituted in honour of the greatest of miracles; much importance had been attached to the adoration of Mary; the priest who had received at his consecration the amazing faculty of "making the body of Christ," had been set apart from the laity and, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, had become mediator between God and man;² the celibacy of the clergy had been proclaimed an inviolable law; auricular confession had been imposed upon the people, and the cup had been taken from them; for how could humble laymen be placed on the same footing with priests charged with so august a ministry? The mass was an insult to the Son of God; it was opposed to the perfectly free grace of his cross, and to the unsullied glory of his eternal reign; and while it lowered the Saviour, it exalted the priest, whom it invested with the unheard of power of reproducing in his hands, at will, the supreme Creator. Thenceforward the church seemed to exist, not that the gospel might be preached, but simply for the sake of the corporeal reproduction of Christ in the midst of her.³ The pontiff of Rome, whose humblest servants created at will the body of God himself, sat as God in the temple of God, and attributed to himself a spiritual treasure upon which he could draw at will when he wanted indulgences for the pardon of souls.

Such were the gross errors which, together with the mass, had for three centuries been imposed upon the Church. In abolishing that human institution, the Reformation abolished all these abuses; so that the procedure of the archdeacon of Wittenberg was really one of deep importance. The sumptuous festivals which so much amused the people, the worship of Mary, the haughty spirit of the priesthood and the power of the pope, all

¹ By the council of Lateran, 1215.

² *Sacerdos constituitur medius inter Deum et populum.* (Th. Aquin. iii. 22.)

³ *Perfectio hujus sacramenti non est in usu fidelium, sed in consecratione materiæ.* (Th. Aquin. Summa. Quest. 80.)

tottered when the mass fell. Glory departed from the priests to return to Jesus Christ, and the Reformation made an immense step in advance.

VII. Prejudiced persons, however, could see nothing in the work which was now in full course of accomplishment, but the effect of a vain enthusiasm. The facts themselves could not fail to prove the contrary, and to demonstrate that there is an abyss between a reformation founded on the Word of God, and the results of fanatical excitement.

When any great religious ferment takes place in the Church, some impure elements are ever found to mingle with the manifestations of the truth. One or more false reforms are seen to arise, proceeding from man, and serving as a testimony or countersign to the true reform. Thus in the times of Christ, many false Messiahs attested the appearance of the true. The Reformation in the sixteenth century could not occur without being accompanied by a like phenomenon, and in the small town of Zwickau it ere long revealed itself.

Certain persons were to be found there who had become so much excited by the great events then agitating the whole of Christendom, as to aspire to direct revelations from the Divinity, instead of simply endeavouring after sanctification of heart, and who pretended that they had received a call to complete the Reformation feebly sketched by Luther. "What good is there," they would say, "in keeping so close by the Bible? The Bible! always the Bible! Can the Bible speak to us? Is it not insufficient for our instruction? Had God designed to teach us by a book, would he not have sent us a Bible from heaven? It is by the Spirit alone that we can be illuminated. God himself speaks to us. God himself reveals to us what we ought to do and what we ought to say." Thus, like the partisans of Rome, these fanatics attacked the fundamental principle on which the whole Reformation rests; the full sufficiency of the Word of God.

A simple cloth-weaver, called Nicholas Storeck, asserted that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him during the night, and after communicating to him matters which he could not yet reveal, had said to him: "As for thee, thou shalt be seated on my throne."¹ A former student at Wittenberg, called Mark

¹ Advolasse Gabrielem Angelum. (Camerarii Vita Melanch. p. 48.)

Stubner, joined Storek, and straightway abandoned his studies; for, as he said, he had received the gift of interpreting the holy Scriptures immediately from God. Their number was further increased by the addition of Mark Thomas, also a cloth weaver; and this new sect was indebted for a regular organisation to a person of fanatical disposition, called Thomas Munzer. Storek, wishing to follow the example of Christ, chose from among his adherents twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples. All loudly insisted, as has been done by a sect in our own days, that prophets and apostles were at length restored to the Church of God.¹ These new prophets, professing to follow in the footsteps of the old, soon began to deliver their message: "Woe woe," said they, "A church governed by men so corrupt as the bishops, cannot be the Church of Christ. The impious governors of Christendom are about to be overthrown. Within five, six, or seven years, an universal desolation will break forth throughout the world. The Turk will make himself master of Germany; all the priests will be put to death, even such as have married. No ungodly person, no sinner, shall remain alive; and after the purification of the earth by blood, God will establish a kingdom in it; Storek will be invested with the supreme authority, and will hand over the government of the nations to the saints.² There will then be but one faith and one baptism. The day of the Lord is at hand, and we are on the eve of the end of the world. Woe! woe! woe!" Then, declaring that baptism received in infancy, was of no value, the new prophets invited all men to come and receive at their hands the true baptism, as the sign of their introduction into the new Church of God.

This preaching profoundly impressed the people. Some godly souls were affected at the thought of prophets being restored to the Church, and all who loved the marvellous, threw themselves into the arms of the eccentric men of Zwickau.

But hardly had this old heresy, for it had appeared before in the times of the Montanists and in the middle ages, found some followers, when it encountered a potent adversary in the Refor-

¹ Breviter de sese prædicant viros esse propheticos et apostolicos. (Corp. Ref. p. 514.)

² Ut rerum potiatur et instauret sacra et respublicas tradat sacris viris tenendas. (Camerar. Vit. Melanch. p. 45.)

mation. Nicholas Haussman, to whom Luther gave this beautiful testimony: "What we teach, he does,"¹ was pastor of Zwickau. That worthy person did not suffer himself to be led out of the way by the pretensions of these false prophets. He put a check on the innovations that Storck and his adherents would fain have introduced, and his two deacons acted in concert with him. Finding that they were rejected by the Church, these fanatics ran into another excess. They formed themselves into clubs, in which subversive doctrines were professed. The people rose in a tumult, public disorders commenced; a priest, while carrying the holy sacrament, was assailed with stones;² the civil power interfered and threw the most violent into prison.³ Indignant at this, and eager to justify themselves and to complain of such treatment, Storck, Mark Thomas, and Stubner repaired to Wittemberg.⁴

There they arrived on the 27th of December, 1521, Storck marching at their head in the dress and with the bearing of the soldiers called *Lanzknecht*,⁵ and followed by Mark Thomas and Stubner. Their designs were favoured by the confusion then prevailing in Wittemberg. The academic youth and the burgher body, deeply excited and already in a state of ferment, formed a soil well fitted for the new prophets.

Making sure of their support, they immediately repaired to the professors of the university for the purpose of obtaining their testimony. "We are sent by God," said they, "for the instruction of the people. We have familiar conversations with the Lord; we foresee things yet to come;⁶ in a word, we are apostles and prophets, and we appeal on this point to Dr. Luther." This strange language astonished the doctors.

"Who has appointed you to preach?" asked Melancthon of his former pupil, Stubner, whom he received into his house:—"Our

¹ Quod nos docemus ille facit.

² Einen Priester der das Venerabile getragen mit Steinen geworfen. (Seck. p. 482.)

³ Sunt et illic in vincula coniecti. (Mel. Corp. Ref. i. p. 513.)

⁴ Huc advolarunt tres viri, duo lanifices, literarum rudes, literatus tertius est. (Ibid.)

⁵ Incedens more et habitu militum istorum quos *Lanz knecht* dicimus. (L. Epp. ii. p. 245.) The *Lanzknecht* seems to have been a foot soldier armed with a pike. Tr.

⁶ Esse sibi cum Deo familiaria colloquia, videre futura. (Mel. Electori. 27th December 1521. Corp. Ref. i. p. 514.)

Lord God," was the reply.—"Have you written any books?"—"Our Lord God has forbidden me to do so." Melanchthon's feelings overcame him; he was amazed and frightened. . . .

"There are extraordinary spirits," said he, "in these men; but what spirits? . . . Luther alone can decide this. On the one hand, let us beware of quenching the Spirit of God; and on the other, of being seduced by the spirit of the devil."

Storck, who was of a restless disposition, soon left Wittemberg; Stubner remained there. Animated with an ardent zeal for making proselytes, the latter traversed the whole city, speaking now to this person, now to that; and not a few owned him as a prophet from God. He addressed himself particularly to a Suabian of the name of Cellarius, a friend of Melanchthon's, who kept a school where he instructed a great many young people in literature, and who ere long fully admitted the mission of the new prophets.

Melanchthon felt more and more hesitation and disquietude. It was not the visions of the Zwickau prophets that perplexed him so much as their new doctrine on baptism. It appeared to him conformable with reason, and he thought that it was worth the trouble of being inquired into; "for," said he, "we ought neither to admit nor to reject anything lightly."¹

Such was the spirit of the Reformation, and these feelings of hesitation and anxiety on Melanchthon's part furnish a proof of the rectitude of his heart, which perhaps does him more honour than a systematic opposition could have done.

The elector, whom Melanchthon called "the lamp of Israel,"² himself hesitated. Prophets, apostles, in the electorate of Saxony, as of old at Jerusalem! "It is a great affair," said he; "and as a layman I cannot comprehend it. But rather than do aught against God, I will take a staff in my hand and quit my throne."³

¹ Censebat enim neque admittendum, neque rejiciendum quicquid temere. (Camer. Vit. Mel. p. 49.)

² Electori lucernæ Israel. (Ibid. p. 515.)

³ Excellent prince indeed! Who does not behold in this the overruling providence of God, who at just the right time and place put such a prince in the direction of affairs, and gave him, besides, so much weight and influence in the affairs of Germany? But how fortunate was he not also, as respected himself, in postponing every other consideration for the sake of the truth, and in devoting himself so unreservedly to her interests! What a crown may we not regard as bestowed by God, on one who even to the sacrifice of his princely

At last he instructed his councillors to say to the doctors, that there was already enough to embarrass them at Wittemberg; that very likely the pretensions of the Zwickau men were a mere seduction of the devil, and that the wisest course for him to adopt seemed to be to allow the whole affair to drop; nevertheless, that in every circumstance in which his highness clearly saw the will of God, he would take counsel neither of brother, nor mother, and that he would hold himself ready to suffer all things for the sake of the truth.¹

Luther was apprised at the Wartburg of the agitation that now prevailed at the court and at Wittemberg. Strange persons had appeared, and people knew not whence they had received their message. He immediately perceived that God had permitted these sad events for the humbling of his servants, and to excite them by trial to endeavour more after sanctification.

"Your electoral grace," he wrote to Frederick, "has during long years employed persons in searching for relics in all countries. God has complied with your desires and has sent you, without putting you to expense or trouble, an entire cross, with nails, spears and scourges . . . grace and prosperity to the new relic! . . . Only let your highness fearlessly extend your arms, and allow the nails to enter your flesh! . . . I have always expected that Satan would send you this wound. . . ."

But, at the same time, nothing seemed to him of more pressing consequence than the ensuring to others of the liberty which he claimed for himself. He was no man of two weights and two measures. "Let people beware of throwing them into prison," he wrote to Spalatin; "let not the prince imbrue his hands in the blood of these new converts!"² On the subject of religious liberty Luther was far in advance of his age, and even of several others of the Reformers.

Matters now began to assume a more and more serious aspect at Wittemberg.³

Carlstadt rejected several of the doctrines of the new prophets,

dignity set aside all things for the truth. Under the administration of such a prince something was sure to be done for the truth.—L. R.

¹ Darüber auch leiden was S. C. G. leiden sollt. (Camer. Vit. Mel. p. 537.)

² Ne princeps manus cruentet in prophetis. (L. Epp. ii. p. 135.)

³ Ubi fiebant omnia in dies difficiliora. (Cam. Vit. Mel. p. 49.)

and, in particular, their anabaptism; but there is something contagious in religious enthusiasm from which a brain like his could not easily defend itself. From the time of the arrival of the Zwickau men at Wittemberg, Carlstadt advanced with still more precipitation in a course of violent reforms. "We ought," he would say, "to rush to the attack of all impious customs and instantly to demolish them." He recalled all the passages of Scripture that bear against images, and stood forth with ever-increasing energy against the idolatry of Rome. "People kneel and crouch before these idols," he would exclaim; "they light tapers for them and present offerings to them. . . . Let us rise and wrench them from their altars!"

These words were not sounded in the people's ears in vain. The churches were entered, and the images which they contained were carried off and broken or burned.¹ It had been better to have waited until their abolition were legitimately decided upon; but it was thought that the slowness of the leading men would compromise the Reformation itself.

Ere long, if these enthusiasts were to be believed, there were no true Christians in Wittemberg but those who never confessed themselves, who persecuted the priests and ate flesh on meagre days; and on the mere suspicion that a man did not reject all the practices of the Church as inventions of the devil, he was held to be a worshipper of Baal. The cry was raised "that a church must be formed, composed of none but saints."

The Wittemberg burgesses laid before the council certain articles to which they considered that it ought to adhere. Several of these articles were conformable to evangelical morality. It was craved, in particular, that all houses of public diversion should be closed.

But Carlstadt was not long of going beyond this: he began to despise academical studies; and the old professor might be seen advising his students from his chair, to return to their homes, resume the spade, follow the plough, and quietly till the ground, inasmuch as man was to eat his bread in the sweat of his face.² The master of the boys' school at Wittemberg, George

¹ Die Bilder zu stürmen und aus den Kirchen zu werfen. (Matth. p. 31.)

² From Milner it would appear that Melancthon opposed Carlstadt, telling him, when he avowed that he wished to be as much thought of as Luther, that

Mohr, under the influence of the same whim, shouted from his school window to the assembled burgesses to come and take back their children. What good purpose could be served by their studying, since Storck and Stubner had never been at the university, and were prophets notwithstanding? . . . A plain workman was thus equally, if not better qualified, than all the doctors in the world, for preaching the Gospel.

Thus did there arise doctrines that were directly opposed to the Reformation. The revival of letters had paved the way for it; it was with the arms of learning that Luther had attacked Rome; and now the Wittemberg enthusiasts, like the fanatical monks that had been opposed by Erasmus and Reuchlin, professed to trample under foot all human accomplishments. Were vandalism again to be established, hope for the world was gone; and a fresh invasion of barbarians would extinguish the light which God had rekindled in Christendom.

The effects of these strange sayings were soon manifest. Men's minds were engrossed, agitated and diverted from the Gospel; the academy was broken up; the students becoming demoralised, disbanded and dispersed themselves; and the German governments recalled such as belonged to their respective jurisdictions.¹ Thus did those who would have reformed and vivified everything, go about to destroy everything. "Yet a last effort," shouted the friends of Rome, now recovering courage on all sides, "yet a last effort, and all will be gained!". . .²

The safety of the Reformation entirely depended on the prompt suppression of the excesses of these fanatics. But who

"that was the language of pride, envy, and unchristian emulation." But according to Maimburg, Melancthon was so far wrought upon at this period by Carlstadt, as to go and work with a baker, a proceeding in which the Jesuit historian seems to think that he allowed himself to be led by an idiot (*un fou*). Respect for manual labour, however, he might have found carried to an enthusiastic extreme among some of the monks of his own communion, and something akin to the same principle seems to exist among the society of Friends, all whose members are brought up to some species of industry, such as, in the failure of other means, they might live by. We are not told that Melancthon renounced his studies, nor does manual labour involve any such sacrifice, many having made great advances in learning and science who have wrought with their own hands, and eaten their bread in the sweat of their brow. Addiction to books alone was probably associated in the minds of some with the uselessness of the monastic life. Tr.

¹ Etliche Fürsten ihre Bewandten abgefordert. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 560.)

² Perdita et funditus diruta. (Camer. Vit. Mel. p. 52.)

was to effect this? Melanchthon? He was too young, too feeble, and too much agitated himself by those strange phenomena.¹ The elector? He was the most pacific man of his age. The favourite occupations of his life were the building of his palaces at Altenburg, Weimar, Lochau and Cobourg, ornamenting his churches with the beautiful paintings of Lucas Cranach, improving the singing in his chapels, promoting the success of his university, making his people happy, stopping amid the children whom he might chance to meet on the road, and distributing trifling presents among them. And, at an advanced stage of life, he must come into conflict with fanatics, and oppose violence to violence! How could the good, the godly Frederick ever bring himself to do that?

The evil went on accordingly, and no one stepped forward to arrest its course. Luther was no longer at Wittenberg. Perturbation and ruin took possession of the city. The Reformation beheld the rise within its own bosom, of a still more formidable enemy than the popes or the emperors. In short, it was on the brink of utter destruction.

¹ Luther's profound respect for the judgment of Melanchthon, and confidence in the influence he might exert, appear in some letters written at this epoch, and quoted by M. Michelet, but omitted by M. M. d'Aubigné. He wrote to Spalatin that "Origen had a separate course of instruction for women; why does not Melanchthon try something of the same kind? He both can and ought, for the people hunger and thirst."

"I should much desire that Melanchthon should also preach somewhere in public, in the city, on festivals, after dinner, so as to take the place of drinking and gambling; people might thus habituate themselves to the return of liberty, and to make it take on the fashion of the primitive church."

"For if we have broken all human laws, and thrown off the yoke, shall we stop at the objection that Melanchthon has not been shaved or anointed (*i. e.* received the tonsure and consecration to the priesthood)? or that he is married? He is truly a priest and he discharges the functions of a priest, at least if the office of priest consist in the teaching of the word. Otherwise Christ himself is no longer to be reckoned a priest, since he taught sometimes in the synagogues, sometimes in a ship, sometimes on the shore, sometimes on a mountain. He acted every part, in all places, and at all seasons, without ever ceasing to be himself."

The grand affair, however, was having the people thoroughly imbued with the Bible. Even in this Luther seemed to think none so well fitted for the task as Melanchthon.

"Melanchthon," says he, "ought to read the Gospel to the people in German, as he has begun to read it in Latin, so as to become by little and little a German bishop, as he is already a Latin bishop," (9th September). Luther's deviations from established order, it will be perceived, bore all upon the remedying of a defect which the order then established was mainly chargeable with producing—universal ignorance of holy Scripture, except in so far as people guessed at the meaning of the Latin excerpts used in the prayer books. Such deviations would of course cease to be necessary when the established order of the Church came to be as scriptural as it had been the reverse.

Luther! Luther! was now the universal cry at Wittemberg. The burgesses urgently called for him; the doctors were eager to have his advice; the prophets themselves appealed to him. All besought him to return.¹

It is easy to see what must have been passing at this time in the Reformer's mind. All the rigours of Rome were nothing in comparison with what was now afflicting his soul. It was now from the midst of the Reformation itself, that his enemies came forth. It was tearing its own bowels; and that very doctrine which alone restored peace to his troubled heart, was becoming an occasion of deplorable troubles for the Church.

"Were I aware," he had said, "that my doctrine was injurious to any one, though but to one simple and obscure person (a thing which cannot be, for it is the very Gospel itself), better to die ten times over than not to retract."² And now a whole city, and that city Wittemberg, deviates into error! True, his doctrine is in no wise to be blamed for it; yet from all points in Germany, voices were lifted up in accusations against him. Then it was that he was assailed by keener sorrows than he had ever yet felt, and disturbed by temptations altogether new. "Is this then," he would say to himself, "the final result to which the work of the Reformation is to lead?" . . . But no; he puts away these doubts. God has commenced. . . . God will finish. "I drag myself on my knees towards the grace of the Lord," he exclaimed, "and I beseech him that his name may remain attached to this work; and that if aught impure has mingled with it, he will remember that I am a sinful man."³

What had been written to Luther about the inspiration of the new prophets and their sublime communications with God, did not make him waver for an instant. He was intimately acquainted with the depths, the pangs, and the humiliations of the spiritual life; at Erfurt and at Wittemberg he had had such experience of the power of God, as would not allow him to believe so readily that God would appear to the creature and

¹ Lutherum revocavimus ex heremo suo magnis de causis. (Corp Ref. i. p. 566.)

² Möchte ich che zehn Tode leyden. (*Wieder Emser*. l. Opp. xviii. p. 613.)

³ Ich krieche zu seiner Gnaden. (L. Opp. xviii. p. 615.)

converse with it. "Ask them," he wrote to Melancthon, "whether they have experienced those spiritual straits, those divine births, and infernal deaths that accompany true regeneration.¹ . . . If you hear nothing from them but smooth, tranquil, and, forsooth, what they call devout, religious contemplations, regard them not, for there is wanting the characteristic of the Son of man, of the man of sorrows; there is wanting the cross, the only touchstone of Christians, and the sure discernor of spirits. Would you know the place, the time, the manner of divine conferences and communications? Hear the written word: *As a lion will he break all my bones. And, I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes. My soul is full of trouble, and my life draweth nigh unto hell.* No! the divine majesty (as they call it) speaks not immediately, in a way that man should see it, *for no man, it saith, can see me and live.*"

But his conviction that the prophets were in error only augmented Luther's grief. Could the grand truth of salvation by grace, then, have so soon lost its attractiveness, that men should turn away from it to attach themselves to fables? He began to perceive that the work was not so easily accomplished as he had at first supposed. He stumbled on this the first stumbling-block, thrown in his way by the erratic tendencies of the human mind; he was afflicted and in anguish; and desiring, even at the cost of his life, to remove it out of his people's way, he decided on returning to Wittemberg.

Great were the dangers that then menaced him. The enemies of the Reformation believed themselves at the point of destroying it. George of Saxony, who was no friend either to Rome or Wittemberg, had written on the 16th of October, 1521, to duke John, the elector's brother, with the view of inducing him to join the ranks of the enemies of the Reformation. "Some," he had told him, "deny the immortality of the soul. Others (and these are monks) trail the relics of St. Anthony with swine and bells, and cast them into the mud.² And all this

¹ Quereras num experti sint spirituales illas angustias et nativitates divinas. mortes infernosque. (L. Epp. ii. p. 215.) I have attempted to translate these words more literally than either M. Merle d'Aubigné or Milner. Both seem to have missed Luther's precise meaning. TR.

² Mit Schweinen und Schellen . . . in Koth geworfen. (Weym. Ann Seck. p. 482.)

comes of Luther's doctrine! Beseech your brother, the elector, either to punish the impious authors of these innovations, or to give public intimation of the true nature of his opinions. Our whitening beards and hair warn us that we have entered on the last term of our lives, and urge us to put a stop to so many evils."

George then set off to take his place in the imperial government established at Nuremberg, where he had hardly arrived when he put everything in movement to secure the adoption of severe measures. That body, in fact, passed an edict on January 21st, in which it bitterly complained of the priests saying mass without having on their sacerdotal dresses, of their consecrating the holy sacrament in the German tongue, administering it without receiving the necessary confession, putting it into the hands of the laity, and not even much troubling themselves as to whether the recipients came fasting or not.¹

The imperial government consequently solicited the bishops to seek out, and rigorously to punish all the innovators to be found in their respective dioceses, and these orders were eagerly complied with.

Such was the moment chosen by Luther for re-appearing upon the scene. He was aware of the risk he incurred, and foresaw immense disasters. "Ere long," he would say, "there will be a tumult in the empire, such as will sweep princes, magistrates, and bishops, pell mell into its train. People have their eyes open, and neither will nor can be driven by force. Germany will swim in blood."² Let us stand up like a wall for the saving of our nation in the day of the Lord's great wrath.

VIII. Such were Luther's cogitations, but he saw a danger more urgent still. Far from being extinguished at Wittemberg, the conflagration there continued to spread from day to day. From the heights of the Wartburg, Luther could see the horizon illuminated with jets of frightful splendour, darting up in rapid succession, and giving token of devastation. And was it not he alone who could bring succour in this extremity? Shall he not cast himself into the midst of the flames in a bold attempt to

¹ In ihre laische Hände reiche. (L. Opp. xviii. p. 285.)

² Germaniam in sanguine natare. (L. Epp. ii. p. 157.)

extinguish them? In vain do his enemies prepare themselves for striking a final blow; in vain does the elector beseech him not to leave the Wartburg, and to prepare his justification for the approaching diet. He has something still more important in hand; he has to justify the Gospel itself. "More and more serious news reach me from day to day," he writes. "I am about to go: matters themselves make it indispensable that I should do so."¹

In fact, on the 3d of March, he rose with the resolution of leaving the Wartburg for ever. Bidding farewell to its ancient towers and sombre forests, he passed the walls behind which he had kept himself safe from the excommunications of Leo, and the sword of Charles V. He comes down from the hill-top; the world which lies stretched beneath, and in the midst of which he is to re-appear, will soon perhaps assail him with shouts demanding his death. But it matters not; he advances joyfully; for it is in the Lord's name that he returns among his fellow-men.²

Time had been hasting on, and a different cause led Luther to quit the Wartburg from that which had placed him there. He had come as the assailant of the old traditions and the old doctors; he quitted it as the defender of the word of the apostles against new adversaries. He had entered it as an innovator and because he had attacked the ancient hierarchy; he quitted it as a conservative, and in defence of the faith of Christians. Hitherto Luther had seen but one thing in his work; that was the triumph of justification by faith; and with that weapon he had beaten down mighty superstitions. But if there had been a time to subvert, there behoved to be a time, also, for building up. Beyond the ruins with which his arm had strewed the ground, beyond the rubbish of letters of indulgences, broken tiaras and torn hoods, beyond the heap of Romish errors and abuses that lay pell-mell on the field of battle, he discerned, and he exposed to view, the primitive catholic church, re-appearing ever the same, and coming out from a long trial with her unchangeable doctrines and her celestial voice. He could dis-

¹ Ita enim res postulat ipsa. (L. Epp. ii. p. 135.)

² So machte er sich mit unglaublicher Freudigkeit des Geistes, im Namen Gottes auf den Weg. (Seck. p. 458.)

tinguish between her and Rome; he hailed and embraced her joyfully. Luther did nothing new in the world, as has been falsely alleged of him; he built up no structure for times future that was not intimately linked with times past; he uncovered and exposed to the light of day the ancient foundations which had been overgrown with briars and thorns, and carried on the building of the temple; he simply built on the foundation that had been laid by the apostles. Luther saw that the ancient and primitive church of the apostles, on the one hand, required to be reconstructed in opposition to the popedom by which it had so long been oppressed; and, on the other, to be defended against enthusiasts and unbelievers, who professed to disown it, and making no account of all that God had been doing in times past, wanted to recommence with a work altogether new. Luther was now no longer the man of one only doctrine, that of justification, although he ever reserved the first place for that; he became the man of the whole of Christian theology; and though persuaded that the Church is essentially the collective body of the saints, he guarded himself against despising the visible church, and acknowledged the assembly of all who are called, as the kingdom of God. Thus a great movement now took place in Luther's soul, in his theology, and in the process of renovation which God was carrying on in the world. The hierarchy of Rome might possibly have thrown the Reformer into an extreme course; but the sects, which then so boldly lifted their heads, brought him back into the middle course where lay the truth. His stay at the Wartburg divides the history of the Reformation into two periods.

Luther was now ambling along the road to Wittenberg; he had reached the second day of his journey, and it was Shrove Tuesday. Towards night-fall a terrible storm came on, and deluged the roads with rain. Two young Swiss who were travelling in the same direction, quickened their steps in hopes of finding shelter in the town of Jena. They had been studying at Basel, but the high reputation of Wittenberg drew them to that university. Travelling on foot, fatigued, and soaked with rain, John Kessler of St. Gall, and his companion hastened on with increased speed. They found the town quite engrossed with the rejoicings of the Carnival, and all its inhabitants

engaged in dancing, masquerades, and uproarious feasting, so that on the arrival of the two pedestrians, there was not an inn in the place that could afford them room. They were directed at last to the *Black Bear* before the town gate; and to it they betook themselves, fatigued, dispirited, and melancholy. The landlord, however, gave them a kind reception.¹ They seated themselves near the public-room door which stood ajar, being so much ashamed of the plight in which the storm had left them that they dared not venture farther. At one of the tables there sat a man by himself, dressed like a knight, with a red bonnet on his head, and wearing trunk-hose over-lapped by the border of his doublet; his right hand rested on the pommel of his sword, of which his left clasped the handle; a book lay open before him, and he seemed to be reading it with great attention.² Hearing the two youths at the door, this person looked up, bowed to them with an air of affability, and invited them to take their places at the table with him; then, offering them a glass of beer, and in allusion to their accent, he said: "You are Swiss, I can see, but from which of the cantons?"—"From St. Gall."—"If you be going to Wittenberg, you will find a countryman of yours there, Doctor Schurff." Encouraged by this kind reception, they added: "Honoured Sir, can you inform us whether Martin Luther be there at present?"—"I know for certain," replied the knight, "that Luther is not at Wittenberg; but he must soon go there. Philip Melanchthon is there. You must study Greek, and Hebrew, if you would well understand holy Scripture."—"If God spare our lives," replied one of the St. Gall youths, "we won't return home without having seen and heard Doctor Luther; for it is on his account that we have undertaken this long journey. We know that he means to subvert the priesthood and the mass; and as our parents have designed us from infancy for the priesthood, we would fain know what are the grounds he alleges for such an undertaking." Here the knight paused for a moment, and then went on to say: "Where have you been studying hitherto?"—"At Basel."—

¹ See this narrative of Kessler's, with all its details in the simple language of the time, in Bernet, Johann Kessler, p. 27. Hahnhard Erzählungen. iii. p. 300, and Marheinecke Gesch. der Ref. ii. 321. 2d. Edition.

² In einem rothen Schöppli, in blossen Hosen und Wamms . . . (Ibid.)

"Is Erasmus of Rotterdam still there? What is he doing?" They answered these questions; then there followed another pause. The two Swiss felt extremely puzzled. "Is it not strange," said they to themselves, "that this knight should talk to us about Schurff, Melanchthon, Erasmus, and the necessity of learning Greek and Hebrew?"—"Dear friends," said the unknown all at once, "what is thought of Luther in Switzerland?"—"Honoured Sir," replied Kessler, "the opinions entertained with regard to him are, everywhere, very various. Some cannot sufficiently extol him; others condemn him as an abominable heretic."—"Ah! the priests no doubt," said the unknown.

The knight's cordiality had now made the two students feel at their ease. They were burning with eagerness to know what the book was he had been reading when they entered, and which now lay closed beside him. Kessler's companion had at length the courage to take it up. What was the astonishment of the two youths when they found that it was the Psalms in Hebrew! The student instantly replaced the book, and wishing to make his indiscretion forgotten, he said: "I would willingly give a finger from my hand to know that language."—"You will certainly acquire it," said the unknown to him, "if you will but take the pains to learn it."

Shortly after this, Kessler heard the landlord call to him; the poor young Swiss dreaded that something had gone amiss; but it was only to whisper to him: "I perceive you have a great desire to see and hear Luther; well then, that is Luther sitting beside you." Kessler took this for a jest and said:—"Ah Sir, you want to make game of me."—"It certainly is he," said the landlord; "only, don't let it be seen that you know who he is." Kessler made no reply, but returned to the room and resumed his seat, eager to repeat to his companion what had just been told him. But how was this to be done? At last he thought of stooping, as if looking towards the door, and thus approaching his friend's ear, he said in a low whisper: "The landlord assures me that that is Luther."—"He may have said that it is Hutten," rejoined his comrade; "thou must have misunderstood him."—"Possibly so," rejoined Kessler; "the landlord must have said, Hutten; the two names are not so unlike, I must have taken the one for the other."

As this was passing, the noise of horses was heard before the inn door; two merchants in quest of lodgings for the night, entered the room, took off their spurs, threw down their cloaks, and one of the two laid on the table an unbound book, which immediately caught the knight's attention. "What book is that," said he?—"It is an exposition of some of the Gospels and Epistles by doctor Luther," replied the merchant; "it is about to be published."—"I shall soon have it," said the knight.

Here the landlord came in to say: "Supper is ready, let us ¹ take our seats." But the two students, dreading the probable expense of a meal prepared for such guests as the knight, Ulrich von Hutten, and two wealthy merchants, took their host aside and begged he would allow them to have something by themselves. "Come along, my friends," replied the landlord of the *Black Bear*, "you have only to take your seats by the side of this gentleman here, and I will take care that the reckoning be moderate."—"Come along," said the knight, "and I will charge myself with the reckoning."

During supper, the unknown knight made many simple and edifying remarks. Both merchants and students were all attention as he spoke, and paid more regard to what fell from his lips than to the dishes that were set before them. "Luther must either be an angel from heaven, or a devil from hell," said one of the former, in the course of conversation; and then added: "I would willingly give ten florins, could I but meet with Luther and confess myself to him."

When supper was over, the merchants rose, leaving the two Swiss alone with the knight who, taking up a large glass, rose, and said with a serious air, according to the custom of the country: "Swiss! one glass more on returning thanks." As Kessler was about to take the glass, the unknown set it down and presented one filled with wine. "You are not used to beer," said he.

He then rose, threw a military cloak over his shoulders, held out his hands to the students and said: "When you arrive at Wittemberg, give my compliments to doctor Jerome Schurff."

¹ It seems then as now, to have been the fashion on the continent, for the guests at an inn to take their meals at a common table, and for the landlord to preside. Tr.

"With all our hearts," said they, "but in whose name?"—"Merely say to him," replied he: "He who ought to come, salutes you," whereupon he quitted the room, leaving them full of admiration at his courtesy and kindness.

Luther, for it was no other but him, continued his journey. It will be recollected that he had been put to the ban of the empire; whoever met and recognised him might lay hands on him; yet at the very time that he was giving effect to a purpose that exposed him to the utmost risk, he was calm and serene, and cheerfully conversed with the persons whom he chanced to meet on the road.

It was not that he lay under any illusion: the future, he well saw, was surcharged with storms. "Satan," he would say, "is transported with rage, and all around me meditate nothing but death and hell.¹ Still I go forward and throw myself before the emperor and the pope, without any one to protect me, unless it be God in heaven. All are empowered, in so far as men can do so, to kill me wherever I may be found. But Christ is the Lord of all; if he will that they should put me to death, so be it!"

That same day, being Ash Wednesday, Luther reached Borna, a small town near Leipsick. He felt that it was his duty to apprise his prince of the bold course he was about to adopt; he accordingly wrote the following letter to him, from the Guide's inn where he had alighted:

"Grace and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

"Most serene elector! gracious lord! what has taken place at Wittemberg, greatly to the disgrace of the Gospel, has filled me with such distress that were I not assured of the truth of our cause, I should have despaired of it. Your highness knows, or, if not, be it now known to you, I have received the Gospel, not from men but from heaven, by our Lord Jesus Christ. If I ever craved conferences, it was not that I doubted the truth; but from humility and with the view of drawing others to it. But since my humility turns against the Gospel, my conscience enjoins me now to act differently. I have conceded enough to

¹ Furit Satanas; et fremunt vicini undique, nescio quot mortibus et infernis. (L. Epp. ii. p. 153.)

your highness in withdrawing to a distance for the past year. The devil knows that it has not been from fear that I have done so. I would have entered Worms, even although there had been as many devils in that city as there were tiles on the roofs. Now, duke George, of whom your highness would have me to be so afraid, is far less to be dreaded notwithstanding than a single devil.¹ Had what has taken place at Wittemberg, happened at Leipsick," (the duke's residence) "I should forthwith throw myself into the saddle and go thither, even although (your highness will excuse my speaking thus) there should rain down duke Georges for nine days, and each of them were nine times more furious than this one is. To what end does he think of attacking me? Does he then take Christ, my Lord, to be a man of straw?² Lord, do thou condescend to avert from him the terrible judgment that threatens him!

"Your highness must know that I repair to Wittemberg, under a protection more powerful than that of an elector. I have not the remotest idea of soliciting your highness's succour, and far from desiring that you should protect me, I would rather that I should protect you. Did I know that your highness could or would protect me, I would not go to Wittemberg. This is a cause in which no sword can advantageously interfere. God alone must do all without human assistance or concurrence. He who has most faith, is the man who can protect most effectually. Now, I have to remark that your highness is still very weak in point of faith.

"But since your highness desires to know what you are called to do, I shall most humbly answer you: Your electoral highness has already done too much, and ought to do nothing at all. God neither desires, nor can tolerate, either your anxieties and labours, or mine. Let this, then, be your highness's rule of action.

"As for what concerns me, your highness ought to act as an

¹ To this Milner appends the following note: "The imperial government at Nuremberg had lately issued in the emperor's absence, and during the confinement of Luther, an edict against the Reformer's principles; and, in consequence, George duke of Saxony, who had been present in the assembly, and instrumental in obtaining the edict, and making it as severe as possible, was beginning to persecute with the greatest cruelty all persons who adhered to Lutheranism."

² Er hält meinen Herrn Christum iur ein Mann aus Stroh geflochten. (L. Epp. ii. p. 139.)

elector. You ought to permit effect to be given to his imperial majesty's orders in your towns and rural territories. You ought not to interpose any difficulty, should people wish to seize or to slay me;¹ for none should oppose the powers, unless it be he who has established them.

"Let your highness then leave the gates open; let safe-conducts be respected, should my enemies themselves, or their envoys, come in search of me into your highness's states. All will be done without your being put to risk or embarrassment.

"I have written this letter in haste, that you may not distress yourself on hearing of my arrival. I have somebody besides duke George to do with. He knows me well, and I am pretty well acquainted with him.

"Given at Borna, at the Guide's Inn,² Ash Wednesday, 1522.

"Your electoral highness's

"Most humble servant,

"MARTIN LUTHER."

Thus was it that Luther approached Wittemberg. He wrote to his prince, but not to excuse himself. His heart was the seat of an imperturbable confidence; he saw God's hand in this cause, and that was enough for him. Never perhaps was the heroism of faith carried farther. One of the editions of Luther's works, bears on the margin of this letter, the following note: "This is a marvellous writing of the third and last Elias."³

It was on Friday, the 7th of March, that Luther returned into his own town, after spending five days in coming from Isonae. Doctors, students, burgesses, all in short gave loud expression to their joy; for they had again found the pilot who

¹ Und ja nicht wehren. . . so sie mich fahen oder tödten will. (L. Epp. ii. p. 140.)

² M. Michelet has it "*à côté de mon guide*," i. e. "sitting beside my guide," instead of "*à l'hôtellerie du Conducteur*," "at the Guide's inn," as above. If the former be the true meaning, by so dating his letter, Luther might intend the elector to understand that having no one near him but his guide, the sentiments he expressed must be regarded as purely his own.

I may add that neither the author, nor M. Michelet, give the whole of Luther's letter, while dean Milner professes to give the substance only: and as they all differ in the parts they have selected, the reader may with advantage consult them all. According to M. Michelet, Luther says that he had more than once prayed with tears to God that he would enlighten duke George, and invites the elector to join with him while for the last time he ardently offered up the same prayer. Any of the three accounts may give one a pretty distinct idea of this extraordinary letter. TR.

³ Der wahre, dritte und letzte Elias. . . (L. Opp. xviii. p. 271.)

alone could extricate the vessel from the shoals among which it had become entangled.

The elector, then with his court at Lochau, was deeply affected at reading the Reformer's letter. He was anxious to justify him before the diet: "Let him address a letter to me," he wrote to Schurff, "setting forth the motives that have induced him to return to Wittenberg, and let him say in it, also, that he returned without my permission." Luther consented to this.

"I am ready," he wrote to the prince, "to bear up under your highness's disfavour, and the anger of the whole world. Are not the inhabitants of Wittenberg my flock? Have they not been entrusted to my care by God? And ought I not to be ready to expose myself to death for them? Besides, I dread the explosion of some great revolt in Germany, as a punishment to our country from God. Let your highness know for an undoubted certainty, that matters have been determined in heaven very differently from what has been decreed at Nuremberg."¹ This was written the very day of Luther's arrival at Wittenberg.

On the day following, being that immediately preceding the first Sunday in Lent, Luther repaired to the house of Jerome Schurff, where he was met by Melancthon, Jonas, Amsdorff, and Augustine Schurff, Jerome's brother. In reply to Luther's eager inquiries they were informing him of all that had passed, when two foreign students were announced, as wishing to speak to Dr. Jerome. On being ushered into the presence of the assembled doctors, the two strangers from St. Gall were at first intimidated; but instantly recovered their courage on finding the knight of the Black Bear in the midst of them. The latter immediately went up to them, saluted them as old acquaintances, and pointing with a smile to one of the party. "See," said he, "there's Philip Melancthon, whom I spoke to you about." The two Swiss, in remembrance of the meeting at Jena, remained the whole day with the Wittenberg doctors.

The Reformer was absorbed with one engrossing subject of thought, which prevented him from long enjoying the satisfac-

¹ L. Epp. ii. p. 143. Luther had to alter this expression in his letter at the elector's request.

tion of being again in the midst of his friends. No doubt the scene on which he re-appeared was obscure ; it was in a small town of Saxony that he was to make his voice to be heard, and, nevertheless, the task he had taken in hand had all the importance of an event which could not fail to bear upon the destinies of the world. Many nations and many ages beloved to feel its influence. It was now to be seen whether that doctrine which he had drawn from the Word of God, and which was destined to exercise so great an influence on the future development of human nature, was to prove stronger than those destructive principles which threatened its existence. It was now to be seen whether there could be reform without destruction, and whether the ways might be cleared for new developments without annihilating the old.¹ To silence fanatics while still under all the excitement of a new-born enthusiasm ; to gain the command of a whole unbridled multitude, to calm down their passions, and bring them back to order, peace, and truth ; to stem the fierceness of the impetuous torrent, now threatening to subvert the rising edifice of the Reformation, and to scatter its fragments far and wide ;—such was the task that brought Luther back to Wittenberg. But was he sure to find that his influence was still sufficient for its accomplishment ? This the event alone could show.

The Reformer shuddered at the prospect of the conflict that awaited him. Yet he raised his head, like the lion, when provoked, as he shakes his bristling mane. “We must instantly,” said he, “trample Satan under foot, and engage in combat with the angel of darkness. If our adversaries do not retire of themselves, Christ can easily compel them. We are lords of life and death—we, who believe in him who is Lord of life and death.”²

Yet, impetuous as he was, the Reformer at the same time, as if daunted by some superior power, refused to avail himself of the anathemas and the thunders of the Word, and became a

¹ I have literally translated *frayer les voies à des développements nouveaux, sans anéantir les développements anciens*, words to which I find it difficult to attach a clear or satisfactory meaning. The developments of the Gospel in the sixteenth century could be no other than those of the first, and must surely have involved the annihilation, not the conservation, of the popish developments that had intervened. Tr.

² Domini enim sumus vitæ et mortis. (L. Epp. ii. p. 150.)

humble pastor, a meek shepherd of souls. "It is by the Word that we must fight," said he, "it is by the Word that we must overturn and destroy what has been built up with violence. I would not have force employed against either the superstitious or the unbelieving. Let him that believes draw near. Let him that believes not, stand apart. None ought to suffer constraint. Liberty is of the essence of the faith.^{1 2}"

The following day was Sunday. On that day, in the church and in the pulpit, the doctor who, for nearly a whole twelve-month had been withdrawn from the view of all men behind the lofty walls of the Wartburg, was again to greet the people's eyes. "Luther," said every body in Wittenberg, "Luther is come back; Luther is to preach!" And these mere words, as they passed from mouth to mouth, at once effected a powerful diversion in the notions that were misleading the people. "They were again to behold the hero of Worms! The very idea produced much diversity of feeling, and hence, too, much bustle and agitation. On Sunday morning the Church was filled with an attentive and much affected throng.

Luther had a distinct enough presentiment of the various dispositions which his hearers had brought with them to church. He ascends the pulpit, and lo! he stands before that flock which

¹ Non enim ad fidem et ad ea quæ fidei sunt, ullus cogendus est. (Ibid. p. 151.)

² The learned editor of Cresacre More's Life of Sir Thomas More (long but erroneously supposed to have been written, not by Cresacre, but by a Thomas More) endeavours to palliate the fact that that learned co-temporary of Luther, and present idol of English papists, Sir Thomas More, *was a persecutor*, and his words in doing so convey one of the highest possible compliments to Luther. "Alas!" says he, "this is the evil extreme to which a high sense of religious obligation is always tending. More lived at a time when, rather than at any other period, zeal for the Church or against it, would be likely to avail itself of unhallowed weapons. . . . But if the memory of More is to be loaded with infamy on this account, candour will ask the question, Who in those days had learned to respect the religious scruples of another? And, who had taught men to draw that fine line between the needful defences of a national church, and the persecution of those who dissent from it." See Life of Sir Thomas More, &c., with a biographical preface, notes, &c., by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F. S. A. preface, p. xiv.

Now, Luther's unquestionably high sense of religious obligation *did not* make him run to the evil extreme of persecution. His zeal against the church of Rome, and for the Church of Christ, availed itself of *no* such unhallowed weapon. Even in those days he had learned to *respect the religious scruples of another*. And the fine line of defence referred to, he drew when he pointed to the moral authority of the Word of God. In all these points the alleged heresiarch, Luther, must be admitted by liberal papists of the present day to have been superior, not only to Sir Thomas More, but to the very pope himself, in their eyes the vicar of Christ and God's representative on earth. TR.

he once guided as if it had been but one docile sheep, but which had broken away from him like an infuriated bull. His words were simple, noble, and replete at once with force and mildness: one would say that a tender father, returning among his children, after having informed himself as to their behaviour, was now kindly communicating to them what he had been told respecting them. Candidly acknowledging the progress they had made in the faith, he thus prepared and captivated their minds, and then proceeded to address them as follows:

"But we must have more than faith; we must have charity. If a man with a sword in his hand, happens to be alone, it matters little whether he keep it in the scabbard or not; but should he be in the midst of a crowd, he ought so to keep it as not to risk hurting any one.

"How does a mother treat her child? She first gives it milk and next very delicate nourishment. Were she to begin with giving it meat and wine, what would be the result? . . .

"Thus ought we to act towards our brethren. Hast thou had enough of the breast, O my friend! this may be very well as to thee: but permit thy brother to take it, as long as thou hast taken it thyself.

"Behold the sun. . . . It brings us two things, light and heat. There is no king powerful enough to interrupt its rays; they fall in a direct line upon us; but heat is radiated, and communicates itself in all directions. Thus ought faith, like the light, to be always straight and inflexible; but love, like heat, should radiate on all sides, and bend to the wants of our brethren."

Having thus prepared his hearers for what was to follow, Luther plies them more closely.

"The abolition of the mass," say you, "is agreeable to Scripture: agreed; but what regard have you had for order and decency? The Lord ought to have been addressed with fervent prayers; public authority ought to have been applied to; every one would then have seen that the thing came from God. . . ."

Thus spoke Luther. That most courageous man who at Worms had stood out against the princes of the earth, made a profound impression on those who heard him by addressing them in the language of wisdom and of peace. Carlstadt and

the Zwickau prophets, who for some weeks had been such great and mighty persons, and who had lorded it over Wittemberg and thrown the whole town into agitation, became inconsiderable personages when placed by the side of the Wartburg prisoner.

“The mass,” he went on to say, “is a bad thing; God is its enemy; it ought to be abolished; and I would that throughout the whole world, it were superseded by the supper of the Gospel. But let none tear any one away from it with violence. The matter ought to be committed to God. It is his word that ought to act and not we.—And wherefore? you will say.—Because I do not hold the hearts of men in my hand, as the potter holds the clay in his. We are fully authorised to speak, but we have no right to do. Let us preach; the rest appertains to God. If I employ force, what should I get by doing so? Grimaces, outward semblances, apings, human ordinances, hypocrisies. . . . But there would be no sincerity of heart, no faith, no Christian love. All is wanting in a work where these three things are wanting, and for the rest I would not give for them the stalk of a pear.¹

“What we ought to endeavour to secure in others above all things, is their hearts; and in order to that, we must preach the Gospel. Then the Word will drop to-day into one heart, and to-morrow into another, and will operate in such wise, that each will withdraw from the mass and forsake it altogether. God effects more than if you, and I, and all the world were to combine our efforts. God seizes the heart, and when that is secured, all is secured.

“I say not this for the purpose of re-establishing the mass. Since it has been put down, in God’s name let it remain so. But ought it to have been attacked as it has been attacked? Paul, on arriving at the puissant city of Athens, found altars erected there to false gods. He passed from one to another, made his own reflections on them all, and touched none. But he returned peaceably to the forum, and declared to the people that all their gods were mere idols. This declaration laid hold of their hearts, and the idols gave way before Paul had touched them.

¹ Ich wollte nicht einen Birnstiel drauf geben. (L. Opp. L. xviii. p. 255.)

"I would preach, I would speak, I would write, but I would lay constraint upon no one; for faith is a voluntary thing. See what I have done! I rose in opposition to the pope, the indulgences, and the papists, but I did so without tumult or violence. I pressed before all things the Word of God, I preached, I wrote; I did nothing else. And while I was asleep, or seated familiarly at table with Amsdorff and Melancthon, as we sat and conversed at our ease over our Wittemberg beer, that Word which I had been preaching, subverted the popedom in such wise that never was it so damaged by prince or emperor. I did nothing,—all was done by the Word. Had I wished to appeal to force, Germany might possibly have been soaked with blood. But what then would have been the result?—nothing short of ruin and desolation for soul and body. I therefore kept myself quiet, and left the Word itself to make its course through the world. Know you what the devil thinks when he sees people employ force in disseminating the Gospel among men? Seated with his arms crossed behind hell-fire, Satan says with a malignant look and frightful leer: "Ah! but these fools are sages indeed, thus to do my work for me!—But if he see the Word go forth and engage alone on the field of battle, he then feels ill at ease, his knees smite against each other; he shudders, and swoons away with fright."

Luther appeared in the pulpit again on Tuesday, when his powerful eloquence resounded anew amid the much affected throng; and this was repeated on the following Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and the Lord's day. He passed under review the destruction of the images, the distinction of meats, the regulations for the supper, the restoration of the cup to the laity, and the abolition of confession to the priest. He showed that these points were still more indifferent than the mass, and that the authors of the disorders that had taken place at Wittemberg, had grossly abused their liberty. He gave utterance by turns to feelings of the most Christian love, and to bursts of holy indignation.

He spoke chiefly against those who participated without due solemnity in the supper of Jesus Christ. "It is not the external manducation that makes the Christian," said he, "it is the internal and spiritual manducation which is wrought by faith,

and without which, all forms are but empty shows and vain grimaces.¹ Now, this faith consists in firmly believing that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; that having charged himself with our sins and our iniquities, and having borne them on the cross, he is himself the sole, the all-powerful expiation; that he ever appears before God, that he reconciles us with the Father, and that he has given us the sacrament of his body, in order to strengthen our faith in this ineffable mercy. If I believe these things, God is my defender; with him I brave sin, death, hell, and demons; they can do me no harm, nor even touch a single

¹ Luther's views of the sacrament of the supper, appear at this time to have been the same with those afterwards held by the French Reformed, as exhibited in the following simple and beautiful narrative, extracted from an old life of the celebrated Admiral de Coligny.

"... What occurred previous to his venturing to come to the banquet, and sacrament of the Lord's supper, is worth being recorded. He had conferred repeatedly with very learned pastors of the French churches, not only about transubstantiation as it is called at the Sorbonne, but, also, about consubstantiation; and inasmuch as so far as human comprehension goes, it would appear that the divine presence must in some wise be locally enclosed in a particular place, there to be worshipped as God was of old in the ark of the covenant, the Admiral would have it that the presence of Christ's body, that is to say, of his flesh, bones and blood, was certainly mingled with the bread and the wine. At length, happening to be present while divine service was performed secretly at Vatteville, and very few, as was usual at the time, being there to take part in it, understanding that the Lord's supper was to be celebrated at its close, he besought those present not to be offended at his weakness, but to pray to God for him, and then begged the minister to explain more fully the mystery of the supper, which he did as follows: 'The Lord's supper,' he said, 'has two parts, the one human and natural, the object of contemplation to the bodily eyes; the other divine and heavenly, to be viewed only by the eyes of the soul. The former depended on the minister who gave the bread and the wine, and, also, on the manducation and drinking, the whole action being done by human and natural means; whereas the latter depended on God who bestows it, and with it the whole fruit to be derived from the body of Christ crucified, raised again, and glorified according as God doth enable us to participate in the supper; that it depended, also, on the Christian's confidence and consentment, and that this whole mysterious action is accomplished by means that are divine, heavenly, and supernatural. Still, inasmuch as it has been instituted, not on account of the bread and the wine, but for the sake of the Christian, and should be considered with an eye to this end, in vain would we too curiously inquire whether there be not something added to the bread, mingled with the bread, under the bread, or about the bread; that the bread and the wine pertained to the external action just as, and no otherwise than, the water and the washing of baptism pertain to the external action: and that he ought to raise his mind on high to the heavenly and inward action, and to think only of the operation of God in that great mystery, as St. Paul intimates when he says: The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? And we ought with him to exclaim that the union of Christ with his Church is a great mystery. And St. Augustine has very well and truly said, that to eat the bread which perisheth not, but which endureth unto everlasting life, is to believe in Christ. And wherefore make you ready the teeth and stomach? believe and thou hast eaten, and make ready, not the palate but the heart.'" This explanation fully satisfied the Admiral. Tr.

hair of my head. This spiritual bread is the consolation of the afflicted, the cure of the sick, the life of the dying, food to the hungry, and the treasure of the poor. He who is not saddened by his sins, ought not then to approach this altar; what could he do there? Ah! did our conscience accuse us, did our heart feel crushed at the thought of our short-comings, we should not then approach the holy sacrament with so much levity.

The Church continued to be crowded; there was even a concourse of people from the neighbouring towns to hear the new Elias. Capito, among others, came to pass a couple of days at Wittemberg, and heard two of the doctor's sermons. Never were Luther and Cardinal Albert's chaplain so well agreed. Melancthon, the magistrates, the professors, the whole people, were in the highest spirits;¹ and Schurff, in his delight at this being the issue of so lamentable an affair, hastened to communicate it to the elector. On Friday, the 15th of March, the day of Luther's preaching his sixth discourse, he wrote to him: "Ah! what delight there has been produced among us by the return of doctor Martin Luther! His words, with the aid of divine grace, are daily leading back more and more of our poor misguided souls into the way of truth. It is clear as the sun that he is inspired by the Spirit of God, and that it is by a special dispensation of his providence that he has returned to Wittemberg."²

These discourses are models, in fact, of popular eloquence, but not of that which used to enkindle men's minds in the times of Demosthenes, or even in those of Savonarola.³ The Wittemberg orator had a still more difficult task to accomplish, for it is easier to excite a ferocious animal into rage than to calm it down when once infuriated. He had to appease a fanatical multitude, —to rein in passions which had broken through all restraint, and he succeeded. Throughout his eight discourses⁴ the

¹ Grosse Freude und Frohlocken unter Gelahrten und Ungelahrten. (L. Opp. xviii. p. 266.)

² Aus sonderlicher Schickung des Allmachtigen. . . . (Ibid.)

³ For an interesting account of this extraordinary person, the reader may consult M'Crie's *Reformation in Italy*. Notwithstanding the exceeding fervour of Savonarola's addresses from the pulpit, some devotional pieces of his which I have seen, are marked by great depth and calmness of feeling, indicating the very reverse of a shallow enthusiasm. Tr.

⁴ These discourses, under the title of *Acht Leerreden tegen de Geestdry-*

Reformer did not allow a single allusion to the prejudice of the authors of the troubles to escape from him, nor a single word that could give them pain. But the greater his moderation, the greater also was his moral power; the more he spared those who had gone astray, the better did he avenge offended truth. How could the people of Wittemberg resist his powerful eloquence? Discourses that recommend moderation are usually ascribed to timidity, to concessions dictated by a regard to expediency, and to fear. But here there was nothing of the kind. Luther presented himself to the people of Wittemberg, as a man who braved alike the excommunication of the pope, and the proscription of the emperor. He had come back in the face of the prohibition of the elector who had declared his inability to defend him. Even at Worms itself, Luther did not display an equal degree of courage. Looking the most imminent dangers in the face, his voice commanded attention and respect; so that all must have felt that he who was braving the scaffold, had a right to exhort others to submission. That man might well speak fearlessly to others of obeying God, who, while himself obeying God, had set at nought all the persecutions of men. Luther needed but to speak, and objections vanished, the tumult subsided, sedition was mute, and the burgesses of Wittemberg betook themselves to their quiet homes.¹

Gabriel Didymus, who of all the Augustinian friars had

vers. prefaced with an historical introduction, and translated from the German by the translator of this work, were published by the publishers of this work also, in 1836, and are well worthy of repeated perusal.—L. R.

I am not aware that they have appeared in English beyond the few extracts to be found here and in Milner. TR.

¹ Mosheim, Milner, and the author all unite in presenting Luther's conduct on this occasion in the most favourable light, especially as contrasted with that of Carlstadt. Milner, in particular, is very indignant at the remark of Mosheim's translator, that "perhaps the true reason of Luther's displeasure at the proceedings of Carlstadt was, that he could not bear to see another crowned with the glory of executing a plan which he had laid, and that he was ambitious of appearing the principal, if not the only conductor of this great work," yet he somewhat inconsistently excuses this ambition, extremely natural, it must be allowed, and admitted in Luther's own letters, by the example of St Paul. But Luther, as Milner, Le Roy, and the author all agree, *had no plan*, but as Milner says, merely "acted to the best of his judgment at the moment." This suggests the question, however, how far the course he adopted recommended itself to his judgment, because of its being recommended by Christian charity, and its respect for the consciences of the weak and the authority of the magistrate, or because he had not the same just appreciation that Carlstadt had, of the sin and danger of many of the abuses that the latter had joined with the multitude in rashly removing. Now, from many other passages in Luther's life and writings, I apprehend we may fairly allow that the former motives greatly

shown himself most of the enthusiast, had not lost a word of all that the Reformer said. "Don't you think that Luther is an admirable doctor?" said one of the hearers to him, in the ardour of his feelings.—"Ah," he replied, "I feel as if it were the voice, not of a man, but of an angel that I was listening to."¹ Didymus soon openly acknowledged that he had been misled. "He is changed into another man," said Luther.²

Not such was the case at first with Carlstadt. Professing a contempt for studies, making an affectation of appearing in the workshops of the Wittemberg artisans for the sake of gaining an acquaintance with the Scriptures, he was cut to the heart at seeing what he had been doing, crumble away as soon as Luther showed himself.³ It looked in his eyes like laying an arrest upon the Reformation itself. Accordingly he had always an air of depression, gloom, and discontentment. Meanwhile he made a sacrifice of his vanity to peace; kept down every rising of revenge; became reconciled with his colleague in appearance at least, and shortly afterwards resumed his courses of lectures at the university.⁴

The chief prophets were not in Wittemberg at the time of Luther's arrival there. Nicolas Storck had been itinerating through the country; Mark Stübner had quitted Melancthon's hospitable roof. Possibly their prophetic spirit might have departed, and there was "neither voice nor any to answer"⁵ from the time that they heard of the new Elias directing his steps to the new Carmel. Cellarius, he who had kept a school, alone remained. Stübner, however, having been informed of the dispersion of his flock, returned in urgent haste. Those

weighed with him, but from the same sources we may gather that his conduct must partly be ascribed to his still inadequate views on almost all doctrinal points except the cardinal doctrine of justification by faith. Even to the end of his life he retained notions on the utility of images and ceremonies that evangelical protestants now universally reprobate. I refer particularly to the ceremonies of the mass, including the elevation and adoration of the host. In May 1522, he seems to have been quite unable to give any distinct answers to persons inquiring what he thought of the worship of saints, the exposition of relics, and purgatory. The reader may consult Luther's letters, or Michelet's extracts therefrom. *Tr.*

¹ Imo, inquit, angeli, non hominis vocem mihi audisse videor. (*Camerarius*, p. 12.)

² In alium virum mutatus est. (*L. Epp* ii. p. 156.)

³ Ego Carlstadium offendi, quod ordinationes suas cessavi. (*Ibid.* p. 177.)

⁴ Philippi et Carlstadii lectiones ut sunt optimæ. . . (*Ibid.* p. 284.)

⁵ 1 Kings, chap. xviii. ver. 29.

who had continued faithful to "the heavenly prophet" came around their master;¹ told him what Luther had been preaching, and anxiously inquired of him what they were to think, and how they ought to act. Stübner exhorted them to continue firm in the faith. "Let him show himself," exclaimed Cellarius, "let him grant us a conference, let him allow us to explain our doctrines, and we shall see. . . ."

Luther cared little about meeting with these men.² He knew that they were actuated by a violent, impatient, haughty spirit,³ which could not abide even warnings dictated by love, and which insisted that every one should submit at the first word, as if to a paramount authority. Such are the enthusiasts of all times. Yet, since they craved an interview, the doctor could not refuse it. Besides, it might be of use to the simple members of their flock, that he should unmask the imposture of the prophets. The conference did take place. Stübner was the first to speak; he explained how he wished to renew the church, and change the world. Luther listened with great placidity.⁴ "Nothing of all you have said," he at length gravely replied, "rests on holy scripture. It is all mere fables." At these words, Cellarius was no longer master of himself; he vociferated and gesticulated like a madman; stamped with his feet; struck the table that stood before him;⁵ stormed with passion and exclaimed that it was shameful to dare to speak thus of a man of God. Luther then resumed: "St Paul declares that the proofs of his apostolate plainly showed themselves in prodigies;⁶

¹ *Rursum ad ipsum confluere . . . Cam.*

² One reason for this unwillingness to meet these enthusiasts, and also for closing the conference so abruptly and so roughly, may have been the little time the Reformer could spare at this period of his life. Michelet says of it: "The times that followed Luther's return to Wittenberg form the most active and laborious period of his life. . . . People from all quarters crowded to him and besieged his gate. He had to answer inquiries from Bohemians, Italians, Swiss, in short, from all Europe. Refugees came to him from every quarter." Among the latter there were many, including nuns who had left their convents, for whose very support he had to exert himself, while extremely poor himself. In such circumstances, to have had his time occupied by foolish pretenders to immediate communications from heaven must have been peculiarly trying to his temper. *Tr.*

³ *Vehementer superbus et impatiens . . . credi vult plena auctoritate, ad primam vocem. (L. Epp. ii. p. 179.)*

⁴ *Audivit Lutherus placide . . . (Camer. p. 52.)*

⁵ *Cum et solum pedibus et propositam mensulam manibus feriret. (Ibid.)*

⁶ "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds," 2 Cor. xii. 12. *Tr.*

prove yours by miracles.”—“We shall do so,” replied the prophets.¹ “The God whom I adore,” said Luther, “can easily hold your gods in check.” Stübner, who had kept himself more composed, then fixed his eyes on the Reformer, and said to him with the air of a man inspired: “Martin Luther, I am going to tell thee all that is passing in thy soul. Thou art beginning to believe that my doctrine is true;” whereupon Luther, after a few moments’ pause, replied, “the Lord rebuke thee, Satan!” At these words the prophets were all beside themselves with rage. “The Spirit! the Spirit!” they exclaimed. Luther, rejoining with that cool expression of disdain and that incisive and homely language which was peculiar to him, said: “I will give it over the snout to your *Spirit*.”² The clamours upon this were redoubled; Cellarius distinguished himself particularly by his violence, foaming, gnashing his teeth, and maddening with rage.³ All was now confusion in the conference chamber, and at length the three prophets left the place and withdrew that same day from Wittemberg.⁴

Thus did Luther accomplish the object which had brought him from his retreat. He had made head against fanaticism, and had expelled from the bosom of the now renewed church, the enthusiasm and disorder that had threatened to make a con-

¹ Quid pollicentes de mirabilibus affectionibus. (Camer. p. 53.)

² Ihren Geist haue er über die Schnauze. (L. Opp. Altenburg. Ausg. iii. p. 137.)

³ Spumabat et fremebat et furebat. (L. Epp. ii. p. 179.)

⁴ We see here the treatment given by the leader of the German reformers to the first pretenders to private revelations, among those who had cast off the authority of Rome. Their pretensions were instantly brought to the test of Scripture and rejected, not with persecution but with contempt, when proved by that criterion to be the results of an arrogant self-conceit. It is worth while to inquire how they would have been treated by Rome had they accompanied their pretended revelations with respect for her supremacy. And here history proves that the utmost extravagance of delusion might not only have been tolerated but even cherished in that case. Among a thousand examples take those of Dominick and Loyola. But, indeed, the principles of the popedom on this point have been clearly stated by one of its present organs, the Dublin Review. “To the united testimony of reason, of revelation, and of tradition, those who wish to penetrate farther into the arcana of the invisible world, may add the result of individual inspiration, embodied in those private revelations which, in the absence of a supreme decision, each person has a right to judge according to their respective merits.”—Dublin Rev. No. xix. p. 121.

So that while the Protestant has the Bible ever at hand whereby to test every pretension to private revelations, the Romanist, in the absence of a supreme decision, which he must go for to Rome or to a general council, may give heed to the wildest and most fanatical delusions, and act the madman to his heart’s content, as it must be confessed many have done, to the dismay and destruction of the objects on which their fanaticism has chosen to vent itself. **Tr.**

quest of it. If, with one hand, the Reformation threw down the dusty decretals of Rome, with the other it repelled the pretensions of the mystics, and on the domain it had acquired, it confirmed the living and immutable authority of the word of God. The character of the Reformation was thus firmly established; it behoved ever to move between these two extremes, equally apart from the convulsions of fanatics and the death-like condition of the popedom.

It was then that a population, which being hurried away by its passions, and having wandered into error, had broken through all restraint, became peaceable, calm, and submissive; and the most perfect tranquillity was re-established in that city which, but a few days before, was like the heaving sea when lashed by a storm.

An entire liberty was immediately established at Wittemberg.¹ Luther continued to reside in the monastery, and to wear his monkish dress; but each was allowed to do otherwise if he pleased. In taking the communion, it was at every one's option to be content with the general absolution, or to require a particular one. It was laid down as a principle, that nothing should be rejected but what was opposed to a clear and formal declaration of holy Writ.² This was not indifference; religion, on the contrary, was thus brought back to that which is its essence; religious feelings separated themselves from the accessory forms in which they had well nigh perished, and returned to their true source. Thus was the Reformation saved, and sound doctrine could continue to develope itself in the Church according to charity and truth.³

¹ Among other charges brought by Mr. Hallam against the Reformation in his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth Centuries," he accuses it of being equally unfavourable with the Romish church to freedom of inquiry, and the liberty of private judgment, and that it "was but a change of masters." Now, to whatever motives on the part of Luther we are to ascribe the freedom established at Wittemberg under his influence, there is no question as to its existence, and his forbearance to the pretended prophets, the patience with which he listened to them, and his decided reprobation of anything like persecution towards them, proves Mr. Hallam to be in error. But I reserve his misrepresentations to be more fully noticed in another place. Tr.

² Ganz klare und gründliche Schrift.

³ I have hitherto refrained from communicating my remarks on this controversy of LUTHER's with CARLSTADT and the enthusiastic prophets; having been unwilling to interrupt the well-sustained continuity of the author's narrative. With respect to Carlstadt, even at that time, all were not equally prepossessed

IX. Hardly was calm re-established when the Reformer turned towards his dear Melancthon, and craved his assistance in giving the last touches to the version of the New Testament which he had brought with him from the Wartburg.¹ Since the year 1519, Melancthon had established it as a principle, that the fathers should be expounded according to Scripture, and not Scripture according to the fathers. Ever entering more and more deeply into the spirit of the New Testament Scriptures, he felt himself at once charmed by their simplicity, and amazed at their depth. "There only," would this man who was so familiar with all the philosophers of antiquity openly assert, "there only is the true food of the soul to be found." Joyfully, therefore, did he comply with Luther's invitation; and forthwith the two friends spent many an hour together, in the study and translation of the inspired Word. Often would they stop in their laborious researches to give vent to their admiration. "Reason thinks," Luther would say: "Oh, that I but once could comprehend God! For that I would run to the end of the world. . . . Listen then, O man, my brother! . . . God, the creator of the heavens and the earth, addresses thee. . . ."

Immense labour and care were bestowed on the printing of the New Testament,² so much so that the workmen themselves

against him. He was a learned and, according to the judgment of charity, an upright man, though somewhat passionate, rough, and intolerant, qualities which in after times seem to have been much improved by his very adversities, according to the testimony of some famous men among the Reformers, such as BUCER, CAPITO and ŒCOLAMPADIUS, who greatly praised him and recommended him to Zwingli. His wishing not to confine himself to teaching alone, but to give practical effect to what was taught to the people, and hence to reject abuses which had been demonstrated to be such, was not of itself to be disapproved, and thus far had all that he and his colleagues did in Luther's absence a good result, and God's providential government availed itself thereof to abolish what, but for their having done so, Luther might for long have tolerated, on which account even Luther, although he disapproved of the want of moderation with which men had gone to work, yet after the thing was done, allowed it to remain so, only leaving to each the exercise of his own freedom. Nay, the very so called prophets effected what was not altogether useless, for they called attention to some things that were wanting in Luther's Reformation, and prepared men's minds for their being corrected, and what they endeavoured to do in a more enthusiastic manner, wherein they were checked by Luther, yet remained as vital principles in many minds, so as in process of time, when adopted in a more sober manner by others, to be given effect to in the further completion of the Reformation, or, in so far as even to this day it has not received its full accomplishment, to be from time to time revived in the contemplations of men.—J. R.

¹ Verum omnia nunc elimare cœpimus Philippus et ego. (L. Epp. ii. p. 176.)

² Ingenti labore et studio. (Ibid. p. 236.)

were alive to the importance of the work they were preparing for publication. Three presses were employed and ten thousand sheets were printed each day.^{1 2}

At last on the 21st of September, appeared the first complete edition, three thousand copies of which were printed in two folio volumes, with this plain title: *The New Testament—in German—Wittenberg*. No man's name appeared. From that time forth every German could procure the Word of God at a moderate price.³

The new translation, written in the spirit itself of the sacred writings, in what was as yet a virgin tongue, and which then for the first time disclosed its singular beauties, seized, ravished, and unsettled the most inconsiderable as well as the greatest among the people. It was a national work; it was the people's book; it was more—it was truly God's book. Even adversaries themselves could not refuse their approbation to that admirable work; and the indiscreet friends of the Reformation, struck with the beauty of its execution, fancied they could perceive in it traces of a second inspiration. That translation promoted the spread of Christian piety more than all the other writings of Luther. It put the great work of the sixteenth century upon a foundation where nothing could shake it. The Bible on being given to the people, brought back the human mind which had been wandering for ages in the tortuous paths of the scholastic philosophy, to the divine source of salvation. As might have been expected, the success of the work was prodigious. In a short while every copy was sold. A second edition appeared in the month of December, and in 1533, there were reckoned up seventeen editions of Luther's New Testament printed at Wittenberg, thirteen at Augsburg, twelve at Basel, one at Erfurt, one at Grimma, one at Lipsick, and thirteen at Strasbourg.⁴ Such were the mighty springs that raised and transformed the Church and the world.

¹ Singulis diebus decies millia chartarum sub tribus prelis. . . . (L. Epp. ii. p. 236.)

² This, I understand, is thought by practical printers to be a physical impossibility. Instead of three presses, no doubt, three printing establishments is meant. Tr.

³ At a florin and a half, about three francs or half a crown.

⁴ Gesch. d. deutsch. Bibel Uebersetz.

The first edition of the New Testament was still passing through the press when Luther took in hand the translation of the Old, and uninterruptedly pursued the task, after commencing it in 1522. He published his translation in parts according as it advanced, in order that thus he might the better satisfy the impatience which was shown on all sides, and to facilitate the acquisition of the work to the poor.

From the Scripture and from faith, two sources which are essentially but one, evangelical life has flowed from the first, and is still diffusing itself in the world. These two principles were opposed to two fundamental errors; faith to the Pelagian tendency of catholicism; Scripture to the theory of tradition, and the authority of Rome. Scripture led to faith, and faith led back to Scripture. "Man can do no meritorious work; the free grace of God, which he receives by faith in Christ, alone saves him." Such was the doctrine proclaimed in Christendom; but it was a doctrine that was sure to direct Christendom to the Scriptures. In fact, if faith in Christ be all in Christianity; if the practices and ordinances of the Church be nothing, it is to the word of Christ, not to that of the Church, that we ought to cleave. The bond of union with Christ will then be everything to the believer's soul. Of what consequence to him the outward tie that unites him to an external church enslaved to the opinions of men? . . . Accordingly, as the word of the Bible had urged Luther's cotemporaries towards Jesus Christ, the love that they bore to Jesus Christ, urged them, in turn, to the Bible. It was not, as is supposed in our days, by a philosophical principle, in consequence of a doubt, or of desire for inquiry, that they went back to Scripture, but because there they found the Word of him whom they loved. "You have proclaimed to us Jesus Christ," they would say, "let us now hear himself;" and with this feeling they threw themselves on the sheets that were handed to them, as they would have done had a letter come to them from heaven.

But great as was the joy with which the Bible was received by such as loved Christ, it was spurned with detestation by such as preferred the traditions and practices of men. This work of the Reformer was assailed with a violent persecution. Rome trembled when she heard of Luther's publication. The pen that

had transcribed the sacred oracles, was truly that which the elector Frederick had seen in his dream, and which, reaching to the seven hills, made the tiara of the popedom totter. Monks from their cells, and princes on their thrones, gave loud utterance to their angry feelings; unlettered priests trembled to think that every tradesman, nay, even every peasant, was now capable of entering into discussion with them as to what the Lord had taught. The king of England denounced this work to the elector Frederick, and to duke George of Saxony; but previous to that, and as early as November, the duke had commanded all his subjects to send every copy of Luther's New Testament that could be found to the magistrate. Bavaria, Brandenburg, Austria, in short, all the states that were devoted to Rome, passed decrees to the same effect. In some places sacrilegious bonfires were formed of these sacred books in the public squares.¹ Thus did Rome repeat in the sixteenth century, the attempts by which paganism would fain have destroyed the religion of Jesus Christ, just as the empire was escaping from the grasp of the priests and their idols. But who could arrest the triumphant march of the Gospel? "Even after I had issued my prohibitions," wrote duke George, "thousands of copies were sold, and read in my states."

God even employed, for the dissemination of his Word, hands that were eager to destroy it. Perceiving that they could not lay an arrest on the work of the Reformer, the Roman Catholic divines themselves published a translation of the New Testament, which proved to be just Luther's translation, corrected here and there by the editors. Nothing was done to hinder the people from reading it. Rome knew not as yet that wherever the Word of God has gained a footing, her power is on the wane. Joachim of Brandenburg permitted all his subjects to read any translation of the Bible, Latin or German, provided it did not come from Wittemberg. Thus the inhabitants of Germany, and those of Brandenburg in particular, made an immense step in the knowledge of the truth.

The publication of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, marks one of the most important epochs of the Reformation.

¹ Qui et alicubi in unum congesti rogi publicè combusti sunt.

If Feldkirchen's marriage was the first step made by the Reformation in passing from doctrine into actual life; if the abolition of monastic vows was the second; if the re-establishment of the Lord's supper was the third, the publication of the New Testament was perhaps the most important of all. It wrought a thorough change in society: not only in the priest's parsonage, in the monk's cell, and in the Lord's sanctuary; but, further, in the houses of the great, and in those of the townsfolk and peasantry. As soon as the Bible began to be read in the families of Christendom, Christendom underwent a change; it was distinguished by other habits, by other manners, by other subjects and a different tone of conversation, and by another kind of life. On the New Testament making its appearance, the Reformation no longer confined itself to academies and to the Church; it went forth and took possession of the fire-sides of the people.

The effect thus produced was immense. The Christianity of the primitive church, now rescued by the publication of the holy Scriptures from the oblivion in which it had lain for ages, was thus presented to the eyes of the nation, and this was all that was wanted in order to justify the attacks that had been made upon Rome. The simplest men if they only knew the German alphabet, women, and artisans, (this we have from a great enemy of the Reformation, who lived at the time) eagerly studied the New Testament.¹ They took it everywhere along with them; ere long they could repeat it by the heart, and the pages of that book bore open testimony to the perfect agreement of Luther's Reformation with the revelation of God.

Meanwhile, it had been by fragments only that the doctrine of the Bible, and of the Reformation, had until then been establishing itself. Such a truth had been exhibited in one publication; this or that error had been assailed in another. Covering a vast extent of ground, lay the scattered and confused remains of the old structure and the materials of the new; but the edifice itself had not yet appeared. The publication of the New Testament, no doubt, met this want, and in presenting that book the Reformation could say: "Here is my system!" But as

¹ Ut sutores, mulieres et quilibet idiotæ . . . avidissime legerent (Cochleus, p. 50.)

every man is free to profess that he has no system but the Bible, the Reformation had to throw into a precise form what it had found in Scripture;¹ and this Melanchthon did in its name.

In unfolding his theology, Melanchthon had advanced with a measured yet with a sure step, and had always courageously published the fruit of his researches. As early as 1520, he declared that in several of the sacraments he saw nothing more than an imitation of the judaical ceremonies; and in papal infallibility a mere haughty pretension opposed alike to holy Scripture and to good sense. "In order to combat these doctrines," he would say, "we have need for more than one Hercules."² Thus had Melanchthon reached the same point with Luther, although by a more learned and a calmer path, and the moment had at last arrived when a public profession of his faith might be expected also from him.

Since 1521, during Luther's captivity, his celebrated work "*On Theological Common Places*," had presented to Christian Europe a body of doctrine, at once solid in its foundations, and admirably proportioned. A simple and majestic whole now stood out before the astonished eyes of the new generation. The translation of the New Testament justified the Reformation in the judgments of the people; Melanchthon's *Common Places* justified it with the learned.

The Church had existed for the fifteen centuries without ever having seen such a work. Relinquishing the ordinary expositions of the scholastic theology, Luther's friend presented to Christendom at last, a theological system wholly drawn from Scripture. There were to be found in it a breath of life, a movement of intellect, a force of truth, and a simplicity of exposition, all presenting an amazing contrast with the subtle and pedantic systems of the schools. From the most philosophical minds, and the severest theologians, it drew forth equal feelings of admiration

¹ From this may be seen the utility, yea, the necessity, of drawing up confessions of faith, in which truths derived from the Bible are presented in their strict meaning, in so far as man can understand them, and arranged in a suitable connection. Agreement, accordingly, in such a confession, and not the general acceptance of the Bible, from which every man may take what meaning he pleases, forms the basis of the unity of the Church, and of every ecclesiastical community which without that would be a Babel of confusion.—L. R.

² *Adversus quas non uno nobis, ut ita dicam, Hercule opus est.* (Corp. Ref. i. p. 137.)

Erasmus called this production of Melanchthon's pen an army marvellously ranged in battle array against the pharisaical tyranny of false doctors;¹ and while he admitted that he did not agree with the author on all points, he added that although he had ever loved him, never had he loved him so much as after having read that work. "So true is it," said Calvin afterwards, in presenting it to France, "that in treating of Christian doctrines, the greatest simplicity is the highest virtue."²

But no one's joy equalled that of Luther. The work was the object of his admiration during his whole life. Those detached sounds which with a trembling hand he had called forth in the warmth of his soul's emotions from the harp of the prophets and apostles, were there to be found arranged in the most ravishing harmony. Those scattered blocks which he had with so much effort worked out from the quarry of the Scriptures, were now built up into a majestic edifice. Accordingly, he never ceased to recommend the reading of the work to the students who came in search of learning to Wittemberg, telling them that if they wished to be theologians, they should read Melanchthon.³

Melanchthon conceived that a profound conviction of the misery to which man finds himself reduced by sin, is the ground work on which the whole structure of Christian theology ought to be erected. That measureless evil is the first early fact, the parent idea with which the whole science commences; it is the type that distinguishes theology from all the sciences which have nothing but reason for their instrument.

The Christian theologian, diving to the bottom of man's heart, expounds its mysterious laws and attractions, as another learned genius expounded, at a subsequent period, the laws and the attractions of material substances. "Original sin," says he, "is an inclination born with us, a certain powerful tendency which is agreeable to us, a certain force which seduces us into sin, and which has passed from Adam into all his posterity. Just as there is a native tendency in fire which carries it

¹ *Video dogmatum aciem pulchre instructam adversus tyrannidem pharisaicam.* (Er. Epp. p. 949.)

² *La Somme de Theologie, par Philippe Melanchthon. Genève. 1551. Jehan Calvin aux lecteurs.*

³ *Librum invictum, he would further say, non solum immortalitate, sed et canone ecclesiastico dignum. (De servo arbitrio.)*

upwards, just as there is in the loadstone a natural force by which it attracts to itself iron, so is there in man, too, an original tendency towards evil. I admit there were found in Socrates, Xenocrates and Zeno, constancy, temperance, chastity; these shadows of virtues existed in impure minds, and sprang from self-love; and therefore ought they to be regarded not as genuine virtues, but as vices."¹ This may seem a harsh judgment, but only when Melanchthon's meaning is misapprehended. No man felt more disposed than he was, to own that the pagans had virtues worthy of human esteem; but he maintained that great truth, that the supreme law given by God to all his creatures is, that they should love him above all things. Now, should man in doing God's commands, act from love to himself, not from love to God, could God ever approve of his thus daring to substitute himself in the room of his infinite majesty; and would there not be vice in an act involving express rebellion against the supreme God?

The Wittenberg divine goes on to show how man is saved from this wretchedness. "The apostle," says he, "bids thee contemplate at the right hand of the Father, the Son of God, the all-prevailing Mediator who intercedes for us, and he asks thee to rest assured that thy sins are forgiven thee, and that thou art reputed righteous, and accepted by the Father for the sake of that Son, who was a victim offered up on the cross."²

What makes that first edition of the *Common Places* particularly remarkable, is the manner in which the theologian of Germany speaks in it of the freedom of the will. He recognises, still better perhaps than Luther had done, for he was the better theologian of the two, that this doctrine could not be separated from that which forms the essence of the Reformation. Man's justification in the sight of God proceeds from faith alone, such is the first point; this faith proceeds in man's heart from the grace of God alone, such is the second. Melanchthon very well saw that if any natural ability to believe be granted to man, the grand doctrine of grace established in the first point, will be

¹ *Loci communes theologici*, Basel, 1521. p. 35. This edition is very rare. For the subsequent revisions see that of Erlangen, 1828, printed according to that of Basel, 1561.

² Vult te intueri Filium Dei sedentem ad dexteram Patris, mediatorem interpellantem pro nobis. (Ibid.)

subverted in the second. He had too much discernment and knowledge of the Scriptures, to be deceived in so weighty a matter. But he went too far. Instead of confining himself within the limits of the religious, he touched the metaphysical question. He established a fatalism by which God might be considered as the author of evil, and which consequently has no foundation in Scripture. "Since all things that happen," says he, "happen necessarily, according to divine predestination, there is evidently no freedom of our will."¹

But what Melanchthon mainly proposed to himself, was to present theology to the world as a system of piety. The School had dissected theology until it deprived it of life; hence it became the task of the Reformation to vivify anew this dead dogmatism. In subsequent editions Melanchthon felt the necessity of expounding doctrines with great clearness.² But it was not altogether thus in 1521. "To know Christ," says he, "is to know his benefits. When Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, wished to present a summary of Christian doctrine, he does not philosophise on the mystery of the Trinity, on the mode in which the incarnation took place, on active and passive creation. What then does he speak of?—of the law,—of sin—of grace. On that hangs the knowledge of Christ."³

The publication of this system of dogmatic divinity was of inestimable value to the cause of the Gospel. Calumnies were refuted; prejudices fell to the ground. Admiration for the genius of Melanchthon, and affection for the graces that adorned his character, began to be felt in churches, at courts, in universities. Even persons quite unacquainted with the author, were led by his eloquence to embrace the doctrines of his creed. Many had been repelled by Luther's rough and sometimes violent language, but here was a man who displayed great elegance of style, exquisite taste, admirable clearness and perfect order, in

¹ Quandoquidem omnia quæ eveniunt, necessario eveniunt juxta divinam prædestinationem, nulla est voluntatis nostræ libertas. (Loci comm. theolog. Basel, 1521, p. 35.)

² See the edition of 1561, reprinted in 1829, pages 14 to 44, the several chapters; De tribus personis;—De divinitate Fili;—De duabis naturis in Christo;—Testimonia quod Filius sit persona;—Testimonia refutantia Arianos;—De discernendis proprietatibus humanæ et divinæ naturæ Christi;—De spiritu sancto; etc., etc.

³ Hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia ejus cognoscere, etc. (Ibid.)

the exposition of those mighty truths whose sudden explosion had shaken the world. The work was eagerly sought for, and was read and studied with ardour. Men's hearts were gained by so much mildness and modesty; they felt the commanding influence of so much nobleness and force; and the higher classes of society, till then undecided, were made the conquest of a wisdom that at length expressed itself in such beautiful language.

On the other hand, the enemies of the truth whom Luther's terrible blows had failed to put down, remained for some time mute and disconcerted on the appearance of Melancthon's production. They saw that there was yet another man, besides Luther, equally obnoxious to their hatred. "Alas!" they exclaimed, "unhappy Germany! to what extremity must not this new production reduce thee!"¹

The *Common Places*, from 1521 to 1595, passed through sixty-seven editions, exclusive of translations, and, next to the Bible, was perhaps the work that contributed most to the establishment of the evangelical doctrines.

X. Whilst by these soft strains "the grammarian" Melancthon, was bringing such mighty aid to Luther, redoubtable enemies of the Reformer were turning to attack him with the utmost violence. Escaped from the Wartburg, he had re-appeared on the scene of the world; and on the news of this reaching them, his old adversaries recovered all their fury.

Three months and a half had passed since Luther's return to Wittenberg when a report, swelled by all the voices of fame, brought him word that one of the greatest monarchs of Christendom had taken the field against him. The chief of the house of Tudor, a prince descended at once from the houses of York and Lancaster, and on whose head, after so much bloodshed, the red and white roses were at last united,² the puissant

¹ Heu! infelicem hoc novo partu Germaniam! . . . (Cochl.)

² The author here alludes to the bloody partizanships of the potent houses of the dukes of York and Lancaster, known under the names of the white and red roses, which long distracted England, and disputed with each other for the sovereignty. Henry, duke of Lancaster, having dethroned his youthful nephew, king Richard II., in the year 1399, succeeded him under the name of Henry IV; by his death, in 1413, he was succeeded by his son, Henry V; this last monarch died in 1422, whereupon his surviving widow married a Welsh nobleman of the name of Owen Tudor, and his son, Henry VI., succeeded him. A revolt excited against this last prince by Richard, duke of York, in which the king himself was made prisoner in 1455, was suppressed by the courage of his

king of England, who aimed at re-establishing the ancient influence of his crown over the continent, and in particular, over France, Henry VIII., had composed a book against the poor Wittemberg monk. "People boast much," says Luther in writing to Lange on June 26th, 1522, "of a small book by the king of England."¹

Henry VIII., was then at the age of thirty-one; he was tall, strong built, and well proportioned, and had an air of authority and empire.² His physiognomy indicated the vivacity of his mind. Vehement, resolved if possible to make all things bend to the violence of his passions, and thirsting for glory, he at first veiled his faults under a certain impetuosity of temper, the common failing of youth, and was not wanting in flatterers who encouraged these failings. He would often repair with the whole troop of his favourites, to the residence of his chaplain, Thomas Wolsey, son of an Ipswich butcher. Endowed with a large measure of practical talent and address, of an excessive ambition and boundless audacity, this man, under the patronage of the bishop of Winchester, who was chancellor of the kingdom, advanced rapidly in his master's favour, and led him to frequent his house by making it the scene of seductive pleasures and disorders, such as the young prince dared not indulge in his own palace. This we have on the authority of Polydore Virgil, who was at the time sub-collector to the pope in England.³ At these

queen, and the duke of York was slain, yet Edward, the son of the latter, renewed the insurrection, took Henry prisoner and ascended the throne in 1464, under the name of Edward IV., who was in his turn driven therefrom, and was again restored, whereupon he caused Henry to be assassinated.* After his death he was succeeded by his own son Edward V., in 1482, who, however, was murdered by his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, who succeeded him under the name of Richard III. The people becoming tired of these continually recurring atrocities, and of the oppressions that resulted from them, Henry, duke of Richmond, took advantage of this, and after Richard's being slain in battle, became king in 1485, under the name of Henry VII. He was grandson of the above Owen Tudor, and heir of the house of Lancaster, and he married the daughter of Edward IV., so that thus in him, and still more in his son Henry VIII., the houses of York and Lancaster were united.—L. R.

¹ *Jactant libellum regis Angliæ; sed leonem illum suspicor sub pelle tectum.* (Allusion to Lee, Henry VIII.'s chaplain, and a play on the words Lee and Leo (lion). (L. Epp. ii. p. 213.)

² He was tall, strong built, &c. (Collier's *Eccle. History of Great Britain* in folio, ii. p. 1.)

³ *Domi suæ voluptatum omnium sacrarium fecit, quo regem frequenter ducebat.* (Polyd. Virgilius, *Ang. Hist.* Basel, 1570 in folio, p. 633.) Polydore Virgil seems to have suffered from Wolsey's pride, and to have somewhat exaggerated that minister's misdeeds.

* He died in the tower, but whether by a natural or violent death, is uncertain. Tr.

foolish meetings, the chaplain even outdid in licentiousness the young courtiers that accompanied Henry VIII. He was to be seen, forgetting the gravity that became a minister of the altar, singing, dancing, laughing, playing the fool, talking obscenely, and practising feats of arms.¹ It was thus that he succeeded ere long in obtaining the first place in the privy council, and as he engrossed the government of the kingdom, was enabled to sell his favours to all the princes of Christendom.

Henry lived in the midst of balls, festivities, and jousting, and thus foolishly squandered the treasures that had been amassed by his father's avarice. Magnificent tournaments followed each other in uninterrupted succession; and in these the king, who was distinguished by manly beauty from all the other combatants,² played the first part. If the struggle for a moment seemed doubtful, the king's address or physical strength, or the politic tact of his antagonists, made him sure of the victory, and the lists resounded with shouts and plaudits in his honour. The young prince's vanity was excited by these easy triumphs, until there was no kind of success to which he did not make pretension. The queen appeared at times among the spectators. Her grave countenance and melancholy looks, her serious and depressed air, were strongly contrasted with the noise and splendour of these fetes. Soon after his coming to the crown, Henry VIII., from reasons of state, had married Catharine of Arragon, a princess five years older than himself, widow of his brother Arthur, and aunt of Charles V. While her husband gave himself up to pleasure, the virtuous Catharine, whose virtue was quite of a Spanish cast, would rise at midnight that she might take a silent part in the prayers of monks,³ and throw herself on her knees, without cushion or carpet. At five o'clock⁴ in the morn-

¹ Cum illis adolescentibus una psallebat, saltabat, sermones leporis plenos habebat, ridebat, jocabatur. (Polyd. Virgilius, Ang. Hist.)

² Eximia corporis forma præditus, in qua etiam regie majestatis augusta quædam species elucebat. (Sanderus, De schismate anglicano, p. 4.) The work of Sanders, who was papal nuncio in Ireland, ought to be read with much precaution; for it is not wanting in false and calumnious assertions, as has been remarked by cardinal Quirini and the Roman catholic Dr. Lingard themselves. See the latter's history of England, vol. vi. p. 173.

³ Surgebat media nocte ut nocturnis religiosorum precibus interesset. (Sander. p. 5.)

⁴ St. Francis had besides two strict rules for the so called *friars minorites* and *poor sisters*, both of whom pledged themselves to severe abstinence, a third less severe rule which gave rise to this third order,—an order into which per-

ing, after a brief interval of repose, she was again on foot; she wore the dress of a Franciscan nun, for she had obtained admission into the tertiary order of that saint; then hurriedly throwing over her the garments of royalty,¹ she repaired to church at six o'clock in order to be present at the holy offices.

Two beings pursuing such extremely different modes of living, could not remain long united.

Roman piety meanwhile had other representatives besides Catherine at the court of Henry VIII. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who had nearly reached his seventieth year, and who was distinguished alike by his learning, and the severity of his manners, was the object of general admiration. He had been the oldest adviser of Henry VII.; and the duchess of Richmond, Henry VIII.'s grandmother, sending for him when on her death bed, had recommended the youth and inexperience of her grandson to his care. Long afterwards the king, amid all his deviations from duty, venerated the old bishop as a father.

A man much younger than Fisher, a layman and a lawyer, was then attracting all men's notice, by his genius and the noble

sons living in the world could be admitted, without relinquishing their worldly rank and engagements.—L. R.

"The History of Monastical Conventions," (London, 1701,) a Roman Catholic epitome, describes the three orders thus: "As for the classes *Francisc*, divided his disciples into, they were three; the first was the Fryars *Minorites*, himself being one of them; the manner of whose life was very strict and poor. The second was of ladies and poor virgins, who taking their denomination from St. Clara, were called *Clarissæ*, somewhat less strict than the former. The third was that of Penitents, intended for married people, who were desirous of penance, yet permitted to enjoy goods and lands. The first of these were for contemplation and action; the second only for contemplation; and the third only for action; wherefore it is not properly called a religious order. These are called Fryars *Penitents* of Jesus Christ, and from their wearing sackcloth, *Saccii*. . . . The women of this rank were called Sisters *Penitents*, nor were the first order to permit any of the third to enter their churches in time of interdict. This order, after its having been condemned in England, *Anno* 1307, was again advanced by Peter Tuxbury, a Franciscan minister, and allowed in the Chapter of London." Another account of St. Francis, and the various orders that originally sprang from him, will be found in Gabriel d'Emillianne's "Short History of Monastical Orders, &c.," London, 1753, a Protestant publication. St. Francis began life as a rake, and ended it in the wildest excesses of will-worship. Hospinian says of the last rule left by the Saint to his disciples, that "far from being an observance of the Holy Gospel, it was rather, in several points, a manifest transgression of it, and a snare of the devil to catch souls." And after describing the three original orders of the Saint, adds: "A large book would scarcely be enough to relate all the reformations, separations, unions, suits at law, disputes, changes of habits and of rules, that have happened in this great order; and one might also write another book of the frauds, lies, pretended visions, and false miracles, which Francis and his disciples have contrived for the advancement of their order." Tr.

¹ Sub regio vestitu *Divi Francisci* habitu utebatur. (Sander. p. 5.)

tone of his character, His name was Thomas More. The son of a judge in the court of king's bench, poor, austere, and intensely laborious, he had been endeavouring for twenty years to extinguish the passions of his youth by wearing a hair shirt, and administering personal discipline.¹ Happening one day, while at mass, to be sent for by Henry VIII., he sent back this answer, that the service of God ought to take precedence of that of the king. Wolsey presented him to Henry VIII., who employed him in several embassies, and expressed a great affection for him. He would often send for him, and pass the time in conversing with him about the planets, Wolsey, and theology.

In fact, the king himself was no stranger to the doctrines of Rome. It would even appear that had Arthur lived, Henry would have been destined to the arch-episcopal see of Canterbury. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura,² tournaments, festivals, Elizabeth Blount, and other mistresses besides, all these formed a strange jumble in the mind and life of that prince who had masses of his own composition sung in his private chapel.

No sooner did Henry VIII. hear Luther spoken of, than he became bitterly opposed to him, and hardly was the decree of the diet of Worms known in England than he commanded effect to be given to the pontiff's bull against the Reformer's publications.³ On the 12th of May, 1521, Thomas Wolsey, who to the functions of chancellor of England, united those of cardinal and

¹ The severities towards himself practised by Sir Thomas More, seem to have been far more the result of stoical asceticism than any profound religious convictions, like those that kept Luther in such fearful spiritual bondage, until faith in the Redeemer's righteousness set him free. We may infer this from the marked contrast presented by More's playful humour, even while practising those austerities, when compared with Luther's mental sufferings at Erfurt. Thus his biographer, Cresacre More, after describing the conversations his great grandfather used to have with Henry VIII., goes on to say: "And because he was of a very pleasant disposition, it pleased his majesty and the queen, after the council had supped, at supper time commonly to call for him to hear his pleasant jests." No doubt these jests may have been very innocent, but they admirably illustrate a former remark of our author's, in speaking of the charge that Protestants take a free and easy way of getting to heaven, to the effect that the convictions which often precede and attend conversion, we may add, and the seasons of spiritual depression that often follow, constitute a far more painful cross to the true Protestant than all the austerities and mortifications practised by the most devoted Papists, mitigated as these are by the idea that they are meritorious, and form part payment of a debt which would otherwise have to be paid in a purgatory. There cannot be any very painful conviction of sin where a gay mind accompanies a chastised body. Tr.

² *Legebat studioso libros divi Thomæ Aquinatis.* (Polyd. Virgil. p. 634.)

³ *Primum libros Lutheranos, quorum magnus jam numerus pervenerat in manus suorum Anglorum, comburendos curavit.* (Ibid. p. 664.)

Roman legate, repaired in solemn procession to St. Paul's. In the extravagance of his self-conceit and pride, the man considered himself as the equal of kings. He never sat but on a seat of gold, slept in a golden bed, and the table at which he ate was covered with cloth of gold.¹ On this occasion he displayed great pomp. The haughty prelate was surrounded by his household, composed of eight hundred persons, among whom were to be found barons, knights, and sons of the most distinguished families, all hoping in his service to obtain appointments to public offices. Not only did his garments glitter with gold and silk, (he was the first ecclesiastic that dared to dress so sumptuously),² but the housings and harness of his horses also were set off with the same materials. In front of him, a remarkably handsome priest carried a silver pillar, topped with a cross; behind him, another ecclesiastic no less remarkable for his handsome person, held in his hand the arch-episcopal cross of York; a nobleman walked by his side, and was charged with the carrying of his cardinal's hat.³ Nobles, prelates, and ambassadors from the pope and the emperor, accompanied him, and were followed by a long troop of mules, bearing on their backs coffers covered with the richest and most brilliant stuffs. It was in the midst of this magnificent train that the writings of the poor Wittemberg monk were carried to the bonfire in London. On arriving at the church, the haughty priest made his cardinal's hat be laid upon the altar itself. The virtuous bishop of Rochester went up to the foot of the cross, and there with a voice that betrayed his emotion, he powerfully preached against heresy. Next there were brought the heresiarch's impious writings, and these were devoutly burnt in presence of a vast crowd. Such were the first tidings that England had of the Reformation.

Henry had no wish to stop there. "It is the devil," wrote to the elector Palatin, the prince whose sword was ever ready to fall upon his adversaries, his wives, and his favourites; "it is the devil who, by means of Luther has kindled this immense

¹ *Uti sella aurea, uti pulvino aureo, uti velo aureo ad mensam.* (Polyd. Virgil. p. 664.)

² *Primus episcoporum et cardinalium, vestitum exteriorem, sericum sibi induit.* (Ibid. p. 633.)

³ *Galerum cardinalium, ordinis insignem sublime a ministro præferebat . . . super altare collocabat.* . . . (Ibid. p. 645.)

conflagration. If Luther refuse to be converted, let the flames consume him along with his writings!"¹

Even this was not enough. Convinced that the progress of heresy arose from the extreme ignorance of the German princes, Henry thought that the time had now come for him to display the whole extent of his learning. The victories of his battle-axe did not allow him to doubt of those that were reserved for his pen. But the king was spurred on by another passion, and one which is always great in little souls, and that was vanity. Mortified at having no similar title to oppose to those of "catholic," and "most Christian," borne by the kings of Spain and France, he had long been begging a similar distinction from the court of Rome, and what could be supposed better fitted to secure the granting of his request than an attack upon heresy. Henry, accordingly, threw aside the royal purple, and descended from the throne into the lists of theology. He ransacked the writings of Thomas Aquinas, Peter the Lombard, Alexander of Hales, and Bonaventura, and there was ushered into the world, "*A Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther, by the most invincible king of England and France, lord of Ireland, Henry, eighth of that name.*"

"I am willing to throw myself before the Church in order to save it," said the king of England in that production; "I consent to receive into my own bosom, the poisoned shafts of the assailing foe.² I am called to it by the present state of circumstances. It behoves every servant of Jesus Christ, whatever be his age, sex, or rank, to rise against the common enemy of Christendom."³

"Let us arm ourselves with double armour; with celestial armour, that with the weapons of truth we may vanquish the man who contends with those of error; but with terrestrial armour also, in order that, should he show himself obstinate in his malice, the hand of the public executioner may constrain him to be silent, and that, for once at least, he may be useful to the world, by the terrible example of his death."⁴

¹ Knapp's Nachlese, ii. p. 458.

² Meque adversus venenata jacula hostis eam oppugnantis objicerem. (*Assertio septem sacramentorum adv. M. Lutherum, in prologo.*)

³ Omnis Christi servus, omnis ætas, omnis sexus, omnis ordo consurgat. (*Ibid.*)

⁴ Et qui nocuit verbo malitiæ, supplicii prosit exemplo. (*Ibid.*)

Henry VIII. could not conceal the contempt that he entertained for his feeble adversary. "This man," says the crowned theologue, "looks as if he were in labour: he makes the most unexampled efforts, and after all brings forth nought but wind.¹ Remove the audacious covering of haughty words in which he arrays his absurdities, as apes are sometimes decked out in purple, and what have you then? . . . Why, a miserable sophism."

The king defends, *seriatim*, the mass, penance, confirmation, marriage, orders, extreme unction; and, profuse in the employment of terms of insult, he calls his opponent hellish wolf, venomous viper, and member of the devil. He even attacks Luther's sincerity. Henry VIII., in short, overwhelms the begging friar with his royal anger, and "writes as with his sceptre," says an historian.²

Nevertheless, it must be owned that the work was not so bad, considering who the author was, and what the age in which it was written. The style is not wanting in a certain force. But the public of that day could not so far restrain itself as to do it simple justice; hence quite an explosion of applauses greeted the theological treatise of the mighty king of England. "Never has the sun yet beheld so learned a book,"³ said some. "We can compare it, others would say, "to nothing but the works of St. Augustine. He is a Constantine; he is a Charlemagne!"—"He is still more," others would go on to say, "he is a second Solomon."

These exclamations soon passed beyond the shores of England. Henry desired that John Clarke, the dean of Windsor, his ambassador at the papal court, should send his book to the supreme pontiff. Leo X. received the ambassador in full consistency. Clarke presented the royal work to him with these words: "The king, my master, gives you the assurance that after having refuted Luther's errors with the pen, he is ready to combat his adherents with the sword." Affected at this pro-

¹ Mirum est quanto nixu parturiens, quam nihil peperit nisi merum ventum. . . . (*Assertio septem sacramentorum adv. M. Lutherum*, in prologo.)

² And writes as 'twere with his scepter. (Collyer, *Eccles. Hist. of Gr. Britain*, p. 17.)

³ The most learned work that ever the sun saw. (Burnet, *History of the Ref. of England*, i. p. 30.)

mise, Leo replied that the work of the king could only have been composed with the aid of the Holy Ghost, and he gave Henry the title of *Defender of the faith*; a title still borne by the sovereigns of England.¹

The reception which the work received at Rome, greatly contributed to its being read, so that several thousand copies were thrown off by various presses in the course of some months.² "The whole Christian world," says Cochlæus, "was filled with admiration and with joy."³

These extravagant praises still further augmented the insufferable self-conceit of the chief of the Tudors. He doubted not that he was himself inspired by the Holy Ghost;⁴ and from that time forward, could not endure to be contradicted. The pope-dom, in his eye, was no longer at Rome but at Greenwich; infallibility rested on his head; and this, at a subsequent period, very materially promoted the Reformation of England.

Luther read Henry's book with the smile of mingled contempt, impatience, and indignation. The falsehoods and the insults which it contained, but, still more, the contempt and compassion which the king affected in it, irritated the Wittenberg doctor in the highest degree. The thought of the pope's having

¹ Lingard, in such matters a good authority, states the matter thus: "The kings of France had long been distinguished by the appellation 'most Christian,' those of Spain by that of 'Catholic.' When Louis XII. set up the schismatical synod of Pisa, it was contended that he had forfeited his right to the former of these titles; and Julius II. transferred it to Henry, but with the understanding that the transfer should be kept secret, till the services of the king might justify, in the eyes of men, the partiality of the pontiff. After the victory of Guingate, Henry demanded the publication of the grant; but Julius was dead: Leo declared himself ignorant of the transaction; and means were found to pacify the king with some other, but equivalent distinction. Wolsey had lately recalled the subject to the papal court; and Clarke, when he presented the king's work, demanded for him the title of 'defender of the faith.' This new denomination experienced some opposition: but it could not be refused with decency; and Leo conferred it by a formal bull on Henry, who procured a confirmation of the grant from the successor of Leo, Clement VII." Dr. L. further adds in a Note, that the title belonged to the king personally, not to his successors—that Henry retained it after his separation from Rome, and in 1543 it was annexed to the crown by Act of Parliament. It was retained by Philip and Mary, though the statute itself had been repealed. Thus, among other human passions employed by providence in promoting the Reformation, Henry VIII.'s vanity, by prompting him to write against Luther, and thus give notoriety to his doctrines, held a conspicuous place. Tr.

² *Intra paucos menses liber ejus a multis chalcographis in multa millia multiplicatus.* (Cochlæus, p. 44.)

³ *Ut totum orbem christianum et gaudio et admiratione repleverit.* (Ibid.)

⁴ He was brought to fancy it was written with some degree of inspiration. (Burnet, preface.)

bestowed his approbation and reward upon the work, and of the foes of the Gospel everywhere exulting over the Reformation and the Reformer, as already subverted and vanquished, still further augmented his indignation. Besides, what was there that called for gentle treatment? Was he not fighting for a King who was mightier than all the kings of the earth? The mildness of the Gospel seemed now no longer to be seasonable. Adopting the principle of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, he exceeded all bounds. Persecuted, outraged, beset on every side and wounded, the infuriated lion turned round and proudly prepared to crush his enemy. In vain did the elector, Spalatin, Melancthon, and Bugenhagen, endeavour to appease him. They would fain have dissuaded him from writing any answer at all; but nothing could prevent him. "I won't treat the king of England mildly," said he. "It is in vain, I know it, that I humble myself, that I make concessions, that I conjure, that I attempt all the ways of peace. I will at length show myself more terrible to those infatuated persons who daily butt at me with their horns. I will oppose mine to theirs; I will challenge, I will provoke Satan, until he shall have spent his strength, and fall of himself utterly exhausted.¹ If this heretic retract not, says the new Thomas, Henry VIII., he ought to be burnt! Such are the arms that are now employed against me; the fire and fury of the stupidest asses and thomistic pigs.² Be it then agreed! Let those pigs advance, if they dare, and let them burn me! Here I am—looking out for their coming. Would that my ashes, cast after my death into a thousand seas, might rise, pursue, and swallow up that foul herd. In life, I shall be the foe of the popedom, and, when consumed, its destruction. Go to, ye swine of St. Thomas, do as ye list. You will ever find Luther as a bear on your way, and as a lion on your path. He

¹ Mea in ipsos exercebo cornua, irritaturus Satanam, donec effusis viribus et conatibus corcorruat in se ipsum. (L. Epp. ii. p. 236.)

² Ignis et furor insulsiſſimorum asinorum et Thomisticorum porcorum. (Contra Henricum regen. Opp. lat. ii. p. 331.) This discourse has something in it that reminds one of those of the great agitator of Great Britain. There is more force and more nobleness, however, in the orator of the sixteenth century than in him of the nineteenth. (See *Revue Britannique*, November 1835. *Le regne d'O'Connell*.) Pourceaux savonnés de la société civilisée, &c., p. 30.

will assail you with his artillery from all parts, and leave you no peace until he has brayed your iron brains, and pounded your brazen foreheads to powder."

Luther first reproaches Henry VIII. for basing his doctrines on nothing better than the decrees and judgments pronounced by men. "But as for me," he exclaims, "I never cease to shout: Gospel! Gospel!—Christ! Christ! . . . And my adversaries cease not to reply: Usages! Usages!—Ordinances! Ordinances!—the Fathers! the Fathers!—Let your faith, saith St. Paul, not stand in the wisdom of men but in the power of God.—And the apostle, by that thunderbolt, launched from heaven, overthrows and scatters, as the wind scatters the dust, all the familiar spirits¹ of that Henry there. Confounded and terrified, the Thomists, the Papists, the Henrys, fall prostrate at the thunder of his words."²

He then refutes the king's production in detail, and subverts his arguments one after another with a clearness, a wit, a knowledge of holy Scriptures, and church history, but at the same time with a measure of assurance, a disdain, and occasionally with a violence, that ought not to surprise us.³

Towards the end of his discourse, Luther again gives vent to his indignation at his adversary taking all his arguments from the fathers; the groundwork of the whole controversy lay there. "To all the words of the fathers, of men, of angels, of devils," says he, "I oppose, not the antiquity of usage, not the multitude, but the Word of the eternal majesty, the Gospel, which they themselves are compelled to approve. Here I stand, here I establish myself, here I abide, here I glory, here I triumph, here I trample upon Papists, Thomists, Henrys, sophists, and all

¹ *Esprits follets*—*universas larvas* in the original Latin. May not Luther here allude to Henry's presumed assistants in the composition of his work? TR.

² *Confusi et prostrati jacent a facie verborum istius tonitru.* (*Contra Henricum Regem*, Opp. lat. ii. p. 336.)

³ Yet this is one of Luther's treatises of which Mr. Hallam says that they can only be described "as little else than bellowing in bad Latin." Mr. H. seems to have read it at least as far as the seventh line, where the Latin word *belua* may have suggested the English one *bellow*,—a term which he must see that it is absurd to apply to "that close grappling, sentence by sentence," which Mr. H. admits to be the peculiar feature of this, as well as the rest of the Reformer's controversial treatises. He may see "no ability" in this "grappling," but any unprejudiced person who, instead of merely glancing at the work, seriously peruses it, is sure to see all the marks of ability described by M. Merle d'Aubigné. TR.

the swine of hell.¹ The king of heaven is with me; therefore do I dread nought, even were a thousand Augustines, a thousand Cyprians, and a thousand of those churches of which Henry is the defender, were to rise against me. It is a small matter that I despise and treat sarcastically a king of this world, seeing that he himself has not been afraid to blaspheme in his writings the King of heaven, and to profane his holy name by the most audacious lies.²

"Papists!" he exclaims at the close, "will you not put a stop to your vain persecutions? Do all that you would. Nevertheless, it must be that before this Gospel which I, Martin Luther, have preached, popes, bishops, priests, monks, princes, devils, death, sin, and all that is not Jesus Christ, or is not in Jesus Christ, fall and perish."³ 4

Thus spake the poor monk. His violence certainly cannot be excused, if we are to try it by the rule to which he himself appeals, the Word of God. He cannot be justified even by alleging either the grossness of the age, for Melancthon knew how to observe the rules of good breeding in his writings, nor the energy of his character, for if that energy had something to do in determining the tone of his writings, passion, also, had much to do with it.⁵ Better then to pass a sentence of condemnation on him. Notwithstanding, in all fairness, be it remarked, that in the sixteenth century that violence did not seem so strange as it would appear at the present day. Learned men as well as princes, formed at that time one of the acknowledged powers. Henry had entered the ranks of authorship in attacking Luther, and Luther replied according to that law which has been admitted in the republic of letters, and which looks to the

¹ Hic sto, hic sedeo, hic maneo, hic glorior, hic triumpho, hic insulto papistis.
... (Contra Henricum Regem, Opp. lat. ii. p. 342.)

² Nec magnum si ego regem terræ contemno. (Ibid. p. 344.)

³ L. Opp. Leipz. xviii. p. 209.

⁴ This passage is not to be found in the Jena edition of 1581.

⁵ Luther's violence, irreconcilable apparently with his usual deference to the civil magistrate, may have arisen from his regarding the king's name as a mere feint, and believing the book to have been really composed by men, like Lee, who assisted in its composition, of no higher rank than his own. He may have wished to deter kings from placing themselves in so false a position, by treating them as worse than the obscure men to whose mischievous mediocrity they gave the influence of their rank, and to deter men of learning from gaining any such weight to their writings, as their mere intrinsic merits never could secure for them. Tr.

truth of what is said not to the quality of him who says it. Let us add that when this same king turned against the pope, the insults with which he was loaded by the Roman writers, and by the pope himself, far surpassed all that Luther ever said.

Be it further considered that if Luther called doctor Eck an ass, and Henry VIII. a pig, he indignantly rejected the intervention of the secular arm; whereas Dr. Eck wrote a dissertation to prove that heretics ought to be burnt, and Henry VIII. made bonfires, by way of conformity to the chancellor of Ingolstadt's precepts.

There was much excitement produced by Luther's reply at the court of the king. Surrey, Wolsey, and the whole multitude of courtiers, interrupted the feasts and pomps of Greenwich, that they might give vent to their indignation in insults and sarcasms. The venerable bishop of Rochester, who had seen with delight the young prince, once committed to his care, break a lance in defence of the Church, was cut to the quick by the monk's attack. He immediately replied to it, and his language well characterises both his time and his church. "Take us the little foxes that spoil the vines," says Christ in the song of songs. "Which shows," said Fisher, "that we must lay hands on heretics before they reach their growth. Luther has now become a great fox, so old, so cunning, and so mischievous that he is most difficult to lay hold of. What say I, a fox? . . . he is a mad dog, a ravening wolf, a cruel bear; or rather all those animals at once; for the monster comprises several beasts in his breast." ¹

Thomas More also entered the lists against the monk of Wittenberg. Layman as he was, he carried his zeal against the Reformation to fanaticism, if he did not urge to blood. When young noblemen set themselves to support the popedom, they often exceed the ecclesiastics themselves in violence. Reverend friar, father, toper, Luther, runaway from the order of St. Augustine, mis-shaped bacchante of both laws, (civil and canon) doctor indoct of sacred divinity;" ² such was the style in which the Reformer was addressed by one of the most illustrious men of that age; after which, in explaining how Luther

¹ Canem dixissem rabidum, imo lupum rapacissimum, aut sævissimam quamdam ursam. . . . (Cochlæus, p. 60.)

² Reverendus frater, pater, potator, Lutherus. (Ibid. p. 61.)

composed his book against Henry VIII: "He called his companions together," says he, "and suggested that they should set forth each in his own beat, in search of buffooneries and insults. One frequented the public conveyances by land and water, another went to the baths and gambling houses; this one attached himself to the barbers' shops and taverns; that one, to the mills and brothels. They noted down in their memorandum books all of what they heard, that was most insolent, filthy, and infamous; then bringing back all these insults and indecencies, they poured them into that impure sink, called the mind of Luther. If he retract his lies, and his calumnies," he goes on to say, "if he lay aside his follies, and his furies, if he eat back his excrements . . . ¹ he will find some one who will seriously discuss with him. But if he continue as he has begun, jesting, falling into a rage, talking idly, uttering slander, vomiting forth nothing but sinks and common sewers . . . ² let others, then, do as they please; as for us, we prefer leaving this friarling to his fury and his filth."³ . . . Thomas More would have done better, had he kept his own to himself. Never had Luther so debased his style. He made no reply.

This production still further increased Henry VIII.'s attachment to More. He went himself to visit him in his modest house at Chelsea, where after dinner, with his arm resting on his favourite's shoulder, the king perambulated his garden with him, whilst Lady More and her children, concealing themselves at a window, could not cease gazing at them with astonishment. After one of these walks, More, who knew his man, said to his wife one day: "Could he at the cost of my head, gain a single small castle in France, he would not hesitate to send me to the block."

Thus defended by the bishop of Rochester, and by his future chancellor, the king had no need to resume his pen.⁴ Con-

¹ Si . . . suas resorbeat et sua relingat stercora. (Cochlæus, p. 62.)

² Sentinas, cloacas, latrinas, . . . stercora. (Ibid. p. 63.)

³ Cum suis . . . et stercoribus . . . relinquere. (Ibid.) Cochlæus exults in quoting these passages, which he selects from what, according to his taste, he considered most beautiful in Sir Thomas More's production. M. Nisard on the contrary, in his work on More, whose apology he writes with so much warmth and erudition, confesses that in that writing of his, the impurities suggested by the violent anger of the catholic are such that to translate them is impossible. (Revue des deux Mondes, v. p. 592.)

⁴ Henry did resume his pen, not, however, to refute Luther's attack, but to

founded at seeing himself treated in the face of all Europe as a mere author, Henry VIII. abandoned the dangerous position which he had taken; and throwing away the pen of the divine, he returned to the more efficacious methods of diplomacy.

An ambassador left the court at Greenwich charged with a letter from the king to the elector, and the dukes of Saxony. "A very viper fallen from the sky," said Henry in it, "Luther inundates the earth with whole floods of venom. He stirs up revolt in the Church of Jesus Christ; he abolishes laws, insults public authorities, excites the laity against the priests, both laymen and priests against the pope, and nations against their kings; he would desire nothing more than to see Christians

answer his apology. Luther wrote that apology, according to Milner, partly because he was naturally alarmed lest Henry should succeed in his urgent solicitations with Erasmus to take the field against him, partly because "Christiern, king of Denmark, had taken particular pains, both in conversation and by letters, to persuade him that if he would only condescend to address the English monarch in very modest language, he might be gained over to the cause of evangelical truth. Luther owns that he was in a manner inebriated by these large promises and began to waver. "Who knows," said he, "but in a happy hour I may gain the king of England? Certainly I should incur the divine displeasure, were I to lose any favourable opportunity."

Led by such motives, he wrote to Henry, confessing that at the instance of other persons he had offended his majesty by a foolish and hasty publication. But the accounts he had of the king's clemency led him to hope for forgiveness. He had been told, too, that his majesty was not the real author of the book. He calls Wolsey the pest of the kingdom, and says he rejoiced to hear that his majesty had begun to favour the Gospel. "If the king pleased," he added, "he was ready to own his fault publicly; and he trusted that if allowed to write to the king of England about the present state of religion, service would thereby be done to the Gospel of Christ and the glory of God."

He besought the king to consider what harm a man could do, whose whole doctrine, including love to our neighbours, obedience to rulers, and the mortification of the body of sin, was founded on faith in Jesus Christ, as the Son of God, who suffered for us and rose again from the dead. His majesty saw how many princes and states in Germany now supported his principles, and he wished it might please Christ, by his distinguishing mercy, to add king Henry to the number, &c.

Milner adds that although the purity of Luther's motives in this apology was above suspicion, and he yielded no doctrine he had ever contended for, some of his admirers thought he had gone too far, and his avowed adversaries were sure to triumph in the rebuff he met with from the haughty monarch. Henry reproached him with levity and inconsistency—with sparing no dignity, human or divine, blaspheming the saints, treating the apostles with contempt, and, at the devil's instigation, making a sacrilegious and incestuous marriage. This last offence the king illustrates by referring to the old laws of Pagan Rome relating to the Vestal virgins, thus furnishing a new instance of the alliance between paganism and popery. In his answer, Henry openly avows himself author of the tract published in his name, yet Lingard, who mentions this, adds in a note: "The invective against Luther's union," (he does not admit that it was a marriage) "with Catharine Boren, a nun, is written with an elegance and eloquence far beyond the powers of Henry, p. 110. I know not who was the real author." If Henry was assisted in the latter of these publications, it seems likely that he was assisted, also, in the former. Tr.

fighting among themselves, and destroying each other, while the enemies of our faith should hail such scenes of carnage with a hideous grin.¹

“What is this doctrine, calling itself evangelical, if it be not Wickliff’s doctrine? Now, most honoured Uncles, I know what your forefathers did in order to destroy it. They hunted it down in Bohemia like a savage beast, and having made it fall into a ditch, they there barricaded and closed it in. You will not suffer that it should escape by your negligence, insinuate itself into Saxony, and take possession of the whole of Germany; that these smoking nostrils should vomit forth fire and hell, and spread conflagration far and wide, after your nation has so long shown itself desirous of extinguishing them in its blood.”²

“Therefore it is, most worthy men, that I feel myself led to exhort you, and even to beseech you, by all that is most sacred, promptly to extinguish Luther’s accursed sect: put no one to death if you can possibly avoid it; but if heretical obstinacy continue, shed blood fearlessly, in order that this abominable sect may disappear from under heaven.”³

The elector and his brother referred the king to a future council, so that Henry was far from accomplishing his object. “The mixing up of so great a name with the dispute,” says fra Paoli Sarpi, “served to render it more curious, and to conciliate universal favour to Luther, as ordinarily happens in combats and tournaments, where the spectators always lean to the side of the weak, and delight in enhancing the mediocrity of his deeds.”^{4 5}

¹ So ergiest er, gleich wie eine Schlang vom Himmel geworfen. . . . (L. Opp. xviii. p. 212.) The original is in Latin. *Velut a cœlo dejectus serpens, virus effundit in terras.*

² Und durch sein schädlich Anblasen das höllische Feuer aussprühe. (Ibid. p. 213.)

³ Oder aber auch mit blut vergiessen. (Ibid.)

⁴ History of the Council of Trent, p. 15, 16.

⁵ It has been justly remarked in a late life of cardinal Wolsey, that by a similar act of indiscretion he assisted in giving currency to Luther’s opinions in England. The whole passage runs thus: “Described by Luther, in one of his celebrated letters, as a favourite, a monster, a person hated both by God and man, Wolsey might possibly find his zeal for the interests of the hierarchy increased by the invectives against himself, which were coupled with just, though vehement reprobations against the corruptions of the Church. Want of leisure, and perhaps want of inclination to enter the lists with so powerful an adversary, deterred the cardinal from hurling back the epithets bestowed upon him. Contented to leave his cause in the hands of his royal master, who defended the character of his favourite, in his reply to Luther, Wolsey took no vengeance

XI. In fact, an immense movement was now advancing to a close. The Reformation, supposed, after the diet of Worms, to be pent up, along with its first doctor, within the small apartment of a fortress, was bursting forth throughout the whole empire—one might say, throughout all Christendom. The two great divisions of the people, hitherto confounded, now began to separate; and the partisans of a monk, who had nothing on his side but his powers of eloquence, fearlessly took up their position in the face of the servants of Charles V. and Leo X. Luther had just left the precincts of the Wartburg, the imperial diet had condemned his doctrines, the princes were endeavouring to crush it throughout the greater number of the German states, the ministers of Rome tore it to shreds, in the eyes of the people, by their violent invectives, the other states of Christendom called upon Germany to immolate an enemy, whose assaults they dreaded even at a distance; and yet this new party, small in point of numbers, and with its members unconnected by any organisation, by any bonds, by anything, in short, that could concentrate the common force, was already, by the energy of its faith, and the rapidity of conquests, striking terror into the vast, old, mighty domination of Rome. Every day, as during the first warmth of spring, the seed might be seen bursting from the earth without effort and as it were spontaneously. Every day manifested some fresh progress in the adhesion of individuals, villages, towns, and even whole cities, to the new confession of the name of Jesus Christ. There were instances, indeed, of merciless resistance and terrible persecution; but the mysterious force by which this whole people was impelled, proved irresistible; and the victims of persecution, quickening their steps, and advancing amid sentences of banishment, prisons, and bonfires, everywhere gained upon their persecutors.

except issuing a commission, commanding that the works of the Reformer should be collected in each diocese, and delivered to him by the bishops. Having thus extracted the supposed poison from the people, he resolved to distribute the antidote. He ordered forty-two of the doctrines advanced by Luther to be posted upon the Church door, in every parish, that all persons might read, and avoid these "damnable and pestiferous errors," as they are described in the commission which also describes them "to have taken root as a noxious brier." This proceeding sullies the reputation of the cardinal as a man of judgment and experience, &c. See *Lives of Eminent Persons in the Library of Useful Knowledge*. The hand of God may clearly be seen in these blunders of the wise of this world. *Tr.*

The monastic orders with which, like an immense net intended to catch men's souls and hold them captive, Rome had covered all Christendom, were the first to break their bonds and to propagate with rapidity the new doctrines throughout the whole Western church. The Augustinians of Saxony had concurred with Luther, and had had the same intimate experience with him of the sacred Word which, by putting men in possession of God himself, disabuses them of Rome and her haughty pretensions. But in other convents of that order, also, the light of the Gospel had arisen. In some cases, it was old men, who, like Staupitz, had in the midst of abused Christendom, preserved the sound doctrines of the truth, and who now besought God to let them depart in peace for their eyes had seen his salvation. In other cases, it was young persons who had received Luther's instructions with all the avidity of that period of life. At Nuremberg, at Osnabruck, at Dillingen, at Ratisbon, in Hesse and Wurttemberg, at Strasburg and at Antwerp, the convents of the Augustinians turned to Jesus Christ, and by their courageous conduct provoked the wrath of Rome.¹

But this movement was far from being confined to the Augustinians. Energetic men followed their example in the monasteries of other orders, and in spite of the clamours of such of the monks as felt loathe to forsake their carnal observances, in spite of outbursts of resentment and contempt, condemnatory judgments, and claustral discipline and prisons, they fearlessly lifted up their voices in behalf of that holy and precious truth which, after so many painful investigations, so many desolating doubts, and so many internal struggles, they had found at last. In the greater number of cloisters, the most spiritually-minded, godly

¹ Nothing seems to have perplexed the Reformer so much as the abolition of monastic vows. About the middle of the year 1522, he published an exhortation to the four mendicant orders. The Augustinians in March, and the Chartreux in August, openly sided with him. On the 20th of that month he writes: "The general decree of the Chartreux on leave to be allowed to monks, to go out and renounce their dress, pleases me much and I will publish it. The example of so considerable an order will assist our proceedings, and strengthen our decisions." A year after, (August 1523) he wrote to his imperial majesty's lieutenants. . . . "You know not what horrible and infamous deeds of wickedness the devil practises in the convents. Don't make yourselves accomplices in these; burthen not your consciences with them. Were my deadliest enemies to know what I am learning every day from all quarters, ah! they would assist me to-morrow in subverting the monasteries," &c. See Michelet, vol. i. p. 143. T.R.

and well informed of their inmates, declared themselves in favour of the Reformation. In the Franciscan monastery at Ulm, Eberlin and Kettenbach attacked the slavish works of monachism, and the superstitious practices of the Church, with an eloquence which might have carried the whole nation along with it; and they petitioned for the abolition, at one and the same time, of the houses of the monks, and houses of debauchery. Another Franciscan, Stephen Kempe, stood alone in preaching the Gospel at Hamburg, and opposed a forehead of brass to the hatred, the envy, the threats, the secret and open attacks, of the priests, who were incensed when they saw the crowd forsake their altars, and enthusiastically follow his preaching.¹

It often happened that the very chiefs themselves of the convents were the first to be carried away into sentiments favourable to the Reformation. Thus at Halberstadt, at Neuenwerk, at Halle, at Sagan, the priors were seen setting the example to the monks under their charge, or at least declaring that if any monk felt his conscience burdened by the monastic vows, far from retaining him in the monastery, they would take him on their shoulders and carry him out.²

In fact, everywhere throughout Germany, monks were to be found putting off their frocks and hoods at the gates of their monastery. Some were expelled by the violence of the friars or the abbots; others, of a mild and pacific character, could no longer endure the continually-reviving disputes, insults, cries, and feelings of hatred which persecuted them even when asleep; the greater number felt convinced that the monastic life was opposed to the will of God, and to the Christian life; some were slow in attaining an assurance of this kind; others were led to it at once, by the reading of some passage in the Bible. The sloth and gross living, the ignorance and low manners that formed the essential characteristics of the begging orders, filled with unutterable disgust men endued with elevation of soul, so that they found the companionship of their vulgar associates intolerable. A Franciscan happening one day, while on a begging tour, to present himself with box in hand, and call for alms

¹ Der übrigen prediger Feindschaft, Neid, Nachstellungen, Praticken und Schrecken. (Seckendorff, p. 559.)

² Seckendorff, p. 811, Stentzel, Script. Rer. Siles. i. p. 457.

at a smith's forge at Nuremburg: "Why is it," said the master blacksmith, "that you do not like better to gain your bread by labouring with your own hands?" At these words the sturdy monk threw away the dress of his order, and seizing the forge hammer with a vigorous hand, he made it fall with full force on the anvil. The useless mendicant had become an honest workman, and his box and frock were sent back to the monastery.¹

Meanwhile it was not the monks alone that ranged themselves under the standard of the Gospel; priests even in still greater number, preached the new doctrines. But it did not stand in need of preachers in order to its dissemination, for it often wrought on the minds of men, and aroused them from their profound sleep, without a word being spoken by any one.

Luther's writings were read in cities, in small towns, and even in the villages; this was often done at the schoolmaster's fire-side in the evening. Some of the people of the place would be arrested by what they heard; they would take the Bible in order to have their doubts cleared up by it, and would then be struck with the amazing contrast between the Christianity of the Bible and their own. After hesitating for a time between Rome and holy Scripture, they would ere long take refuge in that living Word which shed so mild and refreshing a light on their hearts. During this process, some Gospel preacher would intervene, possibly a priest, possibly a monk; he would preach with eloquence and conviction;² would announce that Christ had fully satisfied for the sins of his people, and would demonstrate, from the Scriptures, the vanity of human works and deeds of penance. Then would a terrible opposition burst forth; the clergy, often, too, the magistrates, would set everything at work for the recovery of the souls they were about to lose. But the new preaching possessed a harmony with Scripture, and a secret energy that gained men's hearts, and subdued even the most rebellious. People threw themselves, at the risk of losing their property, or, if need were, at the risk of their lives, into the ranks of the Gospel, and forsook the dry and fanatical orators of the popedom.³ Resentment for having been so long abused by

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, ii. p. 70.

² *Eaque omnia prompte, alacriter, eloquenter.* (Cochlæus, p. 52.)

³ *Populo odibiles catholici concionatores.* (Ibid.)

them, sometimes compelled the people to move off; but it oftener happened that the priests, abandoned by their flocks, and left without tithes or offerings, went away in melancholy plight of their own accord, and endeavoured to gain a livelihood elsewhere.¹ And while the props of the old hierarchy withdrew from those localities, sullen, mortified, and often leaving their former flocks nothing but words of cursing for their adieus, the people, with hearts gladdened with truth and liberty, surrounded the new preachers with their acclamations, and in their eagerness to hear the Word, bore them in triumph into the Church and the pulpit.²

A mighty eloquence then went forth from God, and was renovating society. Often would the people, or the leading men among them, write to some man reputed for his faith, to come and enlighten them; and forthwith, influenced by love for the Gospel, he would forsake his interests, his family, friends, and country.³ Often did persecution oblige those who sided with the Reformation to abandon their homes; they would then arrive at some spot where it was as yet unknown; there they would find some house that offered an asylum to poor travellers, would upon entering it talk about the Gospel, would read some of its pages to the listening townsfolk, would obtain leave, at the instance perhaps of their new friends, to preach once at church to the public. . . . Then would there be a vast flame kindled in the town, and the utmost efforts made to extinguish it, would prove of no avail.⁴ If leave could not be had to preach in the Church, they would preach elsewhere. Every spot would become a place of worship. At Husum, in Holstein, Herman Tast, to whom, on his return from Wittemberg, the clergy of the parish had closed the Church, preached to an immense crowd in the church-yard, beneath the shade of two large trees, not far from the very spots at which some centuries before Anschar first proclaimed the Gospel to the heathen.⁵ At Arnstadt, the

¹ Ad extremam red ti inopiam, aliunde sibi victum quærere cogentur. (Ibid. p. 53.)

² Triumphantibus novis prædicatoribus qui sequacem populum verbo novi Evangelii sui ducebant. (Ibid.)

³ Multi omitta re domesticâ, in speciem veri Evangelii parentes et amicos relinquebant. (Ibid.)

⁴ Ubi vero aliquos nacti fuissent amicos in ea civitate. . . . (Ibid. p. 54.)

⁵ Anschar, a monk from Corbey, in Westphalia, preached the Gospel, in the

Augustinian Gaspard Güttel preached at the market-place. At Dantzic, the Gospel was preached upon a hill that lay adjacent to the town. At Gosslar, a Wittenberg student taught the new doctrine in a field planted with lime trees, a circumstance which led the evangelical Christians to be called the *Lime-tree brethren*.

While the priests made a glaring display of sordid greed, the new preacher would say: "We have freely received, we freely give to you."¹ The idea so often expressed in the pulpit by the new preachers, that Rome had in former times transmitted a corrupted Gospel to the Germans, and that their country was now for the first time hearing the Word of Christ in its divine and original beauty, profoundly impressed the people.² And the grand thought that all men were equal and brethren in Christ,³ laid hold of souls which had so long been burthened by the yoke of feudalism, and of the popedom of the middle ages.⁴

Often would simple Christians with the New Testament in their hands, offer to justify the doctrine of the Reformation. Those Catholics who remained faithful to Rome, would recoil from this in dismay; for to the priests and monks exclusively was assigned the task of studying sacred literature. The latter, accordingly, saw themselves obliged to stand forward; a conference would then ensue; but ere long the priests and the monks, overwhelmed by the declarations of holy Writ appealed to by laymen, would not know what to reply.⁵ "Unhappily, Luther had persuaded his followers," says Cochlæus, "that no credit

ninth century, among the Swedes, Danes, and the countries adjacent, and was nominated by the emperor Louis, the pious, son of Charlemagne, to the archbishopric of Hamburg and the whole north, and as he continued up to the time of his death to itinerate among these nations as a Christian missionary, he got the name of the apostle of the North.—L. R.

¹ Mira eis erat liberalitas. (Cochlæus, p. 53.)

² Eam usque diem nunquam germane prædicatam. (Ibid. p. 53.)

³ Such is the fact that this idea was first brought forward by the Reformation. Still it was not at that time that it was fully developed. By some enthusiasts it was misunderstood and perverted, as we shall see in the sequel. The ground was laid, however, for its ampler development at a future time. It certainly operated as an incentive to the zeal of many for the Reformation. Now, however, it lay in the plan of Providence, to bring to light the religious principle chiefly.—L. R.

⁴ Omnes æquales et fratres in Christo. (Cochlæus, p. 53.)

⁵ A laicis lutheranis, plures Scripturæ locos, quam a monachis et præbyteris. (Ibid. p. 54.)

should be given to anything but the oracles of the holy books." A shout would be raised at the meeting, proclaiming the shameful ignorance of those divines of the old school, who had hitherto passed for such learned men in the eyes of their own party.¹

Men in the humblest condition, and the weaker sex too, with the help of the Word, would persuade and carry along with them the hearts of others. In extraordinary times, extraordinary things take place. A young weaver read Luther's writings at Ingolstadt, to a crowd which had gathered around him, under the very eyes of Dr. Eck. In the same city, on the university attempting to compel one of Melanchthon's disciples to retract, a woman named Argula von Staufen, undertook his defence, and challenged the doctors to a public disputation with her. Women and children, artizans and soldiers, knew more of the Bible than the doctors in the schools, and the priests at the altars.

Christendom was now divided into two camps, presenting a remarkable contrast. Opposed to the old props of the hierarchy who had neglected the acquisition of the languages and the cultivation of literature, (it is one of themselves that informs us), stood a body of generous youths, devoted to study, acquiring a profound knowledge of the Scriptures, and becoming familiar with the master-pieces of antiquity.² Endued with promptitude of character, noble sentiments, and dauntless hearts, these youths erelong acquired such a range of knowledge, that for long no man durst venture to measure his strength with them. Nor did a very lively faith alone make them decidedly superior to their co-temporaries; this superiority they owed also to a style remarkable for its elegance and redolent of antiquity, to a true philosophy and to a knowledge of the world, qualities to which the theologians of the old grist (*veteris farinæ*), as Cochleus himself calls them, were utter strangers. Hence, when these youthful defenders of the Reformation, happened in company to meet with the doctors of Rome, they would attack them with such ease and confidence, that these gross-minded men hesitated and were put out of countenance, so as justly to incur the general contempt.

¹ Reputabantur catholici ab illis ignari Scripturarum. (Cochleus.)

² Totam vero juventutem, eloquentiæ litteris, linguarumque studio deditam.
 . . . in partem suam traxit. (Ibid.)

The old edifice was crumbling under the superincumbent weight of superstition and ignorance; the new was rising upon the foundations of faith and of learning. New elements were working their way into the life of the nations; sottishness and stupidity were giving way to the spirit of research, and to thirst for instruction. An active, enlightened, and living faith, was superseding a superstitious piety and ascetic reveries. Works of true devotedness were taking the place of the practices and the penances of a false devotion. The pulpit encroached on the ceremonies of the altar, and the old and sovereign dominion of the Word of God, was in course of being again re-established in the Church.

Printing, that mighty engine which had been discovered by the fifteenth century, lent its aid to these many efforts, and its potent projectiles were poured unceasingly into the breach that had been made in the enemy's walls.

The stimulus that was given by the Reformation to the popular literature of Germany was immense. While in 1513, thirty-five publications only appeared, and in 1517, thirty-seven, the number of books increased with astonishing rapidity after Luther's theses had made their appearance. We find, in 1518, seventy-one different publications; in 1519, one hundred and eleven; in 1520, two hundred and eight; in 1521, two hundred and eleven; in 1522, three hundred and forty-seven; in 1523, four hundred and ninety-eight. . . . And where were all these published? Almost always at Wittemberg. And who was the author? Most frequently Luther. The year 1522, witnessed the publication of a hundred and thirty of the Reformer's writings; the following year, a hundred and eighty-three. That same year saw but twenty Roman Catholic publications in all.¹ Thus was the literature of Germany formed amid combats, side by side with its religion. Even then it showed itself learned, profound, and full of boldness in its movement, as it has been perceived to be at a later period. The national mind then displayed itself for the first time unmixed, and at the very moment of its birth, it received the baptism of the fire of Christian enthusiasm.

¹ Panzer's *Annalen der Deutsch. Litt.*—Ranke's *Deutsch. Gesch.* ii. v. 79.

What Luther and his friends composed, others disseminated. Monks, when convinced that monastic ties were unlawful, were naturally enough eager to exchange a long course of indolence for a life of active exertion, but being too ignorant to preach the Word of God themselves, they traversed the provinces, and visited the hamlets and cottages, offering the books of Luther and his friends for sale. Germany soon swarmed with these bold packmen.¹ Printers and booksellers eagerly received all that was written in favour of the Reformation; but they rejected the compositions of the opposite party, where there was nothing ordinarily found but ignorance and barbarism.² If any of them ventured notwithstanding to sell a book in favour of the pope-dom, and exposed it at the fairs of Frankfort or other places, he was straightway teased and laughed at beyond endurance by the merchants, purchasers, and men of letters.³ In vain did the emperor, and the princes pass severe edicts against the writings of the Reformers. The moment that an inquisitorial visit was about to be made, the merchants, having had private notice of it conveyed to them, concealed books condemned to proscription; and the crowd, ever eager to obtain what is sought to be kept from them, afterwards removed those writings from their places of concealment, and read them with more avidity than ever. Nor was it in Germany alone that these things occurred; Luther's writings were translated into the languages of France, Spain, England, and Italy, and were circulated among those nations.

XII. If even the most despised instruments dealt such terrible blows against Rome, what must have been the result when the Wittemberg monk himself made his voice to be heard? Shortly after the defeat of the new prophets, Luther passed through duke George's territories, in a car and dressed as a layman. His frock was concealed, and the Reformer looked like a simple townsman of that country. Had he been recognised, had he fallen into the hands of the angry duke, it might

¹ Apostatarum, monasteriis relictis, infinitus jam erat numerus, in speciem bibliopolarum. (Cochlæus, p. 54.)

² Catholicorum, velut indocta et veteris barbarici trivialia scripta, contemnebant. (Ibid.)

³ In publicis mercatibus Francofordiæ et alibi, vexabantur ac ridebantur (Ibid.)

possibly have been all over with him.¹ He went to preach at Zwickau, the cradle of the pretended prophets. Hardly was it known at Schneeberg, at Annaberg, and in the surrounding places, when people flocked in crowds to meet him. Fourteen thousand persons entered the town; and as no church could contain such a multitude, Luther ascended the town-house balcony, and preached to twenty-five thousand hearers convened on the square in front, and part of whom stood upon blocks of stone for building, that lay in heaps near the town-house.² The servant of Christ was speaking with much warmth on the election of grace, when all at once from the middle of the auditory, some cries were heard. An old woman with a haggard eye was seen stretching out her lean arms, and looking as if with her bony hand she would keep back the crowd, as it was pressing to the feet of Jesus Christ. Her wild screams interrupted the preacher. "It was the devil," says Seckendorf, "who assuming the form of an old woman, wanted to excite a tumult."³ But it was in vain; the preacher's words silenced the evil spirit; enthusiasm took possession of those thousands of listeners; looks of mutual greeting were exchanged; people shook hands in token of mutual concord, and ere long the monks, confounded and unable to conjure the storm, saw themselves obliged to leave Zwickau.

The country seat of Freyberg was the residence of duke Henry, brother of duke George. His wife, a princess of Mecklenburg, had given him the year before, a son who had received the name of Maurice. To a love of good living and of pleasure, duke Henry joined the bluntness and unpolished manners of a soldier. As for the rest, he was a pious man according to the piety of those times, and had made one journey to the Holy land, and another to St. James of Compostello. "At Compostello," he would often say, "I laid a hundred golden florins on

¹ Lingard admits that "the edict of Worms had become a dead letter at the expiration of a few months," so that Luther could safely travel as far as regarded the people. Duke George, however, had even punished the bookseller who first imported and sold an impression of Luther's Testament among his subjects, and had warmly concurred with Henry VIII. in his urgent representations against the Reformer, addressed to the German princes. See Milner, vol. iv. p. 356. Tr.

² Von dem Rathhaus unter einem Zalauf von 25000 Menschen. (Seckend, p. 539.)

³ Der Teufel indem er sich in Gestalt eines alten Weibes. . . . (Ibid.)

the altar of the saint, and said to him: O St. James! to please thee have I come thus far; I make thee a present of this money; but if these rogues there (the priests) take it from thee, I can' interfere; so take good care of it."¹

A Franciscan, and a Dominican, both disciples of Luther, had been preaching the Gospel for some time at Freyberg. The duchess whose piety had given her a horror for heresy, heard these preachings, and was amazed to find that the mild words of a Saviour were what people had sought to give her such a horror for. Her eyes were opened by degrees, and she found peace in Jesus Christ. Scarcely had duke George heard of the Gospel being preached at Freyberg, when he besought his brother to oppose these innovations, and in this he was seconded by the fanaticism of chancellor Strehlin and the prebendaries. There was much noisy altercation at the court of Freyberg. Duke Henry spared his wife neither sharp reprimands, nor harsh reproaches, and more than once the pious duchess bedewed her infant's cradle with her tears. By little and little, however, her prayers and gentle disposition gained her husband's heart; rough as he was he became softened; a sweet accord grew up between the spouses, and they could unite in prayer by the side of their son. That child was destined to great things, and from the cradle, beside which a Christian mother had so often poured forth her sorrows, God was to bring forth the man who was one day to be the great defender of the Reformation.

The dauntless spirit displayed by Luther had much impressed the inhabitants of Worms. The magistrates, indeed, trembled at the imperial edict: all the churches were closed; but on an open area crowded with an immense multitude, a preacher proclaimed the Gospel, with persuasive eloquence, from a rudely constructed pulpit. When the public authorities seemed likely to interfere, the crowd dispersed in a moment, and the pulpit was stealthily conveyed away; but when the storm had blown by, it was again set up in some more retired place, and thither the crowd would again repair to hear the Word of Christ. That temporary pulpit was taken daily from place to place, and served

¹ Lassst du dir's die Buben nehmen. . . (Seckend. p. 430.)

to confirm the people while still under the emotions produced by the imposing scene they had witnessed.¹

Everybody was now astir in one of the free cities of the empire, Frankfort on the Maine. Ibach, a courageous evangelist, preached there salvation by Jesus Christ. Incensed at this audacious colleague of theirs, the clergy, among whom was Cochlæus, so famous for his writings and for the violence of his resentments, denounced him to the archbishop of Maintz. The town-council, although timid, notwithstanding undertook his defence; but it was in vain, for the clergy succeeded in superseding the evangelical minister and expelled him from the place. Rome triumphed; all seemed lost; simple-minded believers looked upon themselves as deprived for ever of the Word; but just as the burgesses seemed disposed to yield to those tyrannical priests, several of the nobility declared themselves on the side of the Gospel. Max of Molnheim, Harmut of Cronberg, George of Stockheim, and Emeric of Reiffenstein, whose properties lay near Frankfort, wrote to the council: "We feel ourselves constrained to rise against these spiritual wolves." And addressing the clergy: "Embrace," said they, "the doctrines of the Gospel; recall Ibach, or we refuse to pay you tithes!"

The people who had begun to relish the Reformation, were encouraged by such language on the part of the nobility, and rose in a threatening manner. Just as Peter Mayer, the priest most opposed to reform, and the persecutor of Ibach, was proceeding to preach against heretics, he was disturbed by a serious tumult, which so alarmed Mayer that he withdrew in haste from the Church. This brought the council to a decision. It passed an ordinance enjoining all preachers either to preach purely the Word of God, or to leave the city.

Thus did the light that burst from Wittemberg, as from the centre of the nation, spread throughout the empire. Westward, the territories of Berg, of Cleves, of Lippstadt, of Münster, Wesel, Miltenburg, Maintz, Deux-Ponts, Strasburg, all heard the Gospel. To the South, Hof, Schlesstadt, Bamberg, Ess-

¹ So liessen sie eine Canzel machen, die man von einem Ort zum andern.

. . . (Seckend, p. 436.)

lingen, Hall in Suabia, Heilbronn, Augsburg, Ulm and many other places, joyfully hailed its coming among them. In the East, the duchy of Liegnitz, Prussia, and Pomerania opened their gates to it. On the North, Brunswick, Halberstadt, Goss-lar, Celle, Friesland,¹ Bremen, Hamburg, Holstein, and even Denmark and the adjacent territories, roused themselves at the sound of the new message now addressed to them.

The elector had declared that he would allow the bishops full liberty of preaching within his territories, but would deliver up no man to them, and hence evangelical preachers were soon to be seen flying for shelter into Saxony when persecuted elsewhere. Ibach of Frankfort, Eberlin of Ulm, Kauxdorf of Magdeburg, Valentine Musteus who had been horribly mutilated by the prebendaries of Halberstadt,² and other faithful ministers from all parts of Germany, hastened to Wittemberg as an asylum to which they could fully trust. There they conversed with the Reformers; confirming themselves in the faith in their society, and communicating to them the experiences through which they had passed, and the clearer views that they had acquired. Thus do the rivers return, by means of the clouds, from the vast expanses of the ocean, to nourish the glaciers from which they had previously rushed down into the plains.

The great work in progress at Wittemberg, and into which so many various elements had now entered, came to be more and more that of the nation—of Europe—of Christendom. The school there, founded as we have seen by Frederick, and vivified by Luther, formed the centre of the immense revolution that was renovating the Church, and thus stamped it with a real and vital unity, far superior to the apparent unity of Rome. The Bible reigned at Wittemberg; there its oracles were everywhere heard. That academy, the most recently established of all, had acquired the rank and influence in Christendom hitherto engrossed by the ancient university of Paris. The crowds that

¹ Mr. Le Roy translates *la Frise, Oost-Vriesland, i. e.* East Friesland. West Friesland, from which it is separated by the river Ems, and which has long been attached to Holland, seems not to have received the Gospel until a later date. Tr.

² Aliquot ministri canonicorum, capiunt D. Valentinum Mustæum et vincunt manibus pedibusque, injecto in ejus os freno, deferunt per trabes in inferiores cænobii partes, ibique in cella cerevisiaria eum castrant. (Hamelmann, *Historia renati Evangelii*, p. 880.)

flocked to it from all Europe, made known the urgent wants of the Church and of the people; and on leaving those walls after they had become sacred in their eyes, they returned to the Church and to the people, taking with them that Word of grace which had been given for the healing, and for the salvation of the nations.

Luther while he surveyed these tokens of success, felt his heart swell with augmented courage. He saw the feeble effort that had originated in so many alarms and painful anxieties, changing the whole aspect of the Christian world, and was himself amazed at the result. Never had he anticipated anything like this when he first rose to attack Tetzel. Prostrating himself in the presence of the God whom he worshipped, he owned that this was the Lord's doing, and exulted at the thought that here was a victory of which he was no longer in danger of being deprived. "Our enemies threaten us with death," said he to the knight Harmut of Cronberg; "had they as much wisdom as they have folly, it would be life, on the contrary, with which they would threaten us. What a jest or what an insult is it not, to pretend to threaten death to Christ and Christians, whereas they are the masters and vanquishers of death.¹ For them he is still lying in the tomb; what do I say? . . . in hell. But as for us, we know that he is alive." He felt indignant at the thought of his being looked up to as the author of a work, in the smallest details of which he owned the hand of his God. "Many believe for my sake," he would say. "But those only are in the truth who would remain faithful even should they be informed, which the Lord preserve me from, that I had denied Jesus Christ. The true disciples believe not in Luther, but in Jesus Christ. I myself care nothing about Luther.² Be he a saint, or a swindler, what matters it to me? It is not he whom I preach, it is Christ. If the devil can take him, let him do so. But let Christ abide with us and we shall abide also."

It is idle, in fact, to attempt the explanation of this great movement by referring to circumstances merely human. Men of letters, it is true, sharpened their wits, and launched their pointed shafts at the monks and at the pope; the shout of liberty, so

¹ Herren und Siegmänner des Todes. (L. Epp. ii. p. 164.)

² Ich kenne auch selbst nicht den Luther. (Ibid. p. 168.)

often raised in Germany against the tyranny of the Italians, resounded anew in the feudal castles and the provinces; the people delighted to hear the songs of the Wittenberg nightingale, as it harbingered the spring that was everywhere beginning to put forth its buds.¹ But it was not an external movement, such as is impressed by the longing for a terrestrial freedom, that was then in course of accomplishment. Those who allege that the Reformation was brought about by offering the possessions of the religious orders to the princes, marriage to the priests, and liberty to the people, strangely misapprehend its nature. No doubt, a useful employment of funds which, up to that time, had nourished the monks in laziness; no doubt, marriage and liberty, both of which come from God, might promote the spread of the Reformation; but the moving force did not lie there. A profound revolution was then in course of being effected in the depths of the human heart. The Christian people learnt anew to love, to forgive, to pray, to suffer, and even to die, for a truth which promised them repose in heaven alone. The Church underwent a transformation. Christianity burst the swaddling bands that so long had confined it, and came back, full of life, into a world that had forgotten its former influence. The hand that made the world had returned to it; and the Gospel, re-appearing amid the nations, hastened its course in spite of the powerful, and repeated efforts of priests and kings to oppose it. So have we seen the ocean rise with majestic stillness along the shores, when the hand of God pressed its waves; so have we seen it flow in upon the beach with a force that defied the utmost powers of man to arrest it.

¹ *Wittenberger Nachtigall*, Hans Sachs's poetry, 1523.

BOOK TENTH.

AGITATIONS, REVERSES, AND PROGRESSION.

(1522—1526.)

THE Reformation, confined at first to the hearts of a few godly men, had now passed into the worship and the life of the Church, it was natural that it should make a new advance, and penetrate from thence into the various relations of social life. Its progress was ever as if from a centre, outwards. We proceed to contemplate this great revolution as it gradually took possession of political life, in the various quarters into which it passed.

For nearly eight centuries, Europe had formed one vast sacerdotal state. Emperors and kings had lived under the patronage of the popes. Although, in France and Germany chiefly, there had been instances of strenuous resistance to audacious pretensions, Rome had had in the end obtained the mastery, and princes had been seen acting as the docile executors of her terrible sentences, fighting, for the purpose of securing her empire, against simple-minded believers subject to their domination, and profusely shedding on her account the blood of the children of their people.

No attempt could be directed against this vast ecclesiastical state which had the pope for its chief, without endangering its political connections also.

Germany was at this time agitated by two great conceptions. A desire was felt on the one hand for a renovation of the faith; on the other hand, there was wanted a national government

which should embody a representation of the Germany states, and act as a counterpoise to the power of the emperors.¹

Upon this latter point the elector Frederick had insisted at the time of the election of a successor to Maximilian; the youthful Charles had submitted; and there was formed in consequence an imperial government, consisting of the imperial governor, and of representatives from the electors and the circles.

Thus, while Luther reformed the Church, Frederick of Saxony reformed the state.

But while, running parallel to the religious reformation, important political modifications had been introduced by the nation's chiefs, there was room for alarm, lest "the commonalty" should begin to bestir themselves, and, by their religious and political excesses, compromise both reformations.

That violent and fanatical intrusion of the populace, and of some disturbers of the peace, which seems to unavoidably occur from the time that society begins to undergo unsettlement and change, failed not to take place in Germany at the period now before us.²

But other causes, besides, contributed to produce these commotions.

The emperor and the pope had combined to oppose the Reformation, and it seemed as if doomed to give way beneath the blows of two such mighty adversaries. Policy, interest, and

¹ Pfeffel, *Droit publ. de l'All.* 590.—Robertson, *Charles V.* iii. 114.—Ranke *Deutsche Gesch.*

² It must be confessed that there is much in both ancient and modern history, to justify this remark. At the same time it ought not to be forgotten that the influences of the Gospel, exerted directly on any considerable part of a nation by a living faith in its sincere professors, and indirectly on the rest by religious institutions, and the personal influence of the godly, have had a marvellous effect either in cooling down the popular fanaticism alluded to, or altogether neutralising it as a dangerous element. To what but the influence of the Gospel can we ascribe the far less ferocious and bloody character of the wars of the commonwealth in Britain, compared with the revolutionary excesses of France, when both nations underwent unsettlement and change? To what else can we ascribe the eminently peaceful character of our revolution of 1688? And may we not point to the immense moral influence of evangelical agitation in Sabbath schools, tract and Bible societies, a fixed and itinerating ministry, and other such operations, when we would account to foreigners for the comparative calmness with which great political and social changes have taken place in later times among our eminently energetic countrymen, though exposed to the action of many wild and seductive theories, and often driven by temporary distress to seek for an improvement in their circumstances in the destruction of the present forms and structure of society and its institutions, and the introduction of something entirely new. TR.

ambition, laid Charles V. and Leo X. under an obligation to destroy it, but these are sorry champions when the foe to be encountered is truth. Devotedness to a cause which is contemplated as sacred, can be overcome by nothing short of devotedness on the opposite side. Now Rome, readily yielding to the impulsion of a Leo X. reserved her enthusiasm for sonnets or pieces of music, but had no relish for the religion of Jesus Christ; and if any less futile thoughts ever came across her mind, instead of purifying herself from her abominations, and returning to the religion of the apostles, she allowed herself to be engrossed with alliances, wars, conquests, and treaties, that were to secure her in the possession of new provinces, while with frigid disdain she allowed the Reformation everywhere to rekindle religious enthusiasm, and to march in triumph towards the noblest conquests.¹ The enemy whom people had sworn

¹ The author has omitted one "less futile thought," which then found its way into Italy, to which Rauke has attached more importance perhaps than it deserves, but which demands attention as illustrative of a tendency in the human mind, ever ready to show itself in like circumstances, and exceedingly apt to mislead the unwary into grievous error, under the fair semblance of holiness. "While Luther," says Rauke, "rejected the entire principle and scheme of the priesthood, as it had hitherto existed, a counter-movement arose in Italy, for the purpose of restoring this principle to its original significance, and giving it new power in the Church by enforcing a more rigid adherence to it." See Rauke's *Popes of the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries*, translated by Mrs. Austen, vol. i. p. 172. The German historian then enters into some of the details of this counter-movement which, it can hardly be doubted, had the effect of retaining many within the communion of Rome, who were disgusted at the state of things in Italy, as above described by M. Merle d'Aubigné. But Divine Providence, no doubt, wisely permitted this movement, as it regarded the Protestant Churches. Had rank infidelity and worldliness been universal in the Romish communion; had Protestantism alone presented examples of conscientiousness and true godliness, many might have passed from the one to the other, only because as religious sentimentalists, and as a matter of taste, they leaned to asceticism more than to worldliness, not because they bowed to the authority of the Bible, and held the great "article of a standing or falling church," the doctrine of justification by faith. Thus might the Protestant body have been invaded by men of strong purposes but perverted views; men of severe and regular morals, and therefore fitted to command respect and attach followers, but who, nevertheless, would never have renounced their own merits, nor received Jesus Christ as the Lord their righteousness, nor looked to the Holy Ghost alone for conversion and sanctification. It was well for the Reformed Churches then, as it would be well for them now, to be rid of such men, and it may be regretted perhaps that the way of re-admission to the Romish communion, has, by the council of Trent chiefly, been rendered so difficult that but few as yet have availed themselves of it. As the history of the sixteenth century in this case throws some interesting light on that of the nineteenth, we may give a few details.

Under the pontificate of Clement VII., the period here spoken of, some superstitious men, says Hospinian (l. 6. c. 68.) having withdrawn themselves into gardens, to apply their minds better, as they thought, to the exercise of prayer, and other devotional practices, they were by ignorant and deluded

they would crush in the domed church at Worms, presented himself full of force and hardihood; the struggle could not fail to prove a keen one; and blood was about to flow.

Meanwhile some of the dangers that seemed most to threaten the Reformation, apparently receded. It is true that the youthful Charles, happening one day, previous to the publication of the edict of Worms, to be standing at one of the palace windows with his confessor, had said, placing his right hand at the same time on his heart: "I swear that I will cause to be hanged at this window, the first man who after the publication of my edict, shall dare to show himself a Lutheran."¹ But his zeal soon

people called the Company of Divine Love. One Peter Caraffa joined them, and showed so much outward humility as not only to refuse the bishoprick of Brundisium offered him by Charles V. but left that of Chieti or Theate, given to him by pope Julius II. He and four others, among whom was Cajetan, undertook the task of infusing new life into the order of regular clerks, then much degenerated. To that end, having formed a common purse, they applied themselves to church psalmody, meditation, and prayer, and were therefore called regular priests, from the bishoprick of Theate resigned by Caraffa, Theatines, and also from the similarity of their dress to that of the Jesuits, they had in some countries the name of Theatine Jesuits. Bobadilla, the Jesuit, relates that under the generalship of Lainez, they wished to be incorporated with the Jesuits, but were thought too remiss and proud. John Peter Caraffa was raised to the cardinalship by pope Paul III., and then resumed the bishoprick of Theate, which happened then to be vacant. He accepted several public employments also, and was raised to the popedom at last as Paul IV.: Thus he refused the lesser honours to advance himself to the highest in the Church. Hospinian says of him: "This holy monk of divine love, this great despiser of the world, and restorer of the ancient splendour of the clerical order, set his heart only on heaping up riches, and fonder of war than peace, meditated sending fire and sword into the Church of Christ throughout Europe." See Gab. d'Emilliane.

These Reformers within the Romish communion, agreed with the Protestants in but one point. "Both sides," says Ranke, "were conscious of the depravation of ecclesiastical constitutions," but instead of returning to the faith once delivered to the saints, the Theatines wished "to restore the principle of the priesthood to what they considered its original significance, and to give it new power in the Church, by enforcing a more rigid adherence to it."

Perhaps no terms could more briefly, or aptly describe the counter-movement which has been for some years gathering strength in England, against the revival of the great doctrines of the Reformation which has marked the religious history of that country during the last half century. Its very essence is to establish a priesthood unknown to Christianity—to give significance to that priesthood—to clothe it with a mysterious character—to ascribe to it certain occult faculties, and thus to give it, as representing the Church, new and formidable powers. Though Caraffa began with humility and retirement, he ended with ambition, pride, and a spirit of fierce persecution. Let this be a warning to our modern Theatines. Those of the sixteenth century were soon followed and superseded by a far more powerful, and more powerful only because more astute and worldly body—the Jesuits. Let this, too, be a warning, for what fraternity ever so rudely interfered with the functions, vilified the authority, and disturbed the peace of the regularly established clergy as the Jesuits have done? Tr.

¹ Sancte juro . . . eum ex hac fenestra meo jussu suspensum iri. (Pallavicini, i. p. 130.)

experienced a great decline. His project of re-establishing the ancient glory of the holy empire, that is, of augmenting his own power, had been coldly received.¹ In ill humour with Germany, he quitted the banks of the Rhine, repaired to the Low Countries, and took advantage of his stay there to satisfy the monks in some things which he had found it out of his power to grant within the empire. Luther's works were burnt at Ghent by the common hangman with all possible solemnity. Above fifty thousand spectators were present at this auto-da-fe; the emperor himself standing by and giving a smile of approbation.² He then went to Spain, where wars and commotions so occupied him, for some time at least, that he had to leave Germany undisturbed. Since he was denied that authority in the empire which he claimed as his due, he was content to let others prosecute the Wittemberg heretic. He had matters of greater consequence to engage his attention.

In fact Francis I. in his impatience to encounter his rival, had thrown down the gauntlet to him. Under pretence of re-establishing in the possession of their patrimony the children of John d'Albret, king of Navarre, he commenced a long and bloody struggle which was to end only with his life, by sending into that kingdom, under the command of Lesparre, an army whose rapid conquests met with no check until it had reached the fortress of Pampeluna.

On the strong fortifications of that place, an enthusiasm was destined to be enkindled, which at a future time was to oppose that of the Reformer, and to breathe into the papacy a new spirit of energy, devotedness, and domination. Pampeluna was to be the cradle, as it were, of the great rival of the monk of Wittemberg.³

¹ Essendo tornato dalla Dieta che sua Maestà haveva fatta in Wormatia, escluso d'ogni conclusion buono d'ajuti e di favori che si fussi proposto d'ottenere in essa. (Istruttione al card. Farnese. Manuscript in the Corsini library published by Ranke.)

² Ipso Cesare, ore subridenti, spectaculo plausit. (Pallavicini, i. p. 130.)

³ The author here refers of course to that marvellous institution, the company of Jesus, as the Jesuits presumptuously style themselves. Although, however, that body took its rise from Ignatius Loyola, it unquestionably received the peculiar character which made it so formidable a foe to the Reformation, more especially in the seventeenth century, not from the romantic enthusiasm of its first Spanish founder and chief, but from the profound political sagacity of his Italian successors. Even in the Church of Rome itself the Jesuit institution has been considered to be the beast of the Apocalypse, and no

The spirit of chivalry which had so long animated the Christian world, was now no longer to be found anywhere but in Spain.³ The wars with the Moors, hardly ended in the Peninsula, and perpetually renewed in Africa, and distant and perilous expeditions beyond seas, nourished in the youth of Castille that enthusiastic and simple valour of which Amadis was the ideal type.

Among the defenders of Pampeluna there was a young gentleman called Don Inigo Lopez de Recaldo, the youngest of a family of thirteen children.⁴ Educated at the court of Ferdinand,

more eminently active or successful enemies has the Gospel ever had. It has opposed it by undermining Protestant institutions of every kind, but especially schools and universities; it has done infinite mischief to it by attacking with all the sophistry of philosophical scepticism every kind of religious conviction, but that of implicit and unreasoning submission to the so called Church, so that on rejecting that, its disciples, including Voltaire, d'Alembert, &c., have often become hopeless infidels; and it has exposed Christianity to contempt both in professedly Christian and in heathen countries, by making it appear to such as have the unhappiness to associate faith in Christ with the general character of its policy and maxims, that the God of Christians needs to have recourse for the propagation of his worship, not to the foolishness of preaching, reflecting honour by its very simplicity on his cause, but to a whole system of intrigue, cunning, compromise, adulation, and deceit. TR.

³ Here the author assigns too early a date to the extinction of the spirit of chivalry. We can be at no loss to discover it in the lives and characters of men who lived long after this. It survived in some of the remarkable men both of Queen Elizabeth's and Charles the Ist.'s court. The truth seems to be, that in its finer features, its contempt of selfishness, sympathy with distress, and unbending loyalty, it was fast expiring everywhere, even in Spain itself, about this period; while those vices and irregularities, which, as even Sir Walter Scott admits, tarnished its lustre in earlier times, under the shelter of its name maintained their ground. The Reformation seems to have done much to revive it in its purer attributes, while it, on the other hand, helped to reconcile the leaders of that great revolution to war, and its passions to a dangerous—perhaps a criminal degree. In the Romanist Montluc, the Claverhouse of France in the sixteenth century, we have a picture of what chivalry would have been without the Reformation, while we see in the brave and wise la Nour, de Coligny, the brothers of the house of Orange Nassau, Sir Philip Sidney, and many others, the effects of Scriptural Christianity in the knights of that age. Until the Reformation produced this effect, what the author says is true as to all the finer points of chivalry, and in regard to religious enthusiasm in particular, Ranke justly remarks that at the time of Loyola's appearance, "the Spanish chivalry was the only one in the world which had retained some tincture of its religious spirit." The charm now associated with ancient chivalry, is one of the many illusions employed at the present day to discredit the Christianity of the Bible, and to invest popery with a new claim to our regard; and the author of "the Broad Stone of Honour" in particular seems to have laboured successfully in this attempt. But history tells us that when the popedom was most dominant, chivalry, which had never been unstained with vices, became vile and despicable; and that it was not until the Gospel re-appeared that it became invested with higher claims to admiration than it had ever enjoyed before. TR.

⁴ He was born in the castle of Loyola, between Azpeitia and Azcoitia in Guipiscoa, of a race so noble that its head was always invited to do homage by a special writ. See Ranke. True to this their chief's origin, the Jesuits have

the catholic Recaldo, a youth endowed with remarkable personal grace and beauty,¹ and expert at handling the sword and lance,² eagerly coveted the glory that was to be acquired in chivalry. The entire life of this youthful knight was absorbed by the ambition of appearing in glittering armour and mounted on a high-bred horse, of exposing himself to the glorious hazards of a tournament, or some other perilous adventures, of engaging in the fierce disputes of factions,³ and of displaying no less devotion to St. Peter than to his lady love.

The governor of Navarre having gone to seek for assistance in Spain, had left Pampeluna to the safe keeping of Inigo and some nobles. Perceiving the superiority of the French army these nobles resolved to withdraw, but Inigo conjured them to remain and make head against Lesparre. Finding at last that they could not be shaken in their purpose, he eyed them with a look of indignation, charged them with cowardice and treachery, and then, unaccompanied by any of them, threw himself into the citadel with the resolution of defending it at the cost of his life.⁴

The French, who had been received at Pampeluna with enthusiasm, having proposed to the commandant of the fortress to capitulate, "let us hold out to the last," said Inigo with ardour to his companions, "rather than surrender."⁵ Thereupon the French began to batter the walls with their powerful machines, and ere long attempted an assault. Stimulated by the courageous example and the words of Inigo, the Spaniards repulsed their assailants with their shot, their swords, and their halberts, while Inigo at their head, mounted the wall, and with fiery eye and death-dealing sword, made many a blow descend on the enemy. In an instant a bullet, striking the wall at the very spot he was

been ever covetous of influencing the education of aristocracies, and the politics of courts. The leading Reformers, on the contrary, with some illustrious exceptions, were men of humble origin, and without excluding the great from their regards, distinguished themselves mainly by the pains they took to educate the whole mass of the people in the knowledge of that Gospel. Yet, as the author elsewhere remarks, Protestantism has absurdly been held out as "the religion of great lords." Tr.

¹ *Cum esset in corporis ornatu elegantissimus.* (Maffæi, *Vita Loyolæ*, 1586, p. 3.)

² *Equorumque et armorum usu præcelleret.* (*Ibid.*)

³ *Partim in factionum rixarumque periculis, partim in amatoria vesania . . . tempus consumeret.* (*Ibid.*)

⁴ *Ardentibus oculis, detestatus ignaviam perfidiamque, spectantibus omnibus, in arcem solus introit.* (Maffæi, *Vita Loyolæ*, 1586, p. 6.)

⁵ *Jam acri et vehementi oratione commilitonibus dissuasit.* (*Ibid.*)

defending, detached a stone which inflicted a severe wound on the young knight's right leg, while his left was bruised by the bullet as it rebounded from the wall. Inigo fell, being struck senseless by the blow;¹ the garrison immediately surrendered, and the French, filled with admiration of their young opponent's courage, conveyed him in a litter to his relations at the country seat of Loyola. It was in that feudal castle, whose name he afterwards bore, that Inigo was born, eight years later than Luther, of one of the most illustrious families in those quarters.

A painful operation had become necessary. Amid the keenest sufferings Inigo clenched his fists, but did not allow a single cry to escape from him.²

Condemned to a state of painful inactivity, he needed something anyhow to occupy his lively imagination. Instead of the romances of chivalry, which up to that time had been his chief mental aliment, the life of Jesus Christ and the legends, or the *Flowers of the Saints*, were given to him. Such reading, in the state of solitude and sickness in which he lay, made an extraordinary impression on his mind. He thought he beheld that noisy and stirring life of tournaments and battles which had hitherto occupied his youth, retiring to a distance from him until at length it faded out of sight, while at the same time a more glorious career opened up before his astonished eyes. The lowly deeds of the saints, and their heroic sufferings, all at once appeared to him much more deserving of praise than all the lofty feats of chivalry. Stretched upon his bed and tossed by fever, he gave himself up to the most contradictory thoughts. The world which he was now forsaking, and that whose holy macerations he was preparing to welcome, simultaneously came before him, the one with its sensual delights, the other with its austerities; and these two worlds maintained an obstinate conflict in his mind. "What," he would say, "were I to do all that the blessed Francis,—what were I to do all that the blessed Dominick did?"³ The image of the lady to whom he had devoted his heart then presenting itself to him: "She is not a

¹ Ut e vestigio semianimis alienata mente corruerit. (Ibid. p. 7.)

² Nullum aliud indicium dedit doloris, nisi ut coactos in pugnum digitos valde constringeret. (Ibid. p. 8.)

³ Quid si ego hoc agerem quod fecit b. Franciscus, quid si hoc quod b. Dominicus? (Acta Sanct. vii. p. 634.)

countess," he would exclaim with a simple-hearted vanity, "she is not a duchess, she is more than all that."¹ . . . But these thoughts left him a prey to bitter regrets and lassitude, whereas his project of imitating the saints filled him with peace and joy.

From that time forth his mind was made up; and hardly had he recovered from his wounds when he resolved to bid farewell to all secular things. After having, like Luther, given one more entertainment to his former comrades in arms, he set out singly, and observing the strictest secrecy,² on a visit to the lonely habitations hewn out in the rocks of the cliffs of Mount-serrat, by the hermits of the order of St. Benedict. Urged not by any conviction of his sins, or by any longing for the divine favour, but by the desire of becoming "Mary's knight," and ambitious to gain renown by bodily mortifications, and works of piety, after the example of the whole army of the saints, he confessed himself during three days, bestowed his rich clothing on a beggar, covered himself with sackcloth, and girded himself with a rope.³ Next, calling to mind the celebrated watching in armour of Amadis of Gaul, he hung up his sword before an image of Mary, spent a whole night watching in his new and strange dress, and devoted himself, sometimes on his knees, and sometimes standing, but always in prayer and with his pilgrim's staff in his hands, to all the devotional exercises that were practised in old times by the illustrious Amadis of Gaul. "It was thus," says one of the saint's biographers, the Jesuit Maffei, "that while Satan was arming Martin Luther against all laws human and divine, and while that infamous heresiarch appeared at Worms, and there declared impious war against the apostolic see, Christ by a call of his divine providence, raised up this new combatant, and attaching himself in the first instance, and subsequently all his followers, to the service of the Roman pontiff, opposed him to the licentiousness, and the fury of heretical depravity."⁴

¹ Non era condessa, ni duquessa, mas era su estado mas alto. . . . (Ibid.)

² Ibi duce amicisque ita salutatis, ut arcana consiliorum suorum quam accuratissime tegeret. (Maff. p. 16.)

³ Preciosa vestimenta quibus erat ornatus, pannoso cuidam largitus, sacco sese alacer induit, ac fune præcinxit. (Ibid. p. 20.)

⁴ Furori ac libidini hæreticæ pravitatis opponeret. (Maff. p. 21.)

Loyola, still lame in one of his legs, dragged himself by circuitous and desert roads to Manresa, and there he entered a Dominican monastery with the view of devoting himself, in that obscure place, to the severest acts of penance. Like Luther he went about, day after day, begging for the means of support.¹ He remained seven hours on his knees, and flogged himself three times a day; at midnight he was again at his prayers; he allowed his hair and his nails to grow untended, and it would have been impossible to recognise in the pallid and haggard-looking Manresa monk, the young and brilliant knight of Pampeluna.

Meanwhile the time was come when religious ideas, which had as yet been hardly more with Inigo than a mere chivalrous fancy, were to reveal themselves to him more seriously, and make him feel that they had a potency of which he as yet knew nothing. All at once, without there being anything to lead him to expect it, the joy he had hitherto experienced, vanished;² and in vain had he recourse to prayer and the singing of hymns; he could find no repose.³ His imagination ceased to surround him with pleasing influences; he was left alone with his conscience. A condition so new to him as this he could not understand, and he asked himself, with trembling awe and dread, whether after so many sacrifices made to him, God could still be angry with him. Night and day his soul was disturbed by gloomy horrors; he shed many a bitter tear, and with loud lamentations called for the peace which he had lost. . . . But all was in vain.⁴ He next began the long confession that he had made at Mount-serrat. "I may possibly have forgotten something," thought he. But this confession only augmented his anguish; for it brought all his sins to his remembrance. He wandered about in a distracted and moody state; his conscience loudly telling him that during his whole past life he had but added sins to sins, and the wretched man, now a prey to overwhelming apprehensions, made the monastery resound with his groans.

¹ Victum ostiatim præcibus infimis emendicare quotidie. (Ibid. p. 23.)

² Tunc subito nulla præcedente significatione, prorsus exui nudarique se omnino sentiret. (Ibid. p. 27.)

³ Nec jam in præcibus neque in psalmis . . . ullam inveniret delectationem aut requiem. (Ibid.)

⁴ Vanis agitari terroribus, dies noctesque fletibus jungere. (Ibid. p. 28.)

Strange fancies now found access to his soul. Finding no relief in confession and the various ordinances of the Church,¹ he began, like Luther, to doubt their efficacy. But instead of turning away from what man can do to the all-sufficient work of Christ, he asked himself whether he ought not to prosecute this world's glories afresh, and rushed for a moment into the midst of the scenes he had forsaken,² but only again to withdraw from them, terror-struck at the thought of his folly.

Was there any difference, then, between the monks of Manresa and Erfurt? In their secondary features there no doubt was, but the state of their souls was essentially the same. Both had the strongest convictions of the heinousness of their sins. Both sought to be reconciled to God, and longed to have the assurance of this in their hearts. Hence, had some Staupitz presented himself with the Bible in his hand at the Manresa monastery, Inigo might perhaps have become the Luther of the peninsula. These two great men of the sixteenth century, founders of two spiritualities which have now been warring with each other for three hundred years, were at that time brothers, and, had they met, it is possible that they might have thrown themselves into each other's arms, and Luther and Loyola would have been seen mingling their tears and expressions of mutual interest and regard.

From that period, however, these two monks were to pursue totally different paths.

Instead of viewing his paroxysms of remorse as calls from above, urging him to flee to the cross, Inigo persuaded himself that these inward reproaches came not from God, but from the devil, and resolved to consign them to everlasting oblivion.³ Thus while Luther turned to Christ, Loyola only fell back upon himself.

Visions ere long confirmed Inigo in the convictions he had formed. The grace of the Lord had been superseded by his own resolutions, and now his own fancies stood to him in the place of God's Word. Having considered the voice of God in

¹ Ut nulla jam res mitigare dolorem posse videretur. (Maf. p. 29.)

² Et sæculi commodis repētendis magno quodam impetu cogitaverit. (Ibid. p. 30.)

³ Sine ulla dubitatione constituit præteritæ vitæ labes perpetua oblivione conterere. (Ibid. p. 31.)

his conscience as that of the demon, no wonder his subsequent history presents him to us as delivered over to the inspirations of the spirit of darkness.

Loyola happened one day to meet with an old woman, as Luther, at the time of his anguish, was visited by an old man. But instead of announcing the remission of his sins to the Manresa penitent, the Spanish crone foretold him that he would be favoured with apparitions of Jesus, and this was the kind of Christianity to which Loyola, like the Zwickau prophets, betook himself. He sought not the truth in holy Scripture; instead of that, he fancied that he was admitted to immediate communications with the world of spirits, and soon his whole life became one of extasies and reveries.

One day as he chanced to be going to St. Paul's church, which stood outside the town, he followed the banks of the Llobrega, immersed in thought, and at length sat down by the river side. Fixing his eyes on the stream as it rolled its deep waters in silence before him, he became lost in meditation, and fell suddenly into a trance, in which state he saw with his own eyes things which other men with difficulty comprehend after much reading, watching, and toil.¹ He rose, and as he stood by the river's side, seemed to himself to have become another man. He next threw himself on his knees at the foot of a cross that stood hard by, and felt disposed to sacrifice his life to the cause whose mysteries had been revealed to him.

His visions from that time forward became more frequent. Seated one day on a flight of steps in St. Dominick's church at Manresa he was singing psalms to the holy Virgin, when all at once he fell into an extasy; he remained motionless and lost in thought; the mystery of the holy Trinity was visibly revealed to him in magnificent symbols;² he shed tears, sobbed aloud, and, the whole day after, never ceased speaking of that ineffable vision.

These numerous apparitions dispelled all his doubts; he believed, not like Luther, because the things of faith were written in the Word of God, but because of the visions he had had. "Even had there never been a Bible," say his apologists,

¹ Quæ vix demum solent homines intelligentiæ comprehendere. (Ibid. p. 32.)

² En figuras de tres teasas.

"even had those mysteries never been revealed in the Scriptures,¹ he would have believed them, for God had unveiled himself to him."² Luther, on the occasion of his being made a doctor, swore fealty to holy Scripture, and the sole infallible authority of the Word of God became the fundamental principle of the Reformation. Loyola at the time we speak of, swore fealty to dreams and visions; and fantastic apparitions became the principle of his life and his faith.³

¹ Quod etsi nulla Scriptura, mysteria illa fidei doceret. (Act. Sanct.)

² Quæ Deo sibi aperiente cognoverat. (Maf. p. 34.)

³ As it is common for men who have no religious enthusiasm themselves, to denounce it in every case as a mixture of self-conceit, folly, and fanaticism, it is well that we attend to this parallel between Luther and Loyola; and as it has struck the historian Ranke also, who has made it the subject of some very just remarks, some of these may be introduced here as farther illustrative of the subject.

"We are here involuntarily reminded of the state of mental distress into which Luther, some years before, was plunged by very similar doubts. The high demands of religion could never be satisfied,—a full and conscious reconciliation with God could never be reached, on the ordinary road marked out by the Church, by a soul shaken to its innermost depths by struggles with itself.

"But these two remarkable men extricated themselves from this labyrinth by very different paths. Luther arrived at the doctrine of the atonement through Christ, wholly independent of works; this afforded him the key to the Scriptures, and became the main prop of his whole system of faith.

"It does not appear that Loyola examined the Scriptures, or that any particular dogma of religion made an impression on his mind. As he lived only in his own inward emotions, in thoughts which rose spontaneously in his breast, he imagined that he felt the alternate inspirations of the good and of the evil spirit. At length he learned to distinguish their influences by this,—that the soul was gladdened and consoled by the one, wearied and troubled by the other. One day he felt as if awakened from a dream. He thought he had sensible proofs that all his sufferings were assaults of Satan. He determined from that hour to have done with his past life, never to tear open these old wounds, never again to touch them. It was not so much that his mind had found repose as that he had formed a determination; rather, indeed, an engagement entered into by the will, than a conviction to which the will is compelled to yield. It needed not the aid or the influence of Scripture, it rested on the feeling of an immediate intercourse with the world of spirits.

"This would never have satisfied Luther. Luther would have no inspirations, no visions; he held them all without distinction to be mischievous; he would have only the simple, written, unquestionable Word of God. Loyola, on the contrary, lived in fancies and inward apparitions." . . . Ranke, vol. i. p. 188.

There is much truth in the remark, that with Loyola "it was rather an engagement entered into by the will than a conviction to which the will is compelled to yield." We may go farther and say that nothing but the grace of God could have given Luther either his strong conviction, or his conquest over a will so powerful and stubborn as his seems naturally to have been; whereas in Loyola nothing appears but what human nature is capable of. In our own day we have seen mighty determinations of the will in men of genius. Thus was it with Byron when he resolved to devote his energies to the cause of Greece; and with Scott when he honourably resolved to tax his mental powers until he had paid an enormous debt. In both cases the effort seems to have been too much for human nature—both seem to have fallen victims to the sternness of their own resolutions. But the Reformers found strength and comfort where they had found conviction and determination, and especially of Luther may it be said, that "the joy of the Lord was his strength." Tr.

Luther's residence in the monastery at Erfurt, and that of Loyola in the monastery at Manresa, furnish a clue to the right comprehension, the one of the Reformation, the other of modern popery.¹ We shall not follow to Jerusalem, to which he repaired

¹ This contrast and resemblance between Luther and Loyola is well worth noting, as are also the results that have followed the appearance of each of them. How far may we legitimately suppose that they were both designed by God to accomplish particular ends? May not Loyola and his zealous followers be regarded as serving the purpose of a counterpoise, not to the pure doctrine of Luther and the Reformation, but to false Protestantism, that looks only to freedom from all bonds, and is finally distinguishing itself in our times by unbridled licentiousness of mind and manners.—L. R.

So far from regarding the Jesuits as a counterpoise to false Protestantism, for reasons stated in a preceding Note, and confirmed by the fact that German neology has been traced to the anxiety of Romanists to invalidate Scriptural authority as a means of confirming that of their church, we may rather consider them as having promoted that evil. Mr. Le Roy's remark reminds one of the optimism of the learned author of the *Philosophy of History*. But there is no need for assuming that Jesuitism must have been designed, like the Reformation, for any directly good end. It is, no doubt, a wisely permitted evil—a trial to the Church's faith, out of which it will come triumphant to the glory of divine grace.

Because Loyola was superstitious, and because the Jesuits since have been zealous promoters of superstition, and particularly of the worship of the Virgin, it is not to be concluded that they do not favour free-thinking. In truth, all errors, however apparently opposite, have a secret affinity with each other; and thus superstition is often, not the counterpoise, but the next neighbour and close ally of infidelity. This view is confirmed by Ranke in the following paragraph:

"When he (Loyola) began to teach and to invite others to share with him in those spiritual exercises which he practised, he fell under the suspicion of heresy. It would have been the strangest sport of destiny, if Loyola, whose society terminated centuries afterwards in *illuminati*, had himself been connected with a sect of that name. And it cannot be denied that the *illuminati* of that time (the alumbrosos of Spain) to whom he was suspected of belonging, cherished opinions which had a considerable resemblance with his fantastic reveries," Ranke, vol. i. p. 190. But surely there is nothing so very strange in this. A Scriptural faith alone gives peace, and in the capricious endeavours of the soul to find it elsewhere, Loyola may have easily strayed into the same devious paths in the sixteenth, that his followers lost themselves in, in the eighteenth century.

These remarks apply, of course, to the religious views of Loyola and his followers. As for the political constitution of the Jesuits, we must agree with the famous de Caraduc de la Chalotais, when he says: "I repeat, then, that Laynez and Aquaviva must be regarded as the society's true founders, whose spirit, superseding that of St. Ignatius, has ever governed the Jesuits. See his *Compte Rendu*—edition of 1672, p. 72. Their views, the same powerful opponent describes as follows: "These generals formed and established the plan of the temporal empire of the society on that of the court of Rome, as it stood before their eyes. They saw an empire, half political, half ecclesiastical, a court, courtiers, finances, the union of two authorities in the person whom they regarded as the supreme monarch of the world, exercising spiritual jurisdiction himself, and by priests to whom he commits a part of it, and temporal jurisdiction to laymen whom he can safely trust; clothed with the power of transferring or suppressing empires and kingdoms, and establishing, correcting, and deposing sovereigns," (*Ibid.* p. 64.) It will be seen that nothing could present a greater contrast to the Reformation than this tremendous engine, which now, like a polypus, extends its feelers and its limbs into all parts of the world. By those who cannot study the Constitutions, a very bulky publication, the *Compte Rendu* above quoted, that of Joly de Fleury, or that of Montclar, may be consulted to advantage. The London Quarterly Review, has particularly recommended the last of the three. T₂

on his leaving the monastery, the monk who was destined to revive the spent energies of Rome. We shall yet meet with him again in the course of this history.

II. While these things were taking place in Spain, Rome itself seemed to be assuming a graver character. The grand patron of music, hunting, and festivities, had disappeared from the pontifical throne, to make way for a monk distinguished by piety and seriousness.¹

Leo X. had experienced the highest delight on hearing of the edict of Worms and Luther's captivity; and forthwith, in token of victory, he had caused the Reformer's effigy and writings to be committed to the flames;² it being the second or third time that the popedom had given itself this harmless gratification. Wishing, at the same time, to testify his gratitude to Charles V., Leo X. united his army with that of the emperor. The French had to abandon Parma, Placentia, and Milan, and the pope's cousin, cardinal Julio di Medici, entered the last of those cities. Thus the pope had just reached the highest summit of his power.

This was early in the winter of 1521; Leo X. usually passed the autumn in the country. He might then be seen leaving Rome without his surplice, and, what was still more scandalous, says his master of ceremonies, in boots. He amused himself with hawking at Viterbo, with hunting the stag at Corneto; the lake of Bolseno supplied the gratification of angling; after these he went to pass some time in festivities at Malliana, his favourite residence. Musicians, improvisators, all those artists whose talents could enliven that charming country-seat, surrounded the sovereign pontiff there. There he was when the news of the taking of Milan was brought to him—tidings which threw the whole villa into the utmost commotion. The cour-

¹ Milner says of him that "he appears to have been unfeignedly desirous of reforming Christendom in general, and the court of Rome in particular." And that "the sincerer part of the Roman Catholics had sufficient reasons to approve the elevation of Adrian to his new dignity. They looked on him as one of their best theologians; and boasted that they could now oppose to the most learned heretics a pontiff who was still more learned," &c. See Milner's Church History, vol. v. p. 100. These Romanists seem to have no great faith in the vicar of Christ's gifts as such, in looking so much to his endowments as a man. Tr.

² Comburi jussit alteram vultus in ejus statuam, alteram animi ejus in libris. (Pallavicini, i. p. 128.)

tiers and officers could not contain themselves with joy; the Swiss fired off their carabines; and Leo, no longer himself with excitement, spent the whole night pacing his room, and looking ever and anon from the window at the rejoicings of the Swiss and the people. He returned to Rome fatigued, but still intoxicated with strong emotions; and had hardly entered the Vatican when he was seized with a sudden illness. "Pray for me," said he to his attendants. He had not time even to receive the holy sacrament, and died in the flower of manhood (when forty-seven years old) in the very hour of triumph, and amid the din of public rejoicings.

The people, as they followed the bier of the sovereign pontiff, gave vent to their feelings by inveighing against him. They could not forgive him for having died without the sacraments, and for having left debts as the consequence of his immense expenditure. "Thou camest to the pontificate like a fox," said the Romans, "thou showedst thyself there like a lion, and thou hast left it like a dog."

Such was the mourning with which Rome honoured the pope who excommunicated the Reformation, and whose name serves to designate one of the grand epochs of history.

Meanwhile a feeble re-action against the spirit of Leo and of Rome, had commenced in Rome itself. Some pious men there had founded an oratory (a prayer meeting) for their common edification,¹ near the spot where tradition assures us the first meetings of the Christians were held. Contarini, who had heard Luther at Worms, was the leading person among these priests. Thus a kind of reformation commenced at Rome nearly about the same time as at Wittemberg. It has been truly said: where there are to be found the germs of piety, there also will there be the germs of reform. But these good intentions were doomed to experience a speedy blight.

At any other time, as successor to Leo X., there would have been chosen a Gregory VII. or an Innocent III., always supposing, however, that such men were to be found; but now the interests of the empire concided with those of the Church, and Charles V. stood in need of a pope who should be devoted to

¹ Si unirono in un oratorio, chiamato del divino amore, circa sessanta di loro. (Caracciolo Vita da Paolo IV. Msc. Ranke.)

him. The cardinal de Medicis, subsequently pope under the name of Clement VII., seeing that the time was not yet come for his obtaining the tiara, exclaimed: "Take the cardinal of Tortosa, a man advanced in years, and universally regarded as a saint."¹ Born at Utrecht in a family of burgher rank, that prelate was in fact elected, and reigned under the name of Adrian VI. He had once been a professor at Louvain; he afterwards became preceptor to Charles V., and, through the emperor's influence, was invested with the Roman purple in 1517. The proposition was supported by the cardinal de Vio, on the ground of Adrian's having had much to say in the condemnation of Luther by the doctors of Louvain.² Taken by surprise while worn out with fatigue, the cardinals nominated this foreigner, but soon coming to themselves again, they were almost frightened to death, says a chronicler, at what they had done. The thought that the tiara might be refused by the rigid Netherlander, gave them some relief at first, but this hope was of brief duration. Pasquin represented the pontiff who had been elected, in the guise of a schoolmaster, while the cardinals were the boys whom he was punishing. So enraged was the populace, that the members

¹ Dr. Robertson, a shrewd judge of human nature in such circumstances, represents the cardinal as in this only seeking to gain time. If his account be the true one, it shows how remarkably the Divine Providence by the smallest incidents, brings about the most important changes. Had Adrian not been elected pope, the Reformation would doubtless have fared very differently in Germany. Dr. Robertson relates the matter thus: "Great discord prevailed in the conclave which followed upon Leo's death, and all the arts natural to men grown old in intrigue, when contending for the highest prize an ecclesiastic can obtain, were practised. . . . Julio, cardinal di Medici, Leo's nephew, who was more eminent than any other member of the sacred college for his abilities, his wealth, and his experience in transacting great affairs, had already secured fifteen voices, a number sufficient, according to the forms of the conclave, to exclude any other candidate, though not to carry his own election. As he was still in the prime of life, all the aged cardinals combined against him, without being united in favour of any other person. While these factions were endeavouring to gain, to corrupt, or to weary out each other, Medici and his friends voted one morning at the scrutiny, which, according to form, was made every day, for cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who at that time governed Spain in the emperor's name. *This they did merely to protract time*; but the adverse party instantly closing with them, to their own amazement, and that of all Europe, a stranger to Italy, unknown to the persons who gave their suffrages in his favour, and unacquainted with the manners of the people, or the interest of the state, the government of which they conferred upon him, was unanimously raised to the papal throne, at a juncture so delicate and critical as would have demanded all the sagacity and experience of one of the most able prelates of the sacred college." *The Reign of the Emperor Charles V., book ii. Tr.*

² Doctores Lovanienses accepisse consilium a tam conspicuo alumno. (Palavicini, p. 136.)

of the conclave might consider themselves as fortunate in escaping from being tossed into the river.¹ In Holland, on the contrary, great demonstrations of joy showed how delighted the people were at their country having supplied the Church with a pope. "Utrecht has planted; Louvain has watered; the emperor has given the increase," was inscribed on the tapestries hung in front of the houses. Some one wrote beneath: "And God has had nothing to do with it."

Notwithstanding the discontentment at first expressed by the people of Rome, Adrian VI. repaired to that city in August 1522, and was well received. This was to be attributed to his having more than five thousand benefices at his disposal, and every one reckoning on receiving his own share. It was long since the papal throne had been occupied by such a high priest. Just, active, learned, pious, simple, and of irreproachable manners, he would not allow himself to be blinded, either by favour or resentment. He came to the Vatican with his old house-keeper, to whom he gave orders to continue the same humble provision for his moderate wants as before, although he now occupied the magnificent palace that Leo had filled with his luxury and dissipations. He had not a single taste in common with his predecessor. On being shown the magnificent group of Laocoon, which, on being recovered some years before, had been purchased by Julius II., at a heavy cost; he turned coldly away from it, remarking: "These are the idols of the pagans!" "I would much rather," he wrote, "serve God in my provostry of Louvain than be pope at Rome."

Struck with the dangers with which the Reformation menaced the religion of the middle age, and not, as the Italians were, with those to which it exposed Rome and its hierarchy, Adrian sincerely desired to oppose and to arrest it, and the best method of accomplishing this appeared to him to be a reform of the Church, effected by the Church herself. "The Church requires a reform," he would say; "but we must set about it gradually." In fact, the Church had been advancing towards a reform for ages, but there was no room left for temporising now; immediate action was necessary.

¹ Sleidan. History of the Reform. 1. p. 124.

Faithful to his plan, Adrian proposed to remove to a distance from the city all impious and perjured persons, and usurers; a task by no means easy, for they formed in fact a considerable part of the population.

The Romans began by ridiculing, but soon they hated him. Sacerdotal domination, the immense profits that accrued from it; the powerful influence, the games, the festivities, the luxuries in which it abounded, all were irrecoverably lost, if apostolic manners were to be restored.

The re-establishment of discipline, in particular, encountered an energetic opposition. "In order to attain that," said the cardinal grand penitentiary, "it is requisite that we begin by restoring Christian fervour. The cure exceeds the patient's strength, and will kill him. Tremble at the thought of losing Italy in your eagerness to preserve Germany."¹ Adrian, in fact, soon had more reason to dread Romanism than even Lutheranism itself.

Attempts were made to persuade him to enter upon the course which he wished to abandon. The aged and crafty cardinal Soderino di Volterra, the familiar friend of Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X.,² would often pour into the ears of the honest Adrian, words intended to make him fully prepared for the part, so new to him, which he was invited to act. "Heretics," said he to him one day, "have spoken at all times of the corrupt manners of the court of Rome, notwithstanding which, never have the popes changed them."—"It has never been by reforms," said he on another occasion, "that heresies have been extinguished in times past; but by crusades."—"Ah," replied the pontiff, heaving a deep sigh, "sad, indeed, is the condition of the popes, since they are not even at liberty to do good."³

III. The diet met at Nuremberg on the 23d of March, 1522, and before Adrian's arrival at Rome. Previous to that, the bishops of Merseburg and Misnia had craved permission from the elector of Saxony to make a visitation of the convents and

¹ Sarpi. Hist. of the Council of Trent, p. 20.

² Per longa esperienza delle cose del mundo, molto prudente e accorto. (Nardi. Hist. Fior. lib. 7.)

³ Sarpi. Hist. of the Council of Trent, p. 21.

churches within his territories; a request to which Frederick had given a favourable reply, considering that by that time the truth had become strong enough to resist error. The visitation took place; the bishops and their doctors preached violently against the Reformation; they exhorted, they threatened, they supplicated, but their argumentations seemed to have no force; and when, wishing to employ weapons of greater efficacy, they applied to the secular arm to have their decrees enforced, the elector's ministers told them that the matter must be examined on Scriptural principles, and that the elector, at his advanced term of life, could not set himself to study theology. These efforts on the part of the bishops did not bring back a single soul into the fold of Rome, and Luther who shortly afterwards traversed those districts, and made his powerful eloquence be heard in them, obliterated the feeble impressions which they had here and there produced.

What Frederick refused to do, it was feared might be done by the emperor's brother, the arch-duke Ferdinand. That young prince who presided at part of the sittings of the diet, as he gradually acquired more firmness of purpose, might well have been expected to show his zeal in rashly unsheathing the sword which his more prudent and politic brother wisely suffered to remain in the scabbard. Ferdinand, in fact, had begun a cruel persecution of the partisans of the Reformation in his hereditary state. But God, in divers successive instances, employed for the deliverance of reviving Christianity, the same instrument that he had employed in the destruction of corrupt Christianity. The crescent appeared in the terrified provinces of Hungary, and on the 9th of August, after a six weeks' siege, Belgrade, the bulwark of that kingdom and of the empire, fell under the attacks of Soliman. Mahomet's followers after having evacuated Spain,¹

¹ The adherents of Mahomet, here referred to under the emblem of the crescent, as the sign of their religion, to wit, the Moors or Saracens, in the beginning of the eighth century had made themselves masters of nearly the whole of Spain, and having even penetrated into France, would soon have reduced all Europe under their dominion, had not Charles Martel, grandfather of Charlemagne, beaten them and compelled them to confine themselves within the confines of Spain, then completely subject to them, and in which they erected sundry monarchies, which afterwards, one after another, in consequence of conquests over the Moors, came under the dominion of Christian princes, until about the end of the fifteenth century, the former, and with them the Mahomedan religion, were completely driven out of Spain. But just about this

discovered intentions of re-entering Europe by the East. The diet of Nuremberg forgot the monk of Worms while thinking only of the sultan of Constantinople, but Charles embraced both these opponents in his mind. "We must," he wrote to the pope from Valladolid on the 31st of October, "we must stop the progress of the Turks, and punish with the sword the partisans of Luther's poisoned doctrine."¹

But the storm which had seemed to leave the Reformation and to turn towards the East, soon concentrated itself anew on the head of the Reformer. All the hatred he had incurred was roused again into activity by his return to Wittenberg, and by the zeal that he displayed while there. "Now that we know where to lay hold of him," said duke George, "let the edict of Worms be enforced against him!" It was even strongly asserted in Germany that Charles V. and Adrian would meet at Nuremberg, to deliberate on the subject.² "Satan feels the wound he has received," said Luther; "therefore does he put himself into such a rage. But Christ has already held out his hand, and will soon trample him under foot in spite of the gates of hell."³

The diet met anew at Nuremberg in December 1522. All things seemed to betoken that though Soliman was the grand foe that had occupied the attention of the spring sittings, Luther would form the engrossing subject of the winter deliberations. Adrian VI. himself of German origin, flattered himself that his own country would give him a reception that no pope of Italian origin could ever look for.⁴ Consequently he charged Chieregati, whom he had known in Spain, to repair to Nuremberg.

Hardly was the diet met when several of the princes spoke with violence against Luther. The cardinal archbishop of Salz-

period, the Mahomedan religion penetrated into our quarter of the world with the Turks on the other side; these established themselves there, after the taking of Constantinople, and by their endeavours to penetrate beyond that, about the time of the Reformation, often threw European Christendom into new alarms and into great jeopardy.—L. R.

¹ Dass man die Nachfolger derselben vergiften Lehre, mit dem Schwert strafen mag. (L. Opp. xvii. p. 321.)

² Cum fama sit fortis et Cæsarem et Papam Nurnbergam conventuros. (L. Opp. ii. p. 214.)

³ Sed Christus qui cœpit conteret eum. (Ibid. p. 215.)

⁴ Quod ex ea regione venirent, unde nobis secundum carnem origo est. (Pope's brief, L. Opp. lat. ii. p. 352.)

burg, who enjoyed the emperor's whole confidence, would have had prompt and decisive measures taken previous to the arrival of the elector of Saxony. The elector Joachim of Brandenburg, always firm in the course he took, and the chancellor of Treves, with no less earnestness urged the execution of the edict of Worms. The other princes were nearly all at a loss how to act, and disunited among themselves; and altogether the painful uncertainty in which the Church was placed, keenly afflicted her most faithful servants. "I would give one of my ten fingers not to be priest,"¹ was the exclamation of the bishop of Strasburg, in a full diet.

Chierigati agreed with the cardinal of Salzburg, in calling for Luther's being put to death. "This gangrened member," said he, speaking for the pope, and holding in his hand a brief from the pontiff, "must be separated entirely from the main body.² Your fathers saw to the execution, at Constance, of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; but both live again in Luther. Follow the glorious example of your ancestors, and with the help of God, and that of St. Peter, go forth and gain a magnificent victory over the infernal dragon."

The greater number of the princes were seized with consternation when they heard this brief from the pious and moderate Adrian.³ Many were beginning to have a better comprehension of Luther's arguments, and had looked for something very different from the pope. So, then, Rome, even under an Adrian, will not own its faults; but still shakes its thunderbolts, and the German provinces are doomed to be covered with desolation and blood! While the princes maintained a sullen silence, the prelates and such members of the diet as were devoted to Rome, tumultuously bestirred themselves. "Let him be put to death,"⁴ they shouted, according to the account left us by the Saxon envoy who was present at the sitting.

Words of very different purport, met men's ears in the churches of Nuremberg. Crowds rushed to hear the Gospel into the chapel of the hospital, and into the churches of the Augus-

¹ Er wollte einen Finger drum geben. (Seckend. p. 568.)

² Resecandos uti membra jam putrida, a sano corpore. (Pallavicini. i. 158.)

³ Einen grossen Schrecken eingejagt. (Ibid. p. 552.)

⁴ Nicht anders geschrien denn *Crucifige! Crucifige!* (L. Opp. xviii. p. 367.)

tinians, of St. Sebald and St. Lawrence. In the last of those places of worship, Andrew Osiander preached with great force. Many princes, and, in particular, Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, who as grand master of the Teutonic order, ranked immediately after the archbishops, often attended there. Monks who had abandoned different monasteries in the town, set themselves to learn trades with the view of earning their bread by their labour.

Such audacity Chieregati could not tolerate. He insisted on the rebellious priests and monks being cast into prison, and the diet, notwithstanding the warm opposition of the elector of Saxony's envoys, and of the margrave Casimir, resolved to cause the monks to be apprehended; but it consented to Osiander and his colleagues having the nuncio's complaints first communicated to them. A committee, with the fanatical cardinal of Salzburg at its head, was charged with giving effect to this resolution. The hazard was now imminent; the struggle was about to commence, and it was the (supreme) council itself of the nation that was entering upon it.

This conflict, notwithstanding, was prevented by the burgesses. While the diet was consulting what should be done with the ministers in question, the council of the city of Nuremberg was deliberating upon the course it ought to pursue in regard to the resolution of the diet. It decreed, without thereby exceeding its legitimate powers, that if it were meant that the city preachers should be carried off by force, by force also should they be set at liberty. Such a resolution was sufficiently significative, and was followed by the astonished diet replying to the nuncio, that they were not authorised to apprehend the preachers of the free city of Nuremberg, without having first convicted them of heresy.

Chieregati was excited beyond measure at this new outrage against the pope's omnipotence. "Very well!" said he haughtily to Ferdinand, "do you remain passive, but allow me to act. I will cause these heretics to be apprehended in the name of the pope."¹ Hardly were the cardinal-archbishop — Albert of Maintz, and the margrave Casimir apprised of this strange reso-

¹ Sese auctoritate pontifica curaturum ut isti caperentur. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 606.)

lution, when they hastened to see the legate, and besought him to abandon it. The nuncio showed no disposition to yield, maintaining that in the midst of Christendom the pope must be obeyed; whereupon the two princes left the legate with these words: "If you persist in your design, we insist on your intimating it to us, for we will leave the city before you shall have dared to lay hands on those preachers."¹ The legate's project was given up.

Despairing of success by the way of authority, he resolved to have recourse to other expedients, and with this view communicated to the diet the designs and mandates of the pontiff which he had hitherto withheld.

But the honest-hearted Adrian was so much a stranger to the world, that by his very frankness he hurt the cause which he so sincerely desired to serve. "We are well aware," he said in the resolutions sent to his legate, "that for many years past several abuses and abominations have found their way into the holy city.² The contagion has passed from the head into the members; it has gone down from the pope into other ecclesiastical persons. We would fain reform this Roman court whence proceed so many evils; the whole world desires this, and for this object we consented to ascend the throne of the pontiff's."³

¹ Priusquam illi caperentur, se urbe cessuros esse. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 606.)

² In eam sedem aliquot jam annos quædam vitia irrepsisse, abusus in rebus sacris, in legibus violationes, in cunctis denique perversionem. (Pallavicini, i. p. 160. See also Sarpi, p. 25. L. Opp. xviii. p. 329, &c.)

³ "We have all," the pope farther said, "every one of us turned to his own way, and for a long while none hath done good, no, not one. Let us give glory to God and humble our souls before him; and every individual among us consider how great has been his own fall, and judge himself that God may not judge us in his wrath. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to reform the court of Rome, whence, perhaps, all the mischief hath originated; that as this court hath been the source of the corruptions which have thence spread among the lower orders, so from the same a sound reformation may proceed."

Had Adrian been perfectly sincere in speaking thus, instead of insisting on the death of Luther, he would have found abundant excuses for the Reformer's proceedings in the abuses which he admits, and would have applied his severity to criminals at Rome. Nor is this charge against his sincerity singular. Milner says: "The cardinals at Rome are said to have been much displeased at the candid concessions of Adrian; though Sleidan on this occasion intimates, that the pontiff's long and elaborate promises of his intentions to reform the Church, probably amounted to no more than an artifice, often employed by the popes, to raise men's expectations, delay the calling of a general council, and gain time for sounding the dispositions of princes; and for taking, meanwhile, effectual measures to secure the apostolical power and dignity. Luther appears to have thought the same; for he translated the pontifical mandates into German, and added short marginal notes: one of which, on the expression "the cure must

The partisans of Rome blushed with shame at hearing such strange language, and thought, with Pallavicini, that there was too much sincerity in these admissions.¹ The friends of the Reformation, on the other hand, rejoiced to see Rome herself proclaim her corruption. None could doubt now that Luther was right, since the pope himself declared it.

The answer returned by the diet made it appear how much the authority of the sovereign pontiff had declined in Europe. The spirit of Luther seemed to have passed into the hearts of the nation's representatives. The moment was favourable: Adrian's ear seemed open; the emperor was absent; the diet resolved to amass, in one body, all the grievances which Germany had had for ages to allege against Rome, and to send them to the pope.

This determination frightened the legate; by turns he supplicated and threatened, but in vain. The secular estates had made up their minds, and the ecclesiastical ones did not oppose their design. Eighty grievances were signalled out. The abuses and the artifices of the popes, and of the Roman court, for the impoverishment of Germany; the scandals and profanations of the clergy, the disorders and simoniacal practices of the ecclesiastical courts, and the encroachments made by the secular power with the view of enslaving men's consciences, were exposed with equal frankness and force.² The states signified that the source

proceed step by step" is sufficiently sarcastic, namely,—You are to understand these words to mean that there must be an interval of *SOME AGES* between each step." Milner, *Century* xv. chap. vi. Tr.

¹ *Liberioris tamen quam par erat, sinceritatis fuisse visum est, ea conventui patefacere.* (Ibid. p. 162.)

² Dr. Lingard, in his history of England, is compelled to admit that Germany had many grounds of complaint against Rome. He states them thus:

1. There existed in Germany a very prevalent feeling of disaffection to the see of Rome. The violent contests between the popes and the emperors in former times, had left a germ of discontent which required but little aid to shoot into open hostility: and the minds of men had of late years been embittered by frequent but useless complaints of the expedients devised by the papal court, to fill its treasury at the expense of the natives.

2. The chief of the German princes were at the same time secular princes and as they had been promoted more on account of their birth than of their merit, they frequently seemed to merge their spiritual in their temporal character. Hence they neglected the episcopal function: the clergy, almost free from restraints, became illiterate and immoral: and the people, ceasing to respect those whom they could not esteem, inveighed against the riches of the Church, complained of the severity with which the clerical dues were exacted in the spiritual courts, and loudly called for the removal of many real or imaginary grievances, which arose from the demands of the popes, and the exercise

of all this corruption lay in the traditions of men, and they wound up by saying: "If these grievances be not redressed within a set time, we shall think of other means of escape from so many oppressions and sufferings."¹ Foreseeing the terrible resolution which the diet was about to draw up, Chiericati quitted Nuremberg in all haste, in order to avoid being the bearer of so sad and so insolent a message.

Meanwhile was there no room to dread that the diet might seek to redeem its hardihood by sacrificing Luther? This was at first thought of; but a spirit of justice and of truth had breathed upon the meeting. It, like Luther, called for a free council being convened in the empire, and added, that while waiting for this being done, the pure Gospel alone should be piously and peaceably preached, and that nothing should be printed without the approbation of a certain number of men of probity and learning.² These resolutions enable us to appreciate the immense steps made by the Reformation since the proceedings at Worms; and yet the Saxon envoy, the knight von Feilitsch, solemnly protested against the censorship of books, moderate as it was, which was prescribed by the diet. In the decision of that body we see the Reformation gain a first victory, and one that would be succeeded by others still more decisive. It made the very Swiss exult with joy in their mountains. "The Roman pontiff has been vanquished in Germany," said

of the episcopal jurisdiction, and which for years had been the subject of consultations, of remonstrances, and even of menaces. These attempts had indeed failed: but the success of Luther revived the hopes of the discontented: and thousands ranged themselves under the banner of the innovator, without any idea of trenching on the ancient faith, and led solely by the hope of reforming abuses.

3. The recent invention of printing, by multiplying the copies of books, and the numbers of readers, had given a new and extraordinary impulse to the powers and passions of men, who began to conceive that their ancestors had been kept not only in intellectual but also in civil thralldom. Works descriptive of their rights, were circulated and read with avidity: the oppression exercised by their rulers, and the redress of their grievances, became the ordinary topics of conversation: and the inferior nobles in each state laboured to emancipate themselves from the control of their princes, and to establish their dependence on the empire alone. All Germany was in a ferment: and Luther converted the general feeling to his own purpose with admirable address. *They* contended for civil; *he* for religious liberty. Both had a similar object in view; both ought to support each other. . . . See Lingard, vol. iv. p. 104. **Tr.**

¹ Wie sie solcher Beschwerde und Drangsaal entladen werden. (L. Opp. xviii. p. 354.)

² Ut pie placideque purum Evangelium prædicaretur. (Pal. i. p. 166.—Sleidan, i. p. 135.)

Zwingli. "Nothing more remains to be done than to wrest his arms from him. Such is the battle that lies before us and it will be the most furious, but we have Christ as a witness of the combat."¹ Luther openly avows that it was God himself who inspired the princes to pass such an edict.²

¹ Victus est ac ferme profligatus e Germania Romanus pontifex. (Zw. Epp. 313. 11th October, 1523.)

² The resolutions of the diet were dated March, 1523. Notwithstanding the emperor's absence they were called the edict of Charles V., and were published throughout Germany, together with the pope's brief and his instructions to his nuncio, the answers and replies, and the famous hundred grievances, *centum gravamina*, of the German nation.

M. Michelet infers from Luther's correspondence in 1523, that the Reformer had begun to despond, though, as the letter M. M. quotes to that effect clearly shows, without manifesting the least anxiety as to his own fate. But the result of this diet, whatever else there might be to discourage him, evidently inspired him with fresh hopes for the cause of religion and his country. "Luther," says Milner, "instantly saw his advantage and availed himself of it with that undaunted courage which constantly marked his character, and, also, with a defensive dexterity which was the result of much experience in repelling the incessant attacks of his enemies."

He published an address to the princes and noblemen of Germany, in which he gratefully acknowledged the satisfaction which their late edict had afforded him; but he had observed, he said, that many persons, and even some of rank and distinction, were disposed to wrest the mandates of the diet from their true meaning." (See Milner, vol. v. p. 116.) Luther then pleads powerfully for such an interpretation as most accorded with his own views as a Reformer, 1st. As regarded the teaching of the Gospel *in the sense approved by the Church of Christ*; confirming his conclusion by the fact that the resolution on that head, could not obtain the subscription of several of the princes who were obstinately opposed to every attempt at reformation in religion. The church of Rome, he laments to say, could not possibly obey the edict, for alas! they had no preachers of the Gospel. "Moreover," he adds, "if they were but willing to preach the pure Gospel of Christ, there would at once be a most glorious end of all our dissensions! The harvest truly is plenteous but the labourers are few. We must therefore pray our heavenly Father that he would send labourers into his harvest. We cannot procure them by our own exertions, neither can the emperor by his edicts bestow them on the Church; they are the gift of heaven. The schools and the colleges of the priests and the monks do not furnish them."

2d. Luther remarks that a compliance with the letter and spirit of the edict on the part of the ecclesiastical rulers, would involve a most wonderful change in them, by substituting mild and affectionate exhortations for their present system of coercion by flames, anathemas, and excommunications. "Had they treated me," says he, "in the Christian manner now recommended by the princes, their own affairs would have been in a much better condition." . . .

3d. The article establishing the censorship of books by proper judges, he remarks, had been practically adopted during the preceding year at Wittemberg. The publication of the Scriptures, which was nowise to be fettered, was the only exception.

4th. He entreats them to mitigate the decree against the marriage of the clergy, begs them to consider God's revealed will on that point, and assures them that did they but know what he did, of the interior practices of the monasteries, they would join him in wishing them to be levelled with the ground, rather than that they should afford occasion for the committing of such dreadful impieties; admitting, at the same time, that the limitation of the punishment of married ecclesiastics to the penalties of the canon law, implied a severe censure of those cruel bishops and princes who had tormented such offenders with perpetual imprisonments, or even inflicted death itself upon them. He further

Great was the wrath at the Vatican among the ministers of the popedom. What! it is not enough to have a pope who cheats all the expectations of the Romans, and in whose palace nobody ever sings or plays;¹ we must further have secular princes holding such language as Rome detests, and refusing to inflict death on the Wittemberg heretic.

Adrian himself warmed with indignation at what was passing in Germany, and on the elector of Saxony he vented all his wrath. Never did the pontiffs of Rome utter a cry of alarm more energetic, more sincere, or perhaps more affecting.

"We have waited long, perhaps too long," said the pious Adrian, in the brief he addressed to the elector; "we have wished to see whether God would visit your soul,² and whether you were not to escape at last from the snares of Satan. But

owns, that if the decree enjoining the preaching of the Gospel were duly observed, the rigour of the canon law would *in practice* be sure to be mitigated.

But the greatest advantage, Milner observes, which Luther and his cause derived from the decisions of the diet of Nuremberg, was the virtual suspension of the imperial edict of Worms. In August of that year (1523) Luther writes as follows to the imperial lieutenants, present at the diet of Nuremberg: "It seems to me, also, that by the terms of the imperial edict, rendered in March last, I ought to be delivered from the ban and excommunication till the future council: otherwise, I cannot understand what is meant by the reference (to a council) mentioned in that document; for I consent to observe the conditions on which it is founded. . . . Beyond this it matters not. My life is of small consequence. The world has enough of me and I of it: whether I be under the ban or not, is a matter of indifference. But pity, at least, the poor people, dear Lords. In their name it is that I beseech you to hear me." (See Michelet, vol. i. p. 305). Thus notwithstanding what Dr. Lingard says of the virtual abolition of the edict of Worms shortly after its being passed, Luther evidently attached much importance to its formal repeal. It might be only a bugbear, but even that bugbear he desires should be removed for the sake of "the poor people" whom it frightened away from the Gospel. "Luther," says Milner, boldly asserted his right to draw this inference from the terms in which the princes had expressed their edict. "By this decree," said he, "I do maintain that Martin Luther stands absolved from all the consequences of the former sentence of the pope and emperor until a future council shall have tried his cause, and pronounced their definite sentence. For if this be not the meaning of the decree I am at a loss to find any other." . . . Tr.

¹ Adrian appears to have disgusted the Romans by his favouritism as well as by his severity. Rycault, in his continuation of Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, says that "he made confidants of none but of such men only, as were of his own country: his secretaries that were most intimate with him, and privy to all his designs and secrets, were William Eikenwort, whom he had made chief datary, and bishop of Tortosa,—the only cardinal created by him, and Theodorick Hetius, both Dutchmen, and John Rufus, who had been his old acquaintances and creatures, by whose counsels and advice he contrived and acted all matters which had relation to the government; and seldom communicated his counsels and designs to the college but only to his Dutchmen, whom he often praised for their sincere and real intentions, without fraud or artifice, and for being truly faithful to the Church and loyal to him." Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, continued by Paul Rycault 1685. part ii. p. 44. Tr.

² Gott habe solches E. G. eingegeben. (L. Opp. xviii. 476.)

where we had hoped to gather grapes, we have found nought but wild grapes. The blast has been blown in vain; thy wickednesses have not melted away. Open then thine eyes, and behold how great has been thy fall! . . .

"If the unity of the Church be no more, if the simple have been turned away from the faith they drew from their mother's breasts, if the churches be deserted, the people left without priests, and the priests without the honour which is their due, if Christians be without Christ, to whom do we owe all this, if it be not to thee?¹ . . . If Christian peace have fled from the earth, if nought be found on earth but discord, rebellion, robberies, assassination, and fire-raising; if the shout of war resound from East to West, if an universal battle be preparing, for all this it is thou, even thou, that art to blame!

"Seest thou not that sacrilegious man (Luther) rending with his guilty hands, and trampling with his filthy feet the images of the saints, and even the sacred cross of Jesus Christ? . . . Seest thou not with what impious rage, he urges on the laity to imbrue their hands in the blood of the priests, and to overthrow the Churches of the Lord.

"And what though the priests whom he attacks be bad priests? Hath not the Lord said: *All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works*; thus showing the honour that pertains to them even when their life is blame-worthy.²

"Rebellious apostate, he is not ashamed to pollute the vessels that have been consecrated to God; he snatches from their sanctuaries holy virgins consecrated to Christ, and gives them to the devil; he takes the priests of the Lord and delivers them to infamous prostitutes. . . . Frightful profanation, which the very pagans would have condemned with dismay, had they found it done by the high priests of their idols!

"Of what punishment, what martyrdom then, thinkest thou we shall judge you deserving? . . . Pity thine ownself, pity those wretched Saxons of thine; for if thou dost not speedily

¹ Dass die Kirchen ohne Volk sind, dass die Völker ohne Priester sind, dass die Priester ohne Ehre sind, und dass die Christen ohne Christo sind. (L. Opp. xviii. p. 371.)

² Wenn sie gleich eines verdammten Lebens sind. (Ibid. p. 379.)

repent, God will make the thunders of his vengeance to descend upon thee.

“In the name of Almighty God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose representative I am upon the earth, I declare that thou shalt be punished in this world, and that thou shalt be plunged into the eternal fire in that which is to come! Repent, and be converted! . . . The two swords are suspended above thy head; the sword of the empire, and the sword of the pope-don.¹” . . .

The godly Frederick shuddered when he read this threatening brief. He had written to the emperor shortly before, to tell him that old age and ill health rendered him incapable of occupying himself with these affairs; and to this an answer was returned in the most audacious letter ever received by a sovereign prince. Though enfeebled by age, he cast his eyes on the sword which, in the days of his vigour, he had carried with him to the holy sepulchre. He began to think that he must unsheath it for the protection of the consciences of his subjects, and that, though tottering on the brink of the grave, he was not to have the satisfaction of going down to it in peace. He immediately wrote to the fathers of the Reformation at Wittenberg, asking their advice.

There, too, there were forecastings of troubles and persecutions. “What shall I say,” wrote the gentle Melancthon, “to which side shall I turn? Hate overwhelms us, and the whole world is transported with rage against us.”² Luther, Link, Melancthon, Bugenhagen and Amsdorff held a joint consultation on the answer to be transmitted to the elector. They were all nearly of the same opinion as to what it should be, and the counsels they sent are very remarkable:

“No prince,” said they, “can undertake a war without the consent of the people from whose hands he has received the government.³ Now, the people have no wish to fight for the

¹ This is certainly a remarkable letter of pope Adrian's. How grievously may prejudice blind an otherwise honest and well-meaning person, so as to make him regard opposition to human inventions as sacrilege, and on that account give vent to his hatred by condemning, and even slandering the innocent.—How much need have we to watch against it, and to seek nothing but the truth, and that with a wholly devoted heart, from God.—L. R.

² Quid dicam? Quo me vertam? (Corp. Ref. i. p. 627.)

³ Principi nullum licet suscipere bellum, nisi consentiente populo, a quo accepit imperium. (Ibid. p. 601.)

Gospel, not having faith in it themselves. Let not, then, the princes take up arms: they are the princes of the Gentiles, that is, of unbelievers." Thus, it was the impetuous Luther who besought the sage Frederick to return the sword into its scabbard; nor could he have given a better answer to the reproach brought against him by the pope, of urging the laity to imbrue their hands in the blood of the clergy. Few characters have been less correctly understood than his. This advice was dated 8th February, 1523. Frederick restrained himself.¹

The pope's anger soon bore its fruits. Those princes who had openly detailed their complaints against Rome, dismayed at their own hardihood, now would fain expiate it by acts of complaisance. Many said to themselves, moreover, that victory would remain on the pope's side, inasmuch as it seemed the stronger of the two. "In our days," said Luther, "princes content themselves with saying, three times three make nine; or

¹ Frederick the Wise was so much offended with these accusations of the pope, says Milner, that he seems for a moment to have forgotten those discreet maxims by which he had constantly regulated his conduct.

John Planitz, a German nobleman, represented him in the imperial council of regency at Nuremberg, and to him the elector wrote that he had never imagined it possible that he should receive so extraordinary a letter as the pontifical brief; nay, he was inclined to suspect its being a forgery. He wished the papal legate to be told that he himself would write to the council of regency that he was ready to appear and defend himself before them and the emperor. But Planitz who appears to have been a sincere friend to Luther, urged that it would be imprudent for his master to entrust his reputation to such partial judges; that much injury to the Protestant cause would infallibly ensue; and that he had better content himself with returning general answers to the pope's objections. Frederick, easily persuaded to abandon a resolution so opposite to his usual system, transmitted a written defence to Adrian himself, expressed concisely and in general terms, while to the legate he directed a brief explanation to be given of the line of conduct he had pursued throughout Luther's business. The elector avoided personal altercation with the pope; but to the legate he positively insisted on the fact that his only promise to Cajetan was that, "in the hope of putting an end to ecclesiastical dissensions, he would stand engaged to compel Luther to appear before the cardinal at Augsburg." See Milner, vol. v. p. 114.

Milner subjoins in a Note a letter from Planitz to the elector, expressing that wary counsellor's total want of confidence in the pope's promises to redress many of their grievances. "Why," says Planitz, "should we have thought it necessary to write to Ferdinand, the brother and representative of the emperor, as you will perceive by the enclosed copy, he has done, to instigate him to use a rod. We might as well have spoken out at once, and said a rod of iron. Surely if he were a shepherd of Christ's flock, he would think it his duty to cultivate peace, to investigate the truth, and to prevent errors and schisms, by mild, and not by compulsory methods." . . .

Frederick was much displeased with some parts of the diet's answer to the legate, particularly that which seemed to threaten the clergy with a species of inquisition that would inevitably fetter them in preaching the Gospel; and before the final resolution of the diet, he directed a formal protest to be entered in his name against every such restraint. (See Milner as above.) Tr.

twice seven makes fourteen: the thing has been rightly calculated, and it will succeed. Thereupon our Lord God doth arise and saith: "For how many then do ye reckon me?" . . . For a zero perhaps? . . . He then confounds all their reckonings, and their calculations are found to be false."¹

IV. The fiery flames vomited forth by the meek and gentle Adrian, kindled the conflagration; his roaring made all Christendom bestir itself. Persecution, after being checked for a time, burst forth afresh. Luther trembled for Germany, and made efforts to conjure the storm. "If the princes," said he, "oppose the truth, the result will be a tumult which will destroy princes, magistrates, priests and people. I tremble at the prospect of the whole of Germany soon swimming in blood.² Let us lift ourselves up as a wall, and preserve our people from the fury of our God! The nations are not now what they have hitherto been.³ The sword of civil wars hangs over the heads of kings. They would destroy Luther, but Luther would save them. Christ lives and reigns; I shall live and reign with him.⁴"

These words produced no effect. Rome hastened onwards in the career of fire and blood. The Reformation, like Christ himself, was not come to bring peace but a sword. Persecution was required in the order of God's dealings; and as some things are hardened by fire for the purpose of defending them from the influence of the atmosphere, thus were fiery trials to guard the truths of the Gospel from the influence of the world. But more than this was effected by them: they served, as in the early times of Christianity, to kindle everywhere in men's hearts, enthusiasm for a cause so furiously persecuted. A holy indignation against injustice and violence, springs up in man from the time that he begins to know the truth. An instinct proceeding from God, impels him to side with the oppressed; and at the same time, the faith of martyrs elevates him, takes possession of him, and allures him to that salutary doctrine which gives so much courage and so much peace.

¹ So kehrt er ihnen auch die Rechnung gar um. (L. Opp. xxii. 1831.)

² Ut videar mihi videre Germaniam in sanguine natam. (L. Epp. ii. p. 156.)

³ Cogitent populos non esse tales modo, quales hactenus fuerunt. (Ibid. p. 157.)

⁴ Christus meus vivit et regnat, et ego vivam et regnabo. (Ibid. p. 158.)

Duke George took the lead in this persecution; but deeming it a small matter when confined to his own states, he particularly wanted it to ravage electoral Saxony, that focus of heresy, and did his utmost to shake the convictions of the elector and duke John. "Merchants," he wrote to them from Nuremberg, "coming from Saxony relate strange things about that country, and things contrary to the honour of God and of his saints: people are there receiving the holy sacrament with the hand! . . . The bread and wine are consecrated in the language of the people; the blood of Christ is put into common vessels, and a man at Eulenberg, as an insult to the priest, even entered the Church mounted on an ass! Accordingly, what are the consequences? The mines with which God had enriched Saxony, have been exhausted since the innovating preachings of Luther. Oh! would to God that they who boast of having raised up the Gospel again in the electorate, had rather taken it to Constantinople. Luther has a sweet and pleasant song, but an empoisoned tail which stings like a scorpion. Let us make ready for battle! Let us cast into chains these apostate monks and these impious priests; and that without delay, for our heads and beards are growing white with age, and warn us that time for action is but short.¹ "

Thus wrote duke George to the elector. The latter firmly and mildly replied, that whosoever should commit any wicked act within his territories, should not escape the condemnation he deserved; but as for men's consciences, such things must be left to God.²

Unable to persuade Frederick, George now began to indulge his rage on every side, by attacking the work he so much hated. He threw the monks and priests who followed Luther's opinions into prison; he recalled the students belonging to his states, from universities tainted with the Reformation; and he issued orders that all copies of the New Testament found in the vulgar tongue, should be delivered up to the magistrates. The same measures were taken in Austria, in Wurtemberg, and in the duchy of Brunswick.

But it was in the Low Countries, under the immediate

¹ Wie ihre Bärt und Haare ausweisen. (Seckendorf, p. 482.)

² Musse man solche Dinge Gott überlassen. (Ibid. p. 485.)

authority of Charles V., that persecution burst forth with the greatest violence. The Augustinian monastery at Antwerp, was full of monks who had welcomed the truths of the Gospel. Several of the friars there had past some time at Wittemberg, and since 1519, salvation by grace had been preached in their church with great energy. The prior, James Probst, a man of ardent temper, and Melchior Mirisch who was distinguished, on the contrary, by his prudence and address, were seized and taken to Brussels, towards the close of the year 1521. There they were sisted before Aleander, Glapio, and sundry other prelates. Taken by surprise, confounded, frightened, Probst retracted; but Melchior Mirisch contrived to soften his judges, and thus escaped both condemnation and retractation.

These persecutions did not intimidate the monks that were still left in the monastery at Antwerp; they continued to preach the Gospel strenuously. The people flocked to hear in crowds, so that at Antwerp as well as Wittemberg, the church of the Augustinians was found too small for those who frequented it. In October, 1522, the storm that had been brewing, burst upon them the monastery was shut up; the monks were thrown into prison and condemned to death.¹ Some succeeded in their attempts to escape. Women, forgetting the timidity of their sex, rescued one of them, Henry van Zutphen, from his executioners.² Three young monks, Henry Voes, John Esch, and Lambert Thorn, eluded for a time the vigilance of the inquisitors. All the vessels belonging to the monastery were sold; the building itself was barricaded; the holy sacrament was removed as from an infamous place; Margaret, the governante of the Low Countries, solemnly received it into the Church of the Holy Virgin;³ orders were given that not one stone of that heretical monastery should be left upon another, and several burgesses and women of the city who had gladly heard the Gospel were cast into prison.⁴

Luther was overwhelmed with grief on hearing of these things. "The cause we are defending," said he, "is no longer a mere play; it exacts life and blood."⁵

¹ Zum Tode verurtheilet. (Seckendorf, p. 265.)

² Quomodo mulieres vi Henricum liberarint. (L. Epp. ii. p. 265.)

³ Susceptum honorifice a domina Margareta. (Ibid.)

⁴ Cives aliquos (?), et mulieres vexatæ et punitæ. (Ibid.)

⁵ Et vitam exigit et sanguinem. (Ibid. p. 181.)

Mirisch and Probst lived to experience very different lots in life. The prudent Mirisch ere long became the docile servant of Rome, and executor of the imperial edicts against the partisans of the Reformation.¹ Probst, on the contrary, on escaping from the inquisitors, deplored his sin, retracted his retraction, and boldly preached the doctrine he had abjured, at Bruges, in Flanders. Arrested anew and imprisoned at Brussels, his death seemed inevitable.² But a Franciscan taking pity upon him, aided his escape; and Probst, "saved by a miracle of God," said Luther, arrived at Wittenberg, where his two-fold deliverance filled the hearts of the friends of the Reformation with joy.^{3 4}

The Romish priests were now everywhere on the alert. The town of Miltenberg on the Mayne, belonging to the elector-archbishop of Maintz, was one of the German cities that had most eagerly received the Word of God, and its inhabitants fondly loved their pastor, John Draco, one of the most enlightened men of his time. He was constrained to retire to a distance; but the Romish ecclesiastics, dreading the popular resentment, took fright and retired at the same time. One evangelical deacon alone remained for the consolation of men's souls. Troops from Maintz then entered and spread themselves through the town, with their mouths full of blasphemies, brandishing their swords, and giving themselves up to debauchery.⁵

These soldiers slew some of the evangelical Christians;⁶ others they seized and cast into prison; the Romish rites were restored;

¹ Est executor Cæsaris contra nostros. (Ibid. p. 207.)

² Domo captum, exustum credimus. (Ibid. p. 214.)

³ Jacobus, Dei miraculo liberatus, qui nunc agit nobiscum. (L. Epp. ii. p. 182.) This letter, which in Mr. von Wettés collection stands under the date of 14th April, ought to be placed after the month of June; for on the 26th of June, Luther says that Probst had been apprehended a second time and was to be burnt. It cannot be admitted that Probst could have been at Wittenberg between his two captivities, for Luther could not have said of a Christian who had saved himself by a retraction, that he had been delivered by a miracle of God. Perhaps for *in die* S. Tiburtii we ought to read in the date of the letter, *in die* S. Turiafi, which would correspond to 13th of July, a date which to me seems the most probable.

⁴ M. Michelet adverts to the circumstances that had occurred at Antwerp in terms that leave it doubtful how far the party guilty of violence were the Romanists or the Protestants. "In vain," says he, "did Luther recommend the avoidance of all violence; the Reformation escaped from his hands while it daily extended itself beyond his reach, (*au dehors*)."⁵ And he then quotes Luther's recapitulation of the Antwerp transactions. TR.

⁵ So sie doch schändlicher leben denn Huren und Buben. (L. Epp. ii. p. 482.)

⁶ Schlug etliche todt. (Seckendorf, p. 604.)

the reading of the Bible was interdicted, and the inhabitants were forbidden so much as to mention the Gospel, even in their most private conversations. At the first appearance of the troops, the deacon took refuge in the house of a widow, but being denounced to the commanding officers, these sent a soldier to apprehend him. The humble deacon, hearing the soldier who had come to seek his life in haste to execute his errand, calmly waited for his entering, and just as his room-door suddenly opened, he mildly went up to him, cordially embraced him, and said: "I greet you, my brother; see, plunge your sword into my breast."¹ Astonished at such a reception, the fierce soldier allowed the sword to drop from his hands, and would allow no one to injure the pious evangelist.

Meanwhile the Netherlands inquisitors, in their thirst for blood, beat the country in all directions for the young Augustinians who had escaped from the persecution at Antwerp. Esch, Voes, and Lambert, being discovered at last, were thrown into chains, and taken to Brussels. Egmondanus, Hochstraten, and some other inquisitors summoned them before them. "Retract," said Hochstraten, "your assertion that the priest has no power to forgive sin, and that that power belongs to God alone." He proceeded to enumerate all the other evangelical doctrines, and these, likewise, he summoned them to abjure. "No, we will not retract anything," exclaimed Esch and Voes firmly; "we will not abjure the Word of God; we would rather die for the faith."

THE INQUISITOR.—"Admit that you have been seduced by Luther."

THE YOUNG AUGUSTINIANS.—"As the apostles were seduced by Jesus Christ."

THE INQUISITORS.—"We declare you to be heretics, worthy to be burnt alive, and we deliver you over to the secular arm."

Lambert uttered not a word; he was overcome by the dread of death, and unhinged by anguish and doubt. "Give me four days," said he with a half choking voice. On the expiration of this delay, Esch, and Voes were solemnly deposed from the priesthood,² and delivered over to the council of the governante of the

¹ Sey gegrüsst, mein Bruder. (Scultet. Ann. i. p. 173.)

² "On the day fixed for their execution, the youngest of the three was brought

Netherlands, after which, the council transferred them in manacles to the executioner. Hochstraten and three other inquisitors¹ accompanied them to the stake.²

On arriving at the pile, the young martyrs calmly contemplated it; their constancy, their piety, and their youth,³ extorting tears from their very inquisitors. On their being tied up, the confessors drew near, saying: "We ask you once more, will you receive the Christian faith?"

THE MARTYRS.—"We believe in the Christian Church, but not in your church."

Half an hour elapsed; their persecutors hesitated, hoping that the immediate prospect of so frightful a death would intimidate these young men. But they, remaining alone at peace amid the restless crowd that covered the place, sang psalms aloud, pausing at intervals, that they might courageously say to each other: "We desire to die for the name of Jesus Christ."

"Be converted, be converted," shouted the inquisitors, "otherwise you will die in the name of the devil."—"No," replied the martyrs, "we shall die as Christians, and for the truth of the Gospel."

The pile was then kindled. As the flame slowly rose, divine peace filled their hearts, and one of them even said: "This seems

first into the market-place, and directed to kneel before a table, covered like a communion-table. All fixed their astonished eyes upon him, but he discovered not the least fear or perturbation of mind. His countenance was placid and composed, yet mild and modest; he seemed entirely absorbed in prayers and holy contemplations. While they were stripping him of his sacerdotal dress, he did everything they ordered him to do with perfect readiness; and when they had thus made him a layman, he retired. Then the two others were produced; and they went through the same ceremonies with a cheerful firmness, as far as one may judge from the countenance. Soon after, one of these, together with the youngest first mentioned, came forward and the two were led to the fire."
 . . . Account by an Eye-witness, given by Milner in appendix to vol. v. of his Church History. Tr.

¹ "Erasmus tells Landavus that there were three Furies which raged in the Low Countries, Hochstrat the Dominican, Almar of the same order, and Egmond the Carmelite. To these he adds an anonymous fourth, who employed the former as his drudges and agents. . . . By the *anonymous fourth* he probably means Aleander, who was now exalted to high stations and had *Wranglers* under him, whom he could set at Erasmus; though the laws of the Church forbid Ecclesiastics *alere canes venaticos* (to keep hounds). See Jortin's Life of Erasmus, v. i. p. 305. If Aleander were really the *anonymous fourth*, it was very base in Erasmus to write to him the following year, "excusing himself for having spoken of him as an enemy, and declaring himself well disposed to a reconciliation, and yet showing him, that he was too well informed of his unfriendly behaviour." See the same, p. 338. Tr.

² Facta est hæcres Bruxellæ in publico foro. (L. Epp. ii. p. 361.)

³ Nondum triginta annorum. (Ibid.)

to me like roses.”¹ The dread hour was come; death was at hand: both martyrs cried with strong voices: “*O Domine Jesu, Filie David, miserere nostri!*” “Lord Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon us!” They then began to say over the creed in a grave tone.² The flames reached them at last; but they consumed the cords that attached the martyrs to the stake before quite depriving them of the breath of life. One of them availed himself of this freedom, to drop upon his knees amid the fire, and thus worshipping his Master,³ he exclaimed, at the same time joining his hands: “Lord Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon us!” The fire enveloped their bodies; they sang aloud the *Te Deum laudamus*; their voices were soon stifled by the flames, and all that remained of them was ashes.

This execution occupied four hours. It was on the 1st of July 1523, that the first martyrs of the Reformation thus gave their lives for the Gospel.⁴

¹ Dit schijnen mij als roosen te zijn. (Brandt. Hist. der Reformatie, i. p. 78.)

² Admoto igni, canere cœperunt symbolum fidei, says Erasmus. (Epp. i. p. 1278.)

³ Da ist der eine im Feuer auf die Knie gefallen. (L. Opp. xviii. p. 481.)

⁴ It is the less surprising that the Netherlands furnished the first martyrs to the Reformation, as we know that all writers are agreed in representing that part of Europe as having been very early prepared for the reception of the Gospel, and as the writings of Erasmus were probably more read among his own countrymen than elsewhere.

The author has spoken of some of the first harbingers of the Reformation in the first volume. To these may be added, Count Edzard of East Friesland, whom I find thus described in a modern history of the Dutch Reformed Church.

“The prince of East Friesland, Count Edzard,” says Ypey and Dermont, “was the first among European princes who, since 1516, having read the writings of Erasmus, and afterwards those of Zwingli and Luther, openly declared himself in favour of the doctrines contained therein, and called upon all his subjects to examine the same without prejudice, to the end that the conscience might express itself in an open confession, with respect to which he granted the fullest liberty to every one. Edzard was beloved by his people; they had often risked their lives for him in battle; and to such a people he found himself obliged to grant entire freedom of conscience. But such a people, likewise, allowed themselves with all meekness to be exhorted to inquire into the truth in regard to what men before God, for attainment of everlasting salvation, must or must not believe.”

This conduct of the Count of East Friesland, according to the same writers, happily concurred with the impressions in favour of the Gospel that had been left in the adjacent Dutch provinces, by Wessels Goesvoet, who had preached a purer doctrine than that of Rome in the last half of the fifteenth century; all these provinces being intimately connected together by common language and customs, and by family ties.

An earlier Dutch historian, Brandt, introduces Graphœus, secretary to the city of Antwerp, before any of the above martyrs, as a sufferer in the cause of the Reformation. When Henry Voes and John Esch, were burnt, Graphœus was imprisoned for having vented opinions rather free than strictly evangelical, in a preface which he prefixed to a small work, intitled the *Liberty of the Christian Religion*, written by John van Gooch. But Graphœus, although a great sufferer,

All right-thinking people were horrorstruck when they heard of it.¹ They trembled for the future. "The work of the hangman is begun,"² said Erasmus.—"At length," exclaimed Luther, "Jesus Christ obtains some fruit from our preaching, and is creating new martyrs."

But whatever gratification Luther experienced from the faithfulness of these two young Christians, was marred by thoughts about Lambert, who was the most learned of the three, and had succeeded Probst as preacher at Antwerp. His mind could find no rest while in prison; he was alarmed at the prospect of death, but still more so by his conscience ever reproaching him with his cowardice, and urging him to confess the Gospel. He was ere long delivered from those fears, boldly avowed the truth, and died like his brethren.³

having been condemned to imprisonment for life, confiscation of goods, and to the ignominy of a public recantation, seems never to have embraced the great doctrines of the Reformation, and even the opinions which brought him into trouble he recanted.

The fact is, authors will continue to differ as to the persons who should be considered as Reformers and sufferers in the cause of the Reformation, as long as they differ as to what really constituted the Reformation; and Brandt, as a Remonstrant, was evidently inclined to elevate men who, like Erasmus, were lights in the learned world rather than in the Church, whose views of Scriptural truth were but imperfect, whose principles were comparatively weak, and who sustained the character which M. Merle d'Aubigné, in other parts of his work, has so admirably described, of neither thorough Papists, nor thorough Protestants. If the essence of the Reformation lay in the restoration to Christendom of the doctrines of grace as set forth in the Bible, then, the mere attacking of papal error without any clear exhibition of truth could not constitute a man a Reformer.

I am much more surprised to find a professor of theology in the Dutch Reformed Church, and the secretary of its general Synod, as the authors of the elaborate history of that Church above quoted and published in 1819, fall into the same error, representing Erasmus as perhaps the foremost of the Reformers, and classing others in the same category who, however useful and eminent otherwise, were by no means entitled to that distinctive appellation. For this and other defects in their history, they have been censured with great ability, by a learned advocate at the Hague who entirely concurs in the views I have expressed. (See *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk, door A. Ipey en I. J. Dermout. Te Breda 1819, and De Eere der Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk gehandhaafd tegen Ipey en Dermout, door Mr. C. M. van der Kemp. Te Rotterdam. 1830.*) Tr.

¹ No wonder! who shudders not at the recollection of such atrocities. Who shudders not to think that people are to be found, even in our days, who would fain embellish these atrocities, and would recommend to us a religion and a Church, as alone securing salvation, which had recourse to such means of maintaining her position, or as they allege, of converting persons in error, and who would fain subject anew our fatherland, yea, and all Christian nations, to its domination? Had we no proof besides what is presented in these inhuman proceedings, it were enough to demonstrate to us, that the Romish Church is a church altogether opposed to the Spirit of Christ.—L. R.

² *Cœpta est carnificina.* (Epp. p. 1429.)

³ *Quarta post exustus est tertius frater Lambertus.* (L. Epp. ii. p. 361.)

A rich harvest sprang from the blood of these martyrs. Brussels leaned to the side of the Gospel.¹ "Wherever Alexander raises a pile," said Erasmus, "it is as if he sowed heretics."²

"Your bonds are my bonds," wrote to him Luther, "your dungeons my dungeons, your stakes my stakes!"³ We all are with you, and Jesus Christ is at our head!" He then celebrated the death of these young monks in a beautiful hymn, and soon throughout Germany and the Netherlands, alike in the towns and landward districts, notes might be heard diffusing everywhere an enthusiastic feeling in favour of the faith of those martyrs:

No! no! their ashes are not lost,
But, blown about from coast to coast,
They're sown in every land;
And soldiers from that seed shall rise
Who death and dungeons shall despise,
To Christ a faithful band!

When Satan sends forth fire and sword
To stop the preaching of the word,
His cause he then betrays;
Far farther than man's breath can reach,
Each martyrdom the truth will teach,
And sound the Saviour's praise.⁴

V. Adrian would undoubtedly have persevered in this course of violence; the failure of his endeavours to check the Reformation, his orthodoxy, his zeal, his rigid disposition, his very conscientiousness, would have made him a cruel persecutor. But Providence did not permit him. He died on the 14th of September, 1523, and in the delight they felt at being rid of this rigid foreigner, the Romans crowned his physician's gate with flowers, and had inscribed over it: "To the saviour of his country."⁵

¹ *Ea mors multos fecit Lutheranos.* (Er. Epp. p. 952.) *Tum demum cæpit civitas favere Luthero.* (Ibid. p. 1676. Erasmus to duke George.) *Ea civitas antea purissima.* (Ibid. p. 1430.)

² *Ubique fumos excitavit nuntius, ibi diceret fuisse factam hæreseon sementem.* (Ibid.)

³ *Vestra vincula mea sunt, vestri carceres et ignes mei sunt.* (L. Epp. ii. p. 464.) This letter will be found at greater length in Milner, vol. v. p. 150. Tr.

⁴ *Die Asche will nicht lassen ab,*

Sie staubt in allen Landen,

Hie hilft kein Bach, Loch, noch Grab. . . . (L. Opp.

xviii. p. 484.)

⁵ "Nothing can show the true spirit of popery more clearly," says Milner

Adrian V. was succeeded by Julius di Medicis, a cousin of Leo X., under the name of Clement VII. From the day of his being elected no more was said about a religious reform. The new pope, like many of his predecessors, thought only about maintaining the privileges of the popedom, and making its resources and influence available for the aggrandisement of his own authority.

Wishing to repair Adrian's blunders, Clement sent to Nuremberg a legate of his own character, one of the ablest prelates at his court, cardinal Campeggi; a man who had had much ex-

"than the observations of the celebrated historian, Pallavicinus, on the character of Adrian VI., and on his promises of reformation." "He was headstrong in his designs; and these were formed from abstract speculations, specious in appearance but by no means suited to practice. There was in him a simplicity and a credulity, which made him listen to those who found fault with the conduct of his predecessor Leo X. Then he was too vehement, too open, too sincere, and most excessively imprudent in making a public acknowledgment of the corruptions of the Roman court." This historian proceeds to tell us that "the POPEDOM is a mixture of sacred and profane dominion, and that, therefore, its administration requires a deal of knowledge in civil concerns, and in the arts of government; and we are to understand that, for his part, he would rather choose that the head of the Church should be a man of MODERATE SANCTITY, JOINED WITH EXTRAORDINARY PRUDENCE, THAN ONE WHOSE PRUDENCE WAS BUT OF THE MIDDLE SORT, WHATEVER MIGHT BE HIS CHARACTER FOR HOLINESS."

"We need not wonder that such principles as these should lead Pallavicinus to disapprove of Adrian's projected emendations of the Church; and to maintain that the Protestants would thereby have been encouraged: whereas according to him, "the flames of their treasons were not to be extinguished by concessions, but quenched by showers of blood." Note at p. 105, Milner, vol. v.

Adrian was *simple* enough to suppose that the sovereign pontiff could pass for a really humble man by putting off his hose and shoes, before he entered Rome, and passing barefoot and bare-legged through the streets towards his palace, greatly to the offence it would appear of Cardinal Wolsey, "a man of contrary qualities," says Cresacre More, who relates the fact, or rather, a man who was not afraid to seem what he was, fond of display and proud of his dignities. Again, he showed his *credulity* in endeavouring to check the Reformation by canonizing Benno, bishop of Misna in the eleventh century, whose chief merit was that of a rebel and traitor, having sided with Hildebrand, (Gregory VII.) and excommunicated his lawful prince the emperor Henry IV. "His miracles," says Jortin, "were as follows: He shut the emperor out of the Church, and flung the keys of the Church into the Elbe; but they were found in the belly of a fish and restored to the prelate; he crossed a river, walking on it as on dry ground; he turned water into wine; he caused a fountain to spring up by striking the ground with his foot; he said mass in two places at once; he foretold to a marquis, who had given him a blow on the face, that he should die in a year's time, and it came to pass accordingly; after his death he appeared in a dream to a marquis, and struck out one of his eyes; and wrought many other miracles." See Jortin's Erasmus, vol. i. p. 325.

Luther did for truth, what Voltaire did afterwards in his attacks on the Romish priesthood, with whom he foolishly confounded Christianity. He took advantage of passing events that interested men's minds, in order to direct that interest into a right channel. He wrote, accordingly, against this canonization, treating Benno's miracles as either human frauds, or diabolical operations. Emser, who had previously written Benno's life, and dedicated it to duke George of Saxony, defended the saint against Luther. See Jortin as above. TR.

perience of affairs, and was acquainted with almost all the princes of Germany. After being magnificently received in the cities of Italy, the legate soon beheld what a change had taken place in the empire. On entering Augsburg he wished, according to custom, to bestow his benediction upon the people, but was laughed at for his trouble. Holding the thing as done, he entered Nuremberg *incognito*, without going to the Church of St. Sebald, where the clergy were waiting to receive him. No priests preceded him in their sacerdotal dresses; no cross was solemnly borne before him;¹ one would have said that some ordinary person was traversing the streets of the city. All things announced to the popedom that its reign was about to close.

The diet was opened anew at Nuremberg, in January 1524. A storm now threatened that national government for which the Germans had been indebted to the firmness of Frederick. In fact the Suabian league, the richest cities of the empire, and more than all, Charles V. had vowed its ruin. Accused of favouring the new heresy, it was resolved that every member of that administration should be deposed from his office. Frederick thereupon left Nuremberg immediately.

The Easter holidays were now approaching, an occasion on which Osiander and the evangelical preachers redoubled their zeal. They first preached openly that antichrist had entered Rome, on the day that Constantine the Great left that city, in order that he might fix his residence at Constantinople. The consecration of palm branches and several of the Easter ceremonies were omitted; four thousand persons received the supper under both kinds, and the queen of Denmark, who was the emperor's sister, openly received it thus at the castle. "Ah," exclaimed arch-duke Ferdinand in a rage, "would that you were not my sister!"—"We have been fondled on the same breast," replied the queen, "and I would sacrifice all to please you, save the Word of God."²

Such audacity as this made Campeggi shudder. Affecting,

¹ Communi habitu, quod per sylvas et campos ierat, per mediam urbem . . . sine clero, sine prævia cruce. (Cochlæus, p. 82.)

² Wolle sich des Wortes Gottes halten. (Seckend. p. 613.)

however, to despise the people's ridicule and the discourses of the preachers, and relying on the authority of the emperor and the pope, he reminded the diet of the edict of Worms, and called upon it to put down the Reformation by force. At these words several of the princes and deputies expressed their indignation: "What," said they, to Campeggi, "have become of the complaints presented to the pope by the German nation?" In accordance with his instruction, the legate put on an air of honest astonishment: "Three copies of that document," said he, "came to Rome, but we received no official communication on the subject, and I could not believe that so unbecoming a production could have emanated from your lordships."

The diet was indignant at this reply. If such be the manner in which the pope receives its representations, it would know, on its side, how to receive those he might address to it. "The people," said many of the deputies, "thirst for the Word of God; and to deprive them of it, as the edict of Worms ordains, would be to make blood flow in torrents."

Forthwith the diet took up the subject of the answer that should be sent to the pope. In the impossibility of abolishing the edict of Worms, a clause was added to it which made it a nullity. "It must be complied with," it was said, "*as far as possible*."¹ Now, several of the states had declared that it was impossible to observe it. At the same time, conjuring up the unwelcome shade of the councils of Constance and of Basel, the diet insisted that an universal council of Christendom should be convoked in Germany.

The friends of the Reformation did not stop there. Why wait for a council which perhaps might never be convoked, and which, in any case, would be composed of bishops of all nations? Was Germany to subject her anti-Roman tendencies to prelates coming from Spain, France, England, and Italy? The national government had been overthrown; in its place there behoved to be a national assembly for the protection of the people's interests.

In vain was this course opposed by Hannaart, the envoy from Spain, sent by Charles V., and by all the partisans of Rome and the emperor; the majority of the diet were not to be moved

¹ Quantum eis possibile sit. . . . (Cochlæus, p. 84.)

from their purpose. It was agreed that a diet, a secular meeting, should be convened at Spires in November, for the regulation of all religious questions, and that the states should immediately obtain from their respective divines, a catalogue of the controverted points, for the purpose of laying these before that august assembly.

No time was lost in doing this. The provinces severally drew up their statements; and never was Rome threatened with so powerful an explosion. Franconia, Brandenburg, Henneburg, Windsheim, Wertheim, and Nuremberg, pronounced themselves in favour of evangelical views, against the seven sacraments, the abuses of the mass, the adoration of saints, and the pope's supremacy. "There goes coin of the right stamp," said Luther. It might be expected that not one of the questions then agitating the people, would be dismissed in silence—that the majority would obtain general measures . . . that the unity of Germany, her independence, and her reformation, would all be saved.

Upon this news the pope could no longer restrain his wrath. What! shall men dare to erect a secular tribunal for deciding religious affairs even against his authority!¹ Should this inconceivably audacious resolution be carried into effect, Germany would, no doubt, be saved, but Rome would be lost. A consistory was summoned in great haste, and such was the excitement among the senators, that it looked as if the Germans were marching upon the capitol. "Frederick's head must be deprived of the electoral hat," said Aleander.—"The kings of England and of Spain," said another cardinal, "must threaten the free cities with the rupture of all commercial relations with them." The congregation decided at last that the sole means of salvation lay in moving heaven and earth to prevent the meeting at Spires.

Forthwith the pope wrote to the emperor: "Though it be I who first make head against the storm, it is not because it threatens me alone; but because the helm is in my hands. The rights of the empire are attacked still more than the dignity of the court of Rome itself."

¹ Pontifex ægerrime tulit, intelligens novum de religione tribunal eo pacto excitari citra ipsius auctoritatem. (Pallav. i. p. 182.)

While this letter was on its way to Castile, the pope endeavoured to secure for himself alliances in Germany, and it was not long before he had gained over one of the most powerful families in the empire, that of the dukes of Bavaria. In that country the edict of Worms had been no better observed than elsewhere, and the doctrines of the Gospel had made great progress in it; but since the close of the year 1521, its princes, under the influence of Dr. Eck, chancellor of their university of Ingolstadt, had been inclining to the side of Rome, and had passed an edict in which they commanded all their subjects to remain true to the religion of their forefathers.¹

The Bavarian bishops showed some alarm at this encroachment on the part of the secular authority, whereupon Eck went off to Rome for the purpose of asking the pope to bestow upon the princes an extension of their power. Not only did his holiness grant all that was asked from him, but even gave the dukes besides, one fifth of the ecclesiastical revenues of their territories.

Thus, at a time when the Reformation had as yet organised nothing, Roman Catholicism sought support from powerful institutions; and catholic princes, abetted by the pope, laid their hands on the Church's revenues, long before the Reformation had dared to touch them. What, then, are we to think of the reproaches which have so often been brought against it by Roman Catholics, on this head?

Clement VII. could reckon upon Bavaria in conjuring the dreaded meeting at Spire. Erelong the archduke Ferdinand, the archbishop of Salzburg, and some other princes besides, were gained over in their turn.

But Campeggi would fain do more than this; Germans were to be brought into active hostility with Germans; the whole country was to be divided into two camps.

Before this, during his residence at Stuttgart, the legate had concerted with Ferdinand the plan of an anti-reformation league. "Everything is to be feared," he would say, "from an assembly where regard is to be paid to the voice of the people. The diet at Spire may destroy Rome and save Wittemberg. Let us

¹ Erstes baierisches Religions Mandat. (Winter, Gesch. der Evang. Lehre in Baiern. i. p. 310.)

close our ranks; let us understand each other in the prospect of battle.”¹ Ratisbonne was fixed upon as the place of meeting.

Notwithstanding the jealousy subsisting between the ducal houses of Bavaria and Austria, Campeggi succeeded in getting the dukes of Bavaria and the archduke Ferdinand to meet in that city, towards the close of 1524, and these were joined by the archbishop of Salzburg, and the bishops of Trent and Ratisbonne, while the bishops of Spire, Bamberg, Augsburg, Strasburg, Basel, Constance, Freisingen, Passau, and Brixen, sent deputies to represent them.

The legate opened the meeting by energetically setting forth the jeopardy into which princes and clergy were thrown by the Reformation. “Let us root out heresy,” cried he, “and save the Church.”

The conferences were continued for a fortnight in the town-house of Ratisbonne. A grand ball, prolonged throughout an entire night, enlivened this the first Roman Catholic meeting, convened by the popedom for the purpose of crushing the Reformation at its birth.² The measures that were to be taken for the destruction of the heretics, were then finally resolved upon.

The princes and the bishops engaged to see to the execution of the edicts of Worms and Nuremberg, not to permit any change of public worship, not to tolerate any married clergymen in their states, to recall all students belonging to their territories who might be at Wittemberg, and to put forth every means in their power for the destruction of heresy. They enjoined preachers in treating difficult passages, to abide by the interpretations of the fathers of the Latin church, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory. Not daring in the face of the Reformation, to appeal to the authority of the schoolmen, they confined themselves to a statement of the first elements of Romish orthodoxy.

But on the other hand, unable to shut their eyes to the scandals and corrupt morals of the priests,³ they agreed upon a project of reform, in which they endeavoured to confine themselves to such of the grievances of Germany as least concerned the court of Rome. Priests were forbidden to engage in trade.

¹ Winter, *Gesch. der Evang. Lehre in Baiern*. i. p. 156.

² Ranke *Deutsche Gesch.* ii. p. 159.

³ *Improbis clericorum abusibus et perditis moribus.* (Cochlæus, p. 91.)

to haunt taverns, "to frequent dancing parties," and, with the bottle in their hands, to dispute on points of faith.

Such was the result of the confederation of Ratisbonne.¹ Rome made some concessions to the Reformation even while arming herself against it, and in these resolutions we may observe the first indications of that influence on the part of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, which was to effect an internal renovation of (Roman) Catholicism. The Gospel could not put forth its might without being so far imitated by its very opponents. Emser had met Luther's translation of the Bible by publishing another translation; Eck opposed his own *Common Places* to those of Melancthon;² and now Rome opposed to the Reformation those partial attempts at reform, to which her modern catholicism may be traced. But all these doings on the part of Rome, were no better in reality than cunning expedients, by which she tried to escape from the dangers that threatened her; branches snatched, it is true, from the tree of the Reformation, but planted in what to them was a deadly soil; life they had none, and in all similar attempts, life will ever be wanting.

We are here presented with another fact. The Romish party at Ratisbonne formed the first league that broke the German unity. It was in the camp of the pope that the signal for battle was first given. Ratisbonne was the cradle of that scission—of that political rending asunder of Germany, which so many of that nation deplore down to our own day. The national assembly at Spires, by sanctioning and generalising the Reformation of the Church, must have secured the unity of the empire. But the separatist conventicle at Ratisbonne rent the nation for ever into two parts.³

Meanwhile Campeggi's projects did not succeed at first so well as had been imagined. Few of the princes answered to the call, and even Luther's most decided adversaries, duke George of Saxony, the elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the ecclesiastical electors, and the imperial cities took no part in it; a feeling

¹ Ut Lutherani factioni efficacius resistere possint, ultronea confederatione sese constrixerunt. (Cochlæus, p. 91.)

² Enchiridion, seu loci communes contra hæreticos, 1526.

³ Ranke Deutsche Gesch. ii. p. 163. Milner's remarks are to the same effect. TR.

prevailed that the pope's legate was forming, in Germany, a Romish party against the nation itself. Popular sympathies counterbalanced religious antipathies, and ere long the *Ratisbonne reformation* became an object of popular ridicule. But the initiative was taken; the example was set. It was thought that it would cost little in the sequel to strengthen and extend this Romish league, inasmuch as those who hesitated as yet, could not fail to be ultimately dragged into it of necessity by the march of events. To the legate Campeggi belongs the honour of having invented the mine which was to place the liberties of Germany, the existence of the empire, and the Reformation on the very brink of destruction. From that time forth the cause of Luther was no longer a purely religious affair; the Wittenberg monk's controversy took its place in the order of political events in Europe. Luther was to find himself eclipsed; and Charles V., the pope, and the princes, will now be found the chief personages on the theatre where the grand drama of the sixteenth century was to be acted out.

The prospect of the assembly to be held at Spires was not, however, for a moment lost sight of; it was it that might be expected to neutralise the mischief that Campeggi had done at Ratisbonne. Rome, accordingly, set all to work in order to prevent it. "What!" said the pope's deputies, not only to Charles V., but to his ally Henry VIII., and to other princes of Christendom also: "What! these haughty Germans, would they pretend, in a national convention, to decide matters of faith! It would appear that kings, the imperial majesty, all Christendom, nay, the whole world, must submit, forsooth! to what they may decree!"

The time was well chosen for working upon the emperor. The war between that prince and Francis I. was now waged with the utmost vigour. Pescara and the constable de Bourbon had left Italy, and, entering France on the 1st of May, they there laid siege to Marseilles. The pope, who far from approved of this attack, might effect a powerful diversion by threatening the rear of the imperial army, and with so much reason for dreading his disfavour, Charles without hesitation proceeded forthwith to sacrifice the empire's independence for the sake of obtaining the favour of Rome, and promoting the success of his struggle with France.

On the 15th of July, Charles published, at Burgos in Castile, a decree in which he declared in an imperious and passionate tone, "that to the pope alone it belonged to call a council, and to the emperor alone to apply for it; that the contemplated meeting at Spires neither could nor ought to be tolerated; that it was strange that the German nation should undertake to do what all the other nations in the universe, even with the pope, would not be authorised to do; that no time should be lost in giving effect to the decree of Worms against the new Mahomet."

Thus was it from Spain and Italy that there proceeded the blow that arrested the progress of the Gospel in Germany. Nor was this enough for Charles. He had, in 1519, proposed to duke John, the elector's brother, to give the archduchess Catherine, his sister, in marriage to the son of the latter, John Frederick, heir to the electorate. But as this would be an union with that very house of Saxony which was sustaining in Germany those principles of religious and political independence which Charles hated, he determined to break entirely with the annoying and guilty representative of evangelical and national sentiments, and gave his sister in marriage to John III. king of Portugal. Frederick who, in 1519, had shown himself indifferent to the overtures of the king, was able in 1524 to overcome the indignation which the emperor's conduct made him feel; but duke John let him know how profoundly that conduct had wounded his proud spirit.

Thus may we more distinctly trace in the empire, the limits of those two hostile camps that were for a long course of years to rend it asunder.

VI. The Romish party did not stop here. The Ratisbonne league was to be no mere formality; it had yet to be sealed with blood. Ferdinand and Campeggi accompanied each other down the Danube, from Ratisbonne to Vienna, and during their journey, made a mutual interchange of cruel promises. Persecution commenced forthwith in the Austrian states.

Gaspard Tauber, a burgess of Vienna, had both been circulating Luther's publications, and had written himself against the invocation of saints, purgatory, and transubstantiation.¹ After

¹ Atque etiam proprios ipse tractatus perscripserim. (Cochlæus, p. 92. verso.

being cast into prison, he was summoned by judges, partly divines, partly lawyers, to retract his errors; and so firmly were people persuaded that he would consent to this, that everything was prepared in Vienna for making a solemn public spectacle of his retraction. On the Nativity of Mary, two pulpits were erected in St. Stephen's church-yard, one for the leader of a choir that was to celebrate in hymns the heretic's repentance, the other for Tauber himself. The formula of retraction was put into his hand;¹ and people, choristers, and priests waited in silence. But whether Tauber had never made any promise, or that at the moment of his expected abjuration, his faith had all at once revived with fresh force: "I am not convinced," he shouted aloud, "and I appeal to the holy Roman empire!" Clergy, choristers, and people, were now seized with amazement and fright. But Tauber continued to call for death rather than deny the Gospel. He was beheaded; his body was burnt;² and the courage he had shown made an indelible impression on the townsfolk of Vienna.

At Buda, in Hungary, an evangelical bookseller, called John, had circulated throughout the country, the New Testament, and Luther's writings. He was lashed to a post, next his books were gradually heaped up round him, in such a manner as to inclose him in a kind of tower, and fire was set to it. John showed the most unwavering courage, and called aloud from amid the flames, that he was happy in suffering for the Lord's sake.³ "Blood follows blood," exclaimed Luther on hearing of this execution; "but the blood shed by Rome will choke the pope at last, with his kings and kingdoms."⁴

Fanaticism now waxed fiercer and fiercer; evangelical ministers were expelled from the churches; magistrates were banished; and at times the most terrible punishments were inflicted. An inquisitor of the name of Reichler, in Wurtemberg, made the

¹ See Cochleus, p. 92. verso. Cum igitur ego Gasparus Tauber, etc.

² Credo te vidisse Casparis Tauber historiam martyris novi Viennæ, quem cæsum capite scribunt et igne exustum pro verbo Dei. (Luther to Hausmann, 12th November, 1524. ii. p. 563.)

³ Idem accidit Budæ, in Ungaria, bibliopœe cuidam Johanni, simul cum libris circa eum positis, exusto, fortissimeque passo pro Domino. (Luther to Hausmann, 12th November, 1524 ii. p. 563.)

⁴ Sanguis sanguinem tangit qui suffocabit papam cum regibus et regnis suis. (Ibid.)

Lutherans, and in particular the preachers among them, to be hanged on the trees. Barbarous wretches might be seen with the utmost coolness nailing ministers to a post by the tongue; so that these unfortunate persons, tearing themselves with a violent effort from the piece of wood to which they had been attached, were horribly mutilated in regaining their freedom, and lost that gift of speech which they had long employed in the work of announcing the Gospel.¹ The same persecutions took place in the other states of the catholic league. An evangelical minister in the Salzburg country, was conveyed to prison, there to end his days; but while the archers who were escorting him, had gone into an inn by the road-side to drink, two young peasants, from compassion to the minister, took advantage of the circumstance to set him at liberty. Against these poor young men, the wrath of the archbishop was so much excited, that without subjecting them to any trial, he ordered both to be beheaded. They were taken out of the city secretly and at an early hour in the morning, but on reaching the spot where they were to die, their very executioner hesitated; for, said he, they have not been tried. "Do as I command you," sharply replied the archbishop's emissary, "and leave the responsibility to the prince!" The heads of the young liberators fell instantly beneath the sword.²

The states of the dukes of Bavaria in particular were desolated by persecution; priests were dismissed and nobles violently expelled from their castles; the country was infested with informers, and distrust and terror reigned in all men's hearts. A magistrate of the name of Bernard Fichtel, while repairing to Nuremberg on the duke's affairs, met on the highway Francis Burkard, professor at Ingolstadt, and a friend of Dr. Eck's. Burkard made up to him, and they proceeded on their journey in company. After supper one night, the professor introduced the subject of religion; whereupon Fichtel, who knew his travelling companion, reminded him that, by the new edict, such conversations were forbidden. "Between ourselves," answered Burkard, "there is nothing to fear."—"I don't believe," Fichtel then said, "that this

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* ii. p. 174.

² Zauner, *Salzburger Chronik.* iv. p. 381.

new edict can ever be enforced ;” after which he expressed himself in an equivocal manner on the subject of purgatory, and said that it was a horrible thing to inflict the punishment of death on account of religious opinions. Burkard could not contain himself on hearing this. “What more just,” he exclaimed, “than to cut off the heads of these rascally Lutherans?” He left Fichtel, however, without expressing any ill will, but it was to inform against him. Fichtel was cast into prison, and the unfortunate man who had never dreamt of becoming a martyr, and whose convictions were far from deep, escaped death only by a shameful retractation. There was safety no where—no, not even in the bosom of a friend.

But others were overtaken by the death from which Fichtel escaped. In vain was the preaching of the Gospel conducted secretly;¹ the dukes tracked it out when it sought to hide itself in obscurity, under private roofs, and in the secret retreats of the fields.

“The cross and persecution,” said Luther, “greatly prevail in Bavaria; these wild beasts are enraged to madness.”²

Even the north of Germany was not beyond the reach of these cruelties. Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, having died, his son who had been brought up at the court of duke George, persecuted the Gospel; Suaven and Knipstraw had both to fly.

But it was Holstein that presented one of the greatest examples of fanaticism that occurred at that time.

Henry van Zutphen, after escaping, as we have seen, from the monastery at Antwerp, preached the Gospel at Bremen; Nicholas Boye, pastor at Mehlendorf in the Dittmarches country, and several godly men in that quarter, called upon him to preach to them the Gospel of Jesus Christ, whereupon he complied with their wishes. Forthwith a consultation was held between the prior of the Dominicans, and the Vicar of the official of Hamburg. “If he preach, and the people listen,” said they, “all is lost!” After passing an agitated night, the prior rose at an early hour, and repaired to the uncultivated and barren moor where the eight and forty regents of the country

¹ Verbi non palam seminati. (L. Epp. ii. p. 559.)

² In Bavaria multum regnat crux et persecutio. . . . (Ibid.)

usually met. "The Bremen monk," said he to them, "has come to ruin all the Dittmarches!" These eight and forty simple and ignorant men, assured that they would acquire great glory in delivering the world from the heretic monk, resolved to put him to death before they had ever heard him preach or seen him.

It was now Saturday, and the prior wished to prevent Henry's preaching on the Lord's day. He came to the pastor Boye's house at midnight, with the letter of the eight and forty regents. "If it be God's will that I should die among the Dittmarches," said Henry van Zutphen, "heaven is as near there as elsewhere;¹ I will preach."

He entered the pulpit and preached powerfully. Those who heard him, affected and inflamed by his Christian eloquence, had scarcely left the Church when the prior handed them a letter from the forty eight regents, forbidding the monk's being allowed to preach. They immediately sent their representatives to the moor, and after a prolonged discussion, the Dittmarches came to the resolution of waiting until Easter, seeing they were so very ignorant. But the prior, much irritated at this decision, went to some of the regents and anew inflamed their zeal. "We shall write to him," said they.—"Beware of doing that," replied the prior; "if he once begin to speak, nothing more can be done against him. He must be seized after night-fall, and burnt before he can open his mouth."

Thus was it arranged. On the day following the feast of the Conception, night having come on, the *Ave Maria* was sounded, at which signal, all the peasants of the neighbouring villages met to the number of about five hundred, and their leaders having opened three large casks of Hamburg beer, thus stimulated them to a high pitch of courage. The clock struck twelve at night when they reached Mehldorf; the peasants were armed; the monks carried torches; all were marching in a disorderly manner, and shouting furiously to each other. On reaching the village they observed strict silence, dreading lest Henry should escape.

The doors of the parsonage were immediately driven in; the drunken peasants rushed forward, striking at whatever came in their way; they threw down vases, pots, and goblets, and clothes,

¹ Der Himmel wäre da so nahe als anderswo. (L. Opp. xix. p. 330.)

seized all the gold and silver they could find, and then springing on the poor pastor, they struck him, calling out: "Kill him! kill him!" and, next, threw him into the mud. But Henry was their chief object; him they pulled from his bed; tied his hands behind his back, and dragged him after them, without clothes, and while the cold was intense. "What hast thou come here for?" said they to him, and on Henry's giving them a mild answer: "Down with him, down with him!" they said, "if we listen to him we shall become heretics like him!" They had been dragging him naked over ice and snow; his feet were covered with blood; he besought them to put him on horseback. "Ay, to be sure," said they with a sneer, "we are likely, indeed, to provide heretics with horses! . . . On with you!" And thus did they drag him as far as the moor. A woman, standing at her house-door, as the poor servant of God was passing, began to cry; "Good woman," said Henry, "weep not for me." The baillie passed sentence upon him. Thereupon one of the furious persons who had dragged him along, gave the preacher of Jesus Christ a blow on the head with his sword; another struck him with a club; and then they brought to him a poor monk, that he might confess himself. "Brother," said Henry to him, "have I ever done you any harm?"—"None," replied the monk.—"I have nothing, then, to confess to you," rejoined Henry, "and you have nothing to forgive me for." The monk withdrew in confusion. Efforts were made in vain to set fire to the faggots; they would not kindle. Thus the martyr remained two hours in presence of the peasants who were excited to madness, without discomposure, and with his eyes turned to heaven. While binding him previous to his being thrown upon the fire, he began to confess his faith. "Burn first," said one of the peasants, striking him at the same time a blow on the mouth, "and then you will speak!" He was thrown on the flames but fell aside; whereupon John Holme, seizing a club, struck him on the chest, and he was then stretched out dead on the burning coals.¹

¹ Such facts as these, occurring even at this early period of the Reformation, conclusively refute the calumnious insinuations of the Roman Catholic historian of England, Lingard, against the first preachers of the Reformed doctrines. After speaking of the common people in Germany, as having their pride flattered by Luther's translation of the Scriptures: as feeling their obligations to the man who had rendered them judges of their own belief; and, when they did not

“Such is the true history of the sufferings of the holy martyr, Henry van Zutphen.”^{1 2}

VII. While the Romish party were everywhere unsheathing the sword against the Reformation, that work was undergoing fresh developments. Not to Zurich or Geneva, but to Wittenberg itself, the very centre of the Lutheran revival, must we go for the first beginnings of that Reformed Church, which afterwards found its greatest doctor in Calvin. These two numerous families once slept in the same cradle; even when grown up they ought to have been but united. But the question concerning the supper once started, Luther violently rejected the reformed element, and fixed both himself and his church in an exclusive Lutheranism. The vexation he experienced from that rival doctrine, deprived him of some of his characteristic good nature, and infused into him a spirit of distrust, habitual discontent, and ill-humour for which until then he had been far from remarkable.

This dispute arose between two old friends, the two champions who, at Leipsick, were united in contending against Rome,

understand his arguments, as convinced by the attraction of novelty, the promise of freedom, and the hope of sharing in the spoils of the church, he goes on to say: “The increase of new teachers kept equal pace with the increase of new religionists. The country curate, who was unknown beyond the precincts of his village, the friar who had hitherto vegetated in the obscurity of his convent, saw the way to riches and celebrity suddenly opened before them. They had only to ascend their pulpits, to display the new light which had lately burst upon them, to declaim against the wealth of the clergy, and the tyranny of the popes; and they were immediately followed by crowds of disciples, whose gratitude supplied their wants, and whose approbation secured to them importance in the new church.” See Lingard’s History of England, 4to. Edition, vol. iv. p. 115. Who would suppose from these words, that the Reformers ever encountered persecution at all? It is curious, by the way, to find a Roman Catholic confess to so much worldliness in the priests, and slothful “vegetation” in the monks of his own church. But the representation is outrageously false, contradicted in characters of blood, by the records of the inquisition and other church courts of the popedom, as long as they had the power to persecute. In fact, every one who at all studies the real history of those times, must adopt the emphatic conclusion of Hallam, that: “EVERY SOLUTION OF THE CONDUCT OF THE REFORMERS MUST BE NEGATORY, EXCEPT ONE, THAT THEY WERE MEN ABSORBED BY THE CONVICTION THAT THEY WERE FIGHTING THE BATTLES OF GOD.” See Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 419. Tr.

¹ Das ist die wahre Historie, etc. (L. Opp. L. xix. p. 333.)

² The persecutions related in this chapter, place in a stronger light the blind and inhuman zeal of the Romish clergy, and present us with a fresh and forcible proof that a religion that owes its continued existence to such means, cannot be the true, and thus give us besides a new and urgent warning not to allow ourselves to be misled by the flattering representations of those who are endeavouring to bring us anew under the yoke of bondage by concealing, or gilding over, or sometimes even defending such atrocities.—L. R.

between Carlstadt and Luther. Their attachment to contrary doctrines, might be traced in the case of both, to tendencies that command our esteem. There are, in fact, two extremes in the matter of religion; the one consists in materialising everything, the other in spiritualising everything. The former is that of Rome; the latter, that of the mystics. Religion, like man himself, is composed of a spirit and of a body; the pure idealists and the materialists, alike in religion and in philosophy, are equally in the wrong.

Such is the grand controversy that lies involved in the dispute about the supper. While a superficial eye sees nought in it but a petty dispute about words, a deeper view discovers in it one of the most important controversies that can occupy the human mind.

Here the Reformers went off into two distinct camps, each, however, carrying part of the truth along with it. Luther with his partizans professed to combat an exaggerated spiritualism; Carlstadt and the Reformed attacked a hateful materialism. Each aimed at the error that to him appeared the most fatal, and in combatting it, possibly went beyond the truth.¹ But it matters not; each was right in his general tendency, and although they belonged to two different armies, these two illustrious doctors were in reality ranged under a common banner, even that of Jesus Christ, who alone is the truth in its infinite extent.

It was Carlstadt's belief that nothing could be more hurtful to true godliness than confidence in outward ceremonies, and in a certain magical influence attributed to the sacraments. External participation in the sacrament of the supper, suffices for salvation, said Rome; and that principle had materialised religion. Carlstadt saw nothing better for spiritualising it anew, than to deny all manner of presence of the body of Christ; and he taught that the sacred repast was simply, for believers, an earnest of their redemption.

¹ Is this not still the case at the present day, in regard to the difference betwixt otherwise well-meaning Protestants, some of whom are too much afraid of what they call Mysticism, while others lean too much to the setting aside of the letter of God's Word. Truth lies in the middle: and that is just the genuine original doctrine of our (the Dutch) Reformed Church, as it is contained in her Confession, in which Calvin's principles are chiefly followed. That admirable Reformer, as will appear in the sequel of this history, best united the two extremes.—L. R.

As for Luther, he at this conjuncture took quite the opposite direction. He had originally contended for the very meaning that we have pointed out, and in his work upon the mass, which appeared in 1520, had said: "I can daily enjoy the sacraments, if I do but call to mind Christ's word and promise, and nourish my faith therewith." Never did Carlstadt, Zwingli, or Calvin, say anything stronger than this. It would even appear, that at that time of his life, he was often struck with the conviction that a symbolical explanation of the supper would prove the most powerful weapon for utterly subverting the papal system; for in 1525, he says that five years before, he had cordially contended for that doctrine,¹ and that whoever could have proved to him that there was nothing but bread and wine in the supper, would have done him an immense service.

But new circumstances arose and threw him into what was, at times, an impassioned opposition, to the very views which he himself had so nearly adopted. The fanaticism of the anabaptists explains the direction Luther then took. Not content with a slight appreciation of what they called the outward word, that is to say, the Bible, and with pretending to special revelations from the Holy Spirit, those enthusiasts came to despise the sacrament of the supper also, as something outward, and spoke of an inward communion as alone being the true. From that time forth, in all the attempts that were made to give a symbolical exposition of the doctrine of the supper, Luther saw nothing but the danger of tampering with the authority of the sacred Scriptures, of substituting arbitrary allegories for their true meaning, of spiritualising all things in religion, of making it consist, not in the graces that come from God, but in the impressions of which man is susceptible, and thus of substituting for true Christianity a mysticism, a theosophy, a fanaticism, which would infallibly become its grave. It must be owned that but for Luther's powerful opposition, the mystical, enthusiastic, subjective tendency, might at that time have made rapid progress, and have caused a reflux of all the benefits which the Reformation was about to diffuse throughout the world.²

¹ Ich habe wohl so harte Anfechtungen da erlitten. (L. Epp. ii. p. 577.)

² Albeit we may well agree, on the one hand, with what Mr. Merle says here, in so far as Luther actually contended against fanaticism, it must not be dis-

Carlstadt, losing patience at being fettered in the free development of his creed in Wittenberg, and pressed in his conscience to impugn a system which according to him debased Christ's death and annihilated his righteousness, resolved to make a noise for the sake of poor Christendom while thus cruelly deceived. He left Wittenberg early in 1524, without giving any intimation either to the university, or to the chapter, and repaired to the small town of Orlamunde, the church of which had been placed under his inspection. There he dismissed the vicar, got himself appointed pastor in his place, and in spite of the chapter, the university and the elector, established himself in his new post.

There he began forthwith to diffuse his doctrines. "It is impossible," he said, "to find in the real presence any benefit which does not already flow from faith; therefore it is useless." In expounding the words of Christ in the institution of the supper, he had recourse to an explanation which has not been admitted by the Reformed Churches. Luther, at the Leipsick disputation, had explained these words: "*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,*" by separating these two propositions, and applying the last to the Saviour's person. "In like manner," said Carlstadt, "*take, eat,* refers to the bread; but *this is my body,* refers to Jesus Christ, who then pointed to himself, and intimated by the symbolical breaking of the bread, that that body was soon to be destroyed."

Nor did Carlstadt stop there. Hardly was he emancipated from the tutelage of Luther when his zeal against images began to revive. The indiscretion of his sermons, and the enthusiasm of his language, would easily inflame men's minds at a time of so much fermentation; the people, thinking it was another Elias that they heard, broke down the images of Baal, and their fervour soon spread among the surrounding villages. The elector wished to interfere, but the peasants replied that they ought to obey God rather than men. Thereupon the prince resolved to send Luther to Orlamunde, there to re-establish peace. Luther

guised, on the other hand, that in his alarm, and in his zeal, he in that respect went too far. It were more to be wished that he had retained his first less prejudiced sentiments. From this time forward his boundless influence in completing the Reformation which he had begun, was arrested. Well was it that all was afterwards brought back to the right middle course by Calvin. —L. R.

looked upon Carlstadt as a man eaten up with a love of glory, as a fanatic who would allow himself to be hurried along by his passions even to the waging of war upon Jesus Christ, so that Frederick possibly might have made a wiser choice. Luther set off, and Carlstadt was doomed to see his plans of reform once more disturbed, and his career interrupted by that teasing rival.

Jena lay on the road to Orlamunde. Arriving at that town on the 23d of August, Luther went into the pulpit on the 24th, at seven o'clock in the morning; there, before a numerous auditory, he discoursed for an hour and a half against fanaticism, rebellion, and the destruction of images, and contempt of the real presence, inveighing particularly against the innovations at Orlamunde. He did not name Carlstadt, but no one could be mistaken as to the person whom he had in his eye.

Whether accidentally, or by design, Carlstadt was then at Jena and among Luther's hearers; nor did he hesitate to take steps with a view to obtain satisfaction for such a discourse. Luther was dining with the prior of Wittemberg, the burgo-master, the secretary, and the pastor of the town of Jena, together with several officers of the emperor and the margrave, when there was handed in to him a letter from Carlstadt, craving an interview; he gave it to those who sat around him, and replied by the bearer: "If Dr. Carlstadt likes to come to me, be it so; if not, I can dispense with him." Carlstadt did come, and his appearance created a lively sensation in the whole party, the greater number of whom, in their impatience to see the two lions at issue, suspended their repast, and looked on with all their eyes, whilst the more timid grew pale with alarm.

LUTHER.—"I have not mentioned you by name; but since you feel yourself attacked, be it so."

After a moment's pause, Carlstadt replied:

"I undertake to prove that, on the doctrine of the sacrament, you have contradicted yourself, and that no one since the times of the apostles has taught it so purely as I have done."

LUTHER.—"Write; controvert."

CARLSTADT.—"I offer to dispute with you in public at Wittemberg, or at Erfurt, if you will procure for me a safe-conduct."

LUTHER.—"You have nothing to fear, Mr. Doctor."

CARLSTADT.—“You bind me hand and foot, and having put it out of my power to defend myself, then you strike me.”¹

Here there was a momentary pause. Luther rejoined:

“Write against me, but let it be done openly, not underhand.”²

CARLSTADT.—“Could I be sure that you are speaking sincerely, I would do so.”

LUTHER.—“Do it, and I will give you a florin.”

CARLSTADT.—“Give it me; I accept it.”

At these words, Luther put his hands into his pocket, took out a golden florin, and giving it to Carlstadt, said: “Take this and attack me valiantly.”

Carlstadt, holding up the florin, turned to the persons present, and said: “Dear brethren, to me this is an *arrabo*, a pledge that I am authorised to write against Dr. Luther; I take you all to witness.”

Then, bending the florin that it might be known again, he placed it in his purse, and held out his hand to Luther. The latter drank his health, a compliment which was returned by Carlstadt. “The more vigorous your attacks are, the more shall I be pleased with them,” replied Luther.

“If I fail in my word, the fault will be mine,” rejoined Carlstadt.

They once more shook hands, and Carlstadt went home.

Thus, says an historian, just as a single spark often sets a whole forest on fire, we see a huge schism in the Church, take its rise from a very slight beginning.³

¹ Ihr bandet mir Hände und Fusse, darnach schlugt Ihr mich. (L. Opp. xix. p. 150.)

² Luther must have considered this precaution necessary, for Milner quotes a letter of his, written soon after his return from the Wartburg, in which he says: “This very day I entreated Carlstadt, in the most suppliant manner, not to make any public attack upon me; otherwise I should be compelled, much against my will, to enter the lists with him in good earnest. The man almost called heaven to witness that he had no such intention; yet I learn from other quarters that there are a number of his tracts at this very moment in the hands of the rector of the academy, and the other judges.” Luther may have been mistaken in supposing that those tracts attacked him, or, as they seem not to have been actually published, Carlstadt may have intended to comply with the wish of the rector and judges, which was that he should suppress them. TR.

³ Sicut una scintilla sæpe totam sylvam comburit. (M. Adam, Vit. Carlst. p. 83.) Our account is taken in a great measure from the Acts of Reinhard, pastor of Jena, an eye-witness, but a friend of Carlstadt, and charged by Luther with inaccuracy.*

* It seems extraordinary that Luther should not have given his own account of transactions which he complains were totally mis-represented by others.

Luther set off for Orlamunde, and arrived there, ill prepared by what had occurred at Jena. He called a meeting of the council and of the Church, and said: "Neither the elector, nor the university, wish to recognise Carlstadt as your pastor."—"If Carlstadt be not our pastor," replied the treasurer to the town council, "St. Paul is a false doctor, and your books are a parcel of lies, for we have elected him."

As these words were uttered, Carlstadt entered. Some of the persons near Luther, made a sign to him to be seated; but Carlstadt, going right up to Luther, said to him: "My dear Mr. Doctor, if you will permit me, I will receive you."

LUTHER.—"You are my enemy. For that I gave you a golden florin."

CARLSTADT.—"I desire to remain your enemy as long as you yourself shall remain the enemy of God and of his truth."

LUTHER.—"Go away; I cannot permit you to be present here."

CARLSTADT.—"This is a public meeting. If your cause be good, why be afraid of me?"

LUTHER to his servant.—"Get the horses ready; get the horses ready;¹ I have nothing to do with Carlstadt; and since he wont go away, I leave the place."

Saying this, Luther rose, upon which Carlstadt went away.

Milner says: "The very candid and accurate Seckendorf observes, that the account of Luther's conference with Carlstadt at Jena, and Orlamunde, is penned with a malignant artifice, to the great disadvantage of the former. The Orlamundians are there represented as having defended Carlstadt's practice of pulling down images, with so much ability, that Luther went away almost confounded by their arguments. Carlstadt, on the contrary, in the same narrative, is said to have treated Luther with kindness and respect; and to have earnestly requested that, if mistaken, he might be better informed. Those who dislike Luther, and are fond of Carlstadt, lay great stress on this statement. But Luther's friends will not be sorry to find that he did not always take fire, even when very ill treated. "Martin Reinhard," says he to Amsdorf, "has edited a most iniquitous account of my conduct at Orlamunde, with a view to enhance the credit of Carlstadt, and to disgrace me. Now as the great cause will be in no way benefitted by my answering him, I shall remain silent, lest I should endeavour to increase my own reputation, and lessen that of Carlstadt." Milner then quotes another letter of Luther's to the same effect, complaining of "a mixture of lies with truth," &c. But it is remarkable that in both letters, it is misrepresentations of his conduct that he complains of—not mis-statements of the arguments *pro* and *con*. So that the natural conclusion seems to be, that Luther's disinclination to publish his own account proceeded so far from a consciousness that his cause was not likely to gain much by a repetition of the arguments used on both sides authenticated by himself. Luther, with all his excellencies, was but a man, and not always superior to the common weaknesses of human nature. TR.

¹ Spann an, spann an. (L. Opp. xix. p. 154.)

After a momentary silence, Luther rejoined: "Prove by Scripture that images should be destroyed."

A COUNCILLOR.—"Mr. Doctor, do you grant me thus much that Moses knew God's commandments?¹ (Opening a Bible). Well then! there are his words: '*Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything.*'"

LUTHER.—"That passage refers to images of idols only. If I have hung up in my room a crucifix which I do not worship, what harm can it do me?"

A SHOEMAKER.—"I have often taken my hat off to an image in a room or on the road; to do so is an act of idolatry which takes from God the glory that is due to him alone."

LUTHER.—"Because of their being abused then, we ought to destroy women and pour wine out into the streets."

ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE CHURCH.—"No, these are God's creatures, which we are not commanded to destroy."

After the conference had lasted some time longer, Luther and his party entered their carriage, astonished at what they had witnessed, and without having succeeded in convincing the inhabitants who claimed for themselves, too, the right of freely interpreting and expounding the Scriptures.² Great was the agitation at Orlamunde; the people insulted Luther; some even shouted after him: "Off with you, in the name of all the devils! And may you break your neck before you get beyond the town."³ Never had the Reformer been subjected to such humiliations.

¹ So muss du des Missbrauchs halberauch. . . . (L. Opp. xix. p. 155.)

² The right of freely *interpreting* and *expounding* holy Scripture, is an imaginary and assumed right, which the true Reformation by no means permitted, although many of the Reformed abused it, and the advocates of the Romish Church commonly charge them with it, and make it one of their most powerful weapons of attack at the present day. We must duly distinguish from this, the right of freely *using* and *reading* holy Scripture, which the Reformed equally accorded to all Christians. Holy Scripture must not be arbitrarily explained or expounded, and it has no need of any peculiar interpretation: of itself it is clear and capable of being understood. We have only to read it simply and candidly, in order to find the truth therein. They who so read it, easily come to be agreed with respect to its purport. This distinction betwixt free reading and free exposition, and the totally different effects resulting therefrom, need only to be observed and borne in mind, in order completely to overturn the accusation of the Romanists, for we can thus perceive that while it is most true that free and arbitrary exposition can produce nothing but confusion and divisions, the simple and candid reading (of the Scriptures) produces unity of faith and feeling—a unity which being founded on full personal conviction is far superior to the compulsory unity of Rome.—L. R.

³ Two of the most distinguished historians that Germany at this day possesses, add that the people at Orlamunde threw stones and mud at Luther: but Luther

From that he proceeded to Kale, where, likewise, the pastor had embraced Carlstadt's doctrines, and there he proposed to preach. But on entering the pulpit he found the broken remains of a crucifix, a sight that at first almost overpowered his feelings, but recovering his composure, he collected the fragments, and having put them into a corner of the pulpit, he preached a discourse in which there was no allusion to the circumstance. "It was by contempt," said he afterwards, "that I wished to take my revenge on the devil."

The nearer the elector approached his end, the more he seemed to fear that people might go too far with the Reformation. He gave orders that Carlstadt should be deprived of his offices, and that he should not only quit Orlamunde, but leave the electoral states altogether. In vain did the church of that place intercede in his favour; in vain did they petition that he might be permitted to reside, at least, among them as a simple burgess, with permission to preach a sermon occasionally; in vain did they urge that they valued the Word of God more than the whole world, and even than a thousand worlds,—had God created a thousand.¹ Frederick was inflexible; he went so far even as to refuse the unhappy Carlstadt the money required for his journey. In this harshness of the prince, Luther had nothing to say; it little accorded with his natural character, as he proved afterwards: but Carlstadt regarded him as the author of his calamity, and filled Germany with his complaints and lamentations. He wrote a farewell letter to his friends at Orlamunde, and that letter, to hear which the people were summoned together by the ringing of the church bell, and which was read aloud to the church, when thus assembled, amid a general weeping,² was subscribed, "Andrew Bodenstein, expelled by Luther without having been either heard or convinced by him."

It is painful to contemplate the dissensions of these two men, once friends, and both of them excellent persons. One feeling of distress filled all the friends of the Reformation. What was to become of it, now that its most illustrious defenders thus

says quite the contrary: "Dass ich nit mit Steinen und Dreck ausgeworffen ward." (L. Epp. ii. p. 579.)

¹ Höher als tausend Welten. (Seck. p. 628.)

² Quæ publice vocatis per campanas lectæ sunt omnibus simul fientibus. (L. Epp. ii., p. 558.)

made it the subject of a quarrel? Luther was aware of these alarms, and endeavoured to calm them. "Let us fight," said he, "as if we were fighting for another. The cause is God's, the charge of it is God's, the work is God's, the victory is God's, the glory is God's."¹ He will fight and will overcome without us. Let that fall which must fall! Let that which ought to stand maintain its place! Neither is it our cause that is at stake, nor is it our glory that we pursue!"

Carlstadt sought shelter at Strasburg, where he published several pieces. "He was thoroughly acquainted," says Dr. Scheur, "with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and Luther owned the superiority of his erudition."² Endowed with elevation of soul, to his convictions he sacrificed his reputation, his rank, his country, his very bread. He went afterwards into Switzerland; it is there that his teaching ought to have commenced; his independent mind needed the free air breathed by such men as Œcolampadius and Zwingli. His doctrines ere long caused almost as much excitement as the first theses of Luther had done. Switzerland seemed gained over to them; Bucer and Capito seemed to be carried away with them.

Luther's indignation was now at its height, and he published one of his most forcible, but at the same time one of the most violent of his controversial pieces—that intitled "*Against the Celestial Prophets.*"

Thus did the Reformation, while attacked by the pope, attacked by the emperor, attacked by the princes, begin to rend its own bowels. It seemed ready to sink beneath so many calamities, and so assuredly it would have done, had it been a work of man. But soon, when on the eve of destruction, it rose again with new energy.

VIII. The Roman Catholic league of Ratisbonne, and the persecutions that followed, called forth a powerful re-action in

¹ Causa Dei est, cura Dei est, opus Dei est, victoria Dei est, gloria Dei est. (P. 556.)

² If this be true, the author must have been mistaken in saying in the 6th chapter of Book ix., that Carlstadt "had not had the patience to study the original tongues;" nor does the manner in which he is represented in this part of the work, as supporting his opinions, betray that want of "recognition of the full sufficiency of the Word of God," with which he is charged in that chapter. He had evidently taught the people of Orlamunde to appeal in all things to the Scriptures. Tr.

various quarters from the people of Germany. The Germans were not disposed to allow themselves to be deprived of that Word of God, which had at last been restored to them; and to the orders of Charles V., the bulls of the pope, the threats and faggots of Ferdinand, and the other Roman Catholic princes, they replied, "Keep this we will."

Hardly had the leaguers quitted Ratisbonne, when the deputies of the cities whose bishops had taken part in that alliance, met in surprise and indignation at Spire, and decreed that notwithstanding the prohibitions of the bishops, their preachers should preach the gospel, and the gospel alone, conformably to the words of the prophets and the apostles. They next made preparations for presenting a firm and unanimous opinion to the national assembly.

The imperial letter dated at Burgos, threw perturbation, it is true, into all their thoughts. Nevertheless, towards the close of the year, the deputies of those cities, together with several noblemen, met at Ulm, and pledged themselves by oath mutually to assist each other, in case of their being attacked.

Thus did the free cities confront the camp formed by Austria, Bavaria, and the bishops, with another camp, in which they unfurled the standard of the gospel and the national liberties.

While the cities were thus taking their position as the advanced guard of the Reformation, several princes were gained over to their cause. One day, early in June, 1524, Melanchthon was returning on horseback from a visit to his mother, accompanied by Camerarius and some other friends, when he met a brilliant train near Frankfort. This was Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the same that three years before paid Luther a visit when at Worms, and who was then on his way to the Heidelberg games, where all the princes of Germany were expected.

Thus did Providence bring Philip into contact successively with both the Reformers. It was known that the illustrious doctor had been visiting his native place; one of the knights attending the landgrave said to him: "I think it is Melanchthon." The young prince instantly clapped both spurs to his horse's sides, and going right up to the doctor, said to him: "Art thou Philip?" "I am," replied the scholar, somewhat out of counte-

nance, and prepared respectfully to dismount;¹ "Stay where you are," said the prince, "wheel about, and come and pass the night with me. I have some things to talk over with you; don't be afraid."—"What should I fear from a prince like you?" replied the doctor.—"Eh, eh!" said the landgrave smiling, "were I to carry thee off, and hand thee over to Campeggi, I rather think he would be no wise ill pleased." The two Philips went on together, side by side; the prince interrogated, the doctor replied, and the landgrave was delighted with the clear and striking views that were laid before him. Melanchthon beseeching him at last to allow him to pursue his journey, Philip of Hesse parted from him not without reluctance. "On one condition," said he to him, "and that is that on your reaching home, you will carefully treat the questions we have been discussing, and send me what you write upon them."² This Melanchthon promised to do. "Go then," said Philip to him, "and pass through my states."

Melanchthon drew up, with his usual talent, an epitome of the renovated doctrines of Christianity;³ and that document, which was remarkable for its force and conciseness, made a decisive impression on the landgrave's mind. Soon after his return from the Heidelberg games, that prince, without joining the free cities, issued an ordinance on his side, by which, in opposition to the Ratisbonne league, he enjoined the Gospel to be preached in all its purity. He embraced it himself with the whole energy of his character. "Rather," said he, "give up body and life, my estates and my subjects, than the Word of God." Observing this leaning that the prince had for the Reformation, the minorite friar Ferber wrote him a letter filled with reproaches, and conjuring him to remain faithful to Rome. "I desire," answered Philip, "to remain faithful to the old doctrine, but such as it is contained in Scripture." He then very forcibly establishes the point that man is justified solely by faith. The monk was confounded and put to silence.⁴ The landgrave was called "Melanchthon's disciple."⁵

¹ Honoris causa de equo descensurus. (Camerarius, p. 94.)

² Ut de questionibus quas audiisset moveri, aliquid diligenter conscriptum curaret. (Camer. p. 94.)

³ Epitome renovatæ ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ.

⁴ Seckendorf, p. 738.

⁵ Princeps ille discipulus Philippi fuit a quibusdam appellatus. (Camerarius, p. 95.)

Other princes pursued a similar course. The elector palatine refused to lend himself to any persecution; the elector of Saxony's nephew, the duke of Lunenburg, commenced the reformation of his states; and the king of Denmark ordained that in Schleswick, and Holstein, every man should be free to serve God as his conscience might dictate.

The Reformation now made a still more important conquest than these. A prince whose conversion to the Gospel was destined to be followed by great consequences even down to our own days, was now beginning to feel an aversion to Rome. One day, about the end of June, shortly after Melancthon's return to Wittenberg, Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, the grand-master of the Teutonic order, entered Luther's room. This chief of the monk-knights of Germany, who were at that time in possession of Prussia, had gone to the diet of Nuremberg for the purpose of calling upon the empire to assist them against Poland. He had left the diet with a sorely afflicted heart. On the one hand, the preaching of Osiander, and the reading of the Gospel, had convinced him that his state of monkhood was contrary to the Word of God; on the other hand, the downfall of the national government of Germany, had deprived him of all hopes of obtaining the aids he had come to demand. What then was he to do? . . . The Saxon councillor, von Planitz, in company with whom he had left Nuremberg, advised him to see the Reformer. "What is your opinion of the rule of my order," said the disquieted and agitated prince to Luther. Luther did not hesitate; he saw that a conduct conformed to the Gospel was that, also, which alone could save Prussia. "Pray," said he to the grand master, "pray for help from God; reject the absurd and confused rule of your order; put an end to that abominable principality, that true hermaphrodite, neither religious nor secular;¹ eschew false chastity, pursue that which is real; marry, and found a legitimate empire in the room of that nameless monster."² These words clearly marked out to the grand-master's soul, a position which he had hitherto but vaguely apprehended. His features relaxed into a smile; but he was

¹ Ut loco illius abominabilis principatus, qui hermaphrodita quidam. (L. Epp. ii. p. 527.)

² Ut contempta ista stulta confusaque regula, uxorem duceret. (Ibid.)

too prudent to commit himself by making any reply; he held his peace.¹ Melanchthon who was present, spoke to the same purpose with Luther, and the prince set off again for his states, leaving the Reformers convinced that the seed they had sown in his heart, would one day produce fruit.²

Thus did Charles V. and the pope oppose the national assembly at Spire, from the dread they felt that the Word of God might make a conquest of all who were present at it; but the Word of God cannot be bound. Denied permission to resound through one of the halls of a city of the Lower Palatinate, it took its revenge by diffusing itself throughout all the provinces; it roused the minds of the people, enlightened the princes, and

¹ Ille tum arrisit, sed nihil respondit. (L. Epp. ii. p. 527.)

² A minute but tedious account of the early fortunes of the house of Brandenburg will be found in Frederick the Great's Memoirs of that house, London. 1751. Dr. Robertson's account of its first connection with Prussia is as follows: "While the frenzy of the crusades possessed all Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, several orders of religious knighthood were founded in defence of the Christian faith, against heathens and infidels. Among these the Teutonic order in Germany was one of the most illustrious, the knights of which distinguished themselves greatly in all the enterprises carried on in the Holy Land. Being driven at last from their settlements in the East, they were obliged to return to their native country. Their zeal and valour were too impetuous to remain long inactive. They invaded, on very slight pretences, the province of Prussia, the inhabitants of which were still idolaters; and having completed the conquest of it about the middle of the thirteenth century, held it many years as a fief depending on the crown of Poland. Fierce contests arose during this period, between the grand-masters of the order and the kings of Poland; the former struggling for independence, while the latter asserted their right of sovereignty with great firmness. Albert, a prince of the house of Brandenburg, who was elected grand-master in the year 1511, engaging keenly in this quarrel, maintained a long war with Sigismund, king of Poland; but having become an early convert to Luther's doctrines, this gradually lessened his zeal for the interests of his fraternity, so that he took the opportunity of the confusions in the empire, and the absence of the emperor, to conclude a treaty with Sigismund, greatly to his own private emolument. By it that part of Prussia which belonged to the Teutonic order, was erected into a secular and hereditary duchy, and the investiture of it granted to Albert, who, in return, bound himself to do homage for it to the kings of Poland as their vassal. Immediately after this, he made public profession of the reformed religion, and married a princess of Denmark. The Teutonic knights exclaimed so loudly against the treachery of their grand-master, that he was put under the ban of the empire; but he still kept possession of the province he had usurped, and transmitted it to his posterity. In process of time this rich inheritance fell to the electoral branch of the family. All dependence on the crown of Poland was shaken off; and the margraves of Brandenburg, having assumed the title of kings of Prussia, have not only risen to an equality with the first princes of Germany, but take their rank among the great monarchs of Europe." History of Charles V., Book iv. The treachery complained of in the grand-master, was evidently nothing more than the relinquishment of the treason to right principles involved in the whole constitution of the Teutonic order and the adoption of what the event has proved to be the wisest measure for the people of Prussia. It would have been well for Poland had that country come under an hereditary Protestant government at the same period. Ta.

displayed throughout the entire empire, that divine force of which neither bulls nor ordinances could ever deprive it.

IX. While the people and their chiefs were thus pressing towards the light, the Reformers were endeavouring to renovate all things, and to carry the principles of Christianity into all things. The first object of their regard was public worship. The time fixed by the Reformer on his return to Wittenberg, had come. "Now," said he, "that men's hearts have been fortified by divine grace, the scandals that tarnish the Lord's kingdom, ought to be put away, and we ought to venture upon doing something in the name of Jesus." He requested that the communion might be given in both kinds; that everything should be removed from the Lord's supper that tended to make it a sacrifice;¹ that Christian congregations should never meet without having the Word of God preached to them;² that the faithful, or at least, the priests and students should meet every morning, at four or five o'clock, for the reading of the Old Testament, and every evening, at five or six o'clock, for the reading of the New; that on the Lord's day the whole Church should meet both in the forenoon and afternoon, and that the supreme rule in regard to public worship, should be that full swing be given to the Word of God.³

All Saints church at Wittenberg particularly excited his indignation. Seckendorf tells us that 9,901 masses were celebrated, and 35,570 pounds of wax consumed in it every year. Luther calls it "the sacrilegious Topheth." "There are but three or four lazy bellies," he would say, "who still worship that shameful Mammon; and were it not that I restrained the people, that house of all Saints, or rather of all devils, would long ere now have made such a noise as the world never heard the like of."

The struggle began around that church. It resembled one of those ancient sanctuaries of paganism in Egypt, Gaul, and

¹ Weise christliche Messe zu halten. (L. Opp. L. xxii. p. 232.)

² Die christliche Gemeinde nimmer soll zusammen kommen, es werde denn daselbst Gottes Wort geprediget. (L. Opp. xxii. p. 226.)

³ Dass das Wort im Schwange gehe. (L. Opp. xxii. p. 227.) I have here as in several other instances, preferred literally translating Luther's words. The expression is homely and therefore characteristic. M. M. d'Aubigné's paraphrase, "sound the Church-bell of the Word of God," would hardly do in English, though the allusion is plainly to a bell. TR.

Germany, whose fall was a necessary prelude to the establishment of Christianity.

With the view of having the mass abolished in that cathedral, Luther addressed a first request to the chapter on the 1st of March 1523, and on the eleventh of July, sent them a second.¹ The prebendaries having met these by producing the elector's orders: "What have we to do in this case with the order of the prince?" replied Luther. "He is a secular prince; the sword is his affair, not the ministry of the Gospel."² Here Luther clearly states the distinction between the state and the Church. "There is but one sacrifice for the putting away of sins," he further said, "even Christ, who offered himself once; and we participate therein, not by works or by sacrifices, but solely by faith in God's Word."

Aware that his end was approaching, the elector felt a repugnance at such new reforms.

But in making these urgent remonstrances, Luther was joined by others. "It is now time to act," said Jonas, provost of the cathedral. "So bright a manifestation of the Gospel as that which we now possess, lasts no longer, for the most part, than a gleam from the sun. Let us then make haste."³

This letter from Jonas having failed to change the elector's views, Luther became impatient. He thought the time was come for giving the final blow, and addressed a threatening letter to the chapter: "I pray you as a friend," says he, "and seriously solicit you to put an end to all this sectarian worship. If you refuse, you shall receive, with God's help, the recompense you will have merited. I write this for your guidance, and beg you will send me a positive and immediate answer,—yes or no—before next Lord's day, that I may know how to act. May God give you his grace, that you may follow his light.

"MARTIN LUTHER.

"*Preacher at Wittemberg.*"⁴

"Thursday, 8th December, 1524.

At the same time the rector, two burgomasters, and ten coun-

¹ L. Epp. ii. p. p. 308 and 354.

² Welchem gebührt das Schwerd, nicht das Predigtamt zu versorgen. (L. Epp. xviii. p. 497.)

³ Corp. Reformat. i. p. 636

⁴ L. Epp. ii. p. 565.

cillors waited on the dean, and solicited him in the name of the university, of the council, and of the commonalty of Wittemberg, "to abolish the great and horrible impiety committed in the mass against the majesty of God."

The chapter behoved to yield: it declared that, enlightened by the holy Word of God,¹ it acknowledged the abuses to which its attention had been called, and published a new order of (divine) service, which was first adopted on Christmas day, 1524.

Thus fell the mass in that famous sanctuary where it had so long resisted the reiterated assaults of the Reformers. Attacked by the gout and on the point of expiring, the elector Frederick, notwithstanding all his efforts, could not prevent this great act of reformation. He recognised the divine will in it, and submitted. The fate of the Romish practices in All Saints church hastened their downfall in a great number of the churches throughout Christendom; there was everywhere the same resistance, and everywhere the same victory. In vain would the priests, and even the princes, in many places throw obstacles in its way; they could not prevent it.

Nor was it public worship only that the Reformation behoved to change. It soon placed the school side by side with the Church; and it infused new life into those two great institutions, mighty instruments both of them, in regenerating the nations. It was in the way of an intimate alliance with literature that the Reformation entered the world, and in the day of its triumph that ally was not forgotten.

Christianity is no mere expansion of Judaism; it does not propose to wrap man up again, as the popedom would do, in the strait swaddling bands of external ordinances, and human doctrines. Christianity is a new creation; it lays hold of the inner man; it transforms him in all that is least superficial in human nature, so that man shall no longer require to have rules imposed on him by other men; but, with God's help, he shall of himself and by himself, be capable of apprehending what is true, and of doing what is good.²

That man might be brought to that majority which Christ

¹ Durch das Licht des heiligen Göttlichen Wortes. . . . (L. Opp. xviii. p. 502.)

² Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. viii. ver. 11.

hath acquired for him, and escape from the state of pupilage in which Rome had so long confined him, it was necessary that the Reformation should develope man in all his attributes; and while it regenerated his heart, and his will by the Word of God, that it should enlighten his understanding also, by means of the study of sacred and profane literature.

Luther perceived this; he felt that in order to give a firm establishment to the Reformation, youth must become the objects of laborious attention, schools be made as perfect as possible, and those branches of learning which are necessary for a profound study of holy Scripture, propagated throughout Christendom.¹ These, accordingly, formed one of the grand objects of his life; and as at no time was he more convinced of this than at this epoch of his life, he now sent a circular letter to the councillors of all the cities of Germany, calling upon them to found Christian schools. "Dear Sirs," said he, "so much money is expended every year for muskets, roads, and embankments; why should not a little be expended in providing poor youth with one or two schoolmasters? God stands at our door and knocks; blessed are we, if we open to him! The divine Word now abounds. O dear Germans, buy, buy, while the market is held at your doors. The Word of God and his grace, are like a wave that subsides and disappears. The Jews possessed it once; but it is

¹ There can be no doubt that Luther's grand object in all this, was the diffusion of "saving knowledge"—of that acquaintance with God, in his works of creation, providence and grace, which is surely and purely derived from the Bible alone; and which in its effects upon the intellectual and moral nature of man, infinitely exceeds in value all other knowledge whatsoever. But because Luther, whose admiration of Erasmus as a scholar was unbounded, and who so loved and admired in Melancthon both the scholar and the Christian, gave the highest place in his regard to what was unquestionably of highest moment, what shall we think of a modern author who talks slightly of the world's obligations in point of literature to such a man? "Nor, again," says Mr. Hallam, "is there any foundation for imagining that Luther was concerned for the interests of literature. None had he himself, save theological; nor are there, as I apprehend, many allusions to profane studies, or any proof of his regard to them, in all his works." Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 418. Now what should we think of the man who should say of Homer, and Virgil, in regard to literature: "None had they themselves, save poetical." Does theology not give the amplest and noblest scope for literature in the highest sense of the word? Is there no literature worth anything, in the theology of France and Britain? On what is the fame of Bossuet, Jeremy Taylor, &c., mainly founded? Is there no literature of the highest kind in those noble sermons of Luther's which were so much admired by Melancthon, and yet so much adapted to the people? Luther, both as an orator and as a poet, too, if we are to judge by his hymns, and setting aside his controversial writings altogether, in his extant works casts utter ridicule on Mr. Hallam's pedantry and prejudice. *Tr.*

gone by; it is theirs now no more. Paul took it with him into Greece, but from Greece, too, it hath passed away, and now it is the Turks that are to be found there. It came to Rome, and into the Latin country, but from that, too, it hath passed away, and Rome has now the pope.¹ O Germans, think not that you shall have that Word for ever. The contempt that is manifested towards it will banish it. Therefore let him who would have it, lay hold of it and keep it!

"Let your attention be occupied about children," he continues, still addressing himself to magistrates; "for many parents are like the ostriches; hardening themselves towards their little ones, and content with having laid the egg, they care no more about it. The prosperity of a town doth not consist in amassing much treasure, building strong walls, raising fine houses, possessing brilliant arms. If fools come and assault it, its calamity then will only be the greater. The true welfare of a city, its salvation and its force, lies in its being able to count upon having many learned, grave, upright, well brought up citizens. And who are to be blamed for there being so few such at present, if it be not you, magistrates, who have allowed youth to grow up like brushwood in the forest?"²

¹ Aber hin ist hin; sie haben nun den Papst. (L. Opp. W. X. p. 535.)

² Much weight has been attached to the strong terms in which Erasmus complains of the Reformation as having checked literary zeal, and led to a decline in the passion for reviving ancient learning. This letter shows that Luther was no foe even to human learning. But before we allow ourselves to be carried off by the pointed expressions of the Rotterdam doctor, let us remember that the passion for ancient learning, irrespective of its being sanctified to the service of God and made useful to man, according to the complaint of Erasmus himself, was carried so far that he dreaded that the rage for Hebrew might bring back Judaism, and the passion for pagan literature, paganism. No doubt, when literary enthusiasm was running into such extravagance as this, the revived Christianity of the Reformation could not fail to check it in various ways. The zeal even of professed scholars would be so far abated, and then too, as in our own days, many men whose talents and energy were such as to ensure them the highest honours of literary distinction, would devote those noble qualities to the simple preaching of the Gospel and the care of souls. In this view, the fears of Erasmus indicate a very small mind. He laments the decay of mere philological zeal—the decline of that taste and talent which render man illustrious by editing the books, or illustrating the peculiarities of classical antiquity, but granting all his allegations against the Reformation in this respect to be true, surely, had he possessed a soul alive to generous Christian impulses, such regrets for the losses sustained by criticism and philology, would have been merged in the delightful contemplation of the Bible unsealed to millions perishing for lack of knowledge—of large editions of it, in an admirable translation, printed off with unexampled rapidity in Germany—and of many an accomplished scholar, who, in the walks of literature or science, might have earned no mean reputation among the learned, preferring to devote his

It was the study of literature, and of the languages, of which Luther strongly pressed the necessity. "What use is there," we are asked, "in learning Latin, Greek, and Hebrew? We can read the Bible very well in German." "Without the languages," he replies, "we should not have had the Gospel. . . . The languages are the sheath in which lies the sword of the Spirit;¹ they are the casket which encloses those jewels; they are the vessel which contains that liquor; and, as the Gospel speaks, they are the baskets for preserving the bread, and the fishes with which the people must be fed. If we abandon the languages, we shall not only come at last to lose the Gospel, but no longer shall we have it in our power to speak or write in Latin or in German. The moment they shall cease to be cultivated, Christendom will have declined, so as at last to fall under the power of the pope. But now that the tongues are anew held in honour, they diffuse so much light that the whole world is amazed, and that every man must allow that our Gospel is almost as pure as that of the apostles themselves. The holy fathers, in times of old, were often mistaken, because of their ignorance of the tongues; in our days there are some who, like the Vaudois of Piedmont do not believe the tongues to be of use; but although their doctrines be good, they often miss the true meaning of the sacred text, find themselves wanting in weapons wherewith to combat error, and, I much fear, their creed may not continue pure.² Had not my knowledge of the languages made me sure of the meaning of the Word, I might have been a godly monk, and might have quietly preached the truth in the obscurity of a cloister, but I must have let the pope, the sophists, and their antichristian empire, keep their place."³

Luther's attention was not confined to the instructions to be provided for ecclesiastical persons; he had no wish that learning should be restricted to the Church alone; he proposed that the laity should be enabled to share in it, though until then they had in that respect been disinherited. He called for the found-

energies to the winning of souls to Christ, and diffusing the blessings of pure Christianity among a humble but grateful flock. *Tr.*

¹ Die Sprachen sin die Scheide, darinnen dies Messer des Gastes stecket. (L. Opp. W. X. p. 535.)

² Es sey oder werde nicht lauter bleiben. (Ibid.)

³ Ich hätte wohl auch können fromm seyn und in der Stille recht predigen. (Ibid.)

ing of libraries, and that these, instead of consisting only of editions and of commentaries of the schoolmen and fathers of the Church, should have the books of the orators and poets likewise, even although they might have been pagans, as well as works devoted to the fine arts, law, medicine, and history. "These writings serve," said he, "to make us acquainted with the works and the miracles of God."

This work of Luther's is one of the most important of all that the Reformation produced. It took learning out of the hands of the priests who had engrossed it to themselves, as those of Egypt did of old, and made it the property of all. From the impulsion thus communicated by the Reformation, have proceeded the greatest developments of modern times. Those laymen, men of science and literature, who now traduce the Reformation, forget that they themselves are its work, and that but for it they would still be placed, like boys that know nothing, under the rod of the clergy.¹ The Reformation saw the intimate

¹ Mr. Hallam, with a predilection for Erasmus, and disparagement of Luther, which have subjected him to severe criticism, not content with repeating the former's charges against the Reformation as ruining literature, has insinuated, in passages eagerly quoted by Romanist writers for their own purposes, that that great revolution was by no means so beneficial to society as is supposed. "Whatever may be the bias of our minds as to the truth of Luther's doctrines," says he, "we should be careful, in considering the Reformation as a part of the history of mankind, not to be misled by the superficial and ungrounded representations which we sometimes find in modern writers. Such is this, that Luther, struck by the absurdity of the prevailing superstitions, was desirous of introducing a more rational system of religion; or that he contended for freedom of inquiry, and the boundless privileges of individual judgment; or what others have been pleased to suggest, that his zeal for learning and eminent philosophy, led him to attack the ignorance of the monks, and the crafty policy of the church which withstood all liberal studies."

"These notions," he goes on to say, "are merely fallacious refinements, as every man of plain understanding, who is acquainted with the writings of the early Reformers, or has considered their history, must acknowledge. The doctrines of Luther, taken together, are not more rational, that is, more conformable, to what men, *a priori*, would expect to find in religion than those of the church of Rome; nor did he ever pretend that they were so." Introduction to the Lit. of Europe, &c. vol. i. p. 418.

As this passage in Mr. Hallam is immediately followed by his sneer at Luther's disregard for literature, its evident object is to insinuate that the Reformation was no better than the church of Rome in regard to its reasonableness, and the benefits resulting from it to the progress of the human mind. This idea we cannot better refute than by pointing to the analogy between what the Reformation did in religion, and what the Baconian philosophy has done in philosophy. Both were too humbling to accord with the prepossessions of human reason—both subjected that reason to an absolute authority, and in doing so, both were pre-eminently rational, because that authority was no other than the laws of God, in the two several departments of religion and philosophy, superseding the caprices of the human will and fancy.

This is so admirably shown in Bacon's "Advancement of Learning," where that

union that connected all the sciences; it perceived that every science that flows from God, leads back to God. It desired that all should learn, and that people should learn everything. "They who despise profane literature," said Melanchthon, "do not the more appreciate sacred theology. Their contempt is but a pretext which they use for concealing their sloth."¹

The Reformation was not content with communicating a fresh impulse to literature; the arts, also, were powerfully promoted by it. Protestantism has been often reproached with being the enemy of the arts, and many protestants willingly accept the reproach. We shall not examine whether the Reformation ought or ought not to glory in this; but simply remark, that impartial history does not confirm the statement on which the charge is founded. Let Roman catholicism pride itself in being more favourable to the arts than protestantism, all well; paganism was more favourable still, and protestantism places its glory in other things. There are religions in which the æsthetic ten-

philosopher treats of divinity, that I need only refer the reader to that work. Some passages, however, place the principle of the Reformation in so clear a light that I make no apology for quoting them in a Note on the learning which the early Reformers had it so much at heart to diffuse. "The prerogative of God," says Bacon, "extendeth as well to the reason as to the will of man; so that as we are to obey his law, though we find a reluctance in our will, so we are to believe his Word, though we find a reluctance in our reason." Of how much consequence then, the universal knowledge of that Word, aimed at by the Reformation? Again: "Wherefore we conclude that sacred theology, which in our idiom we call divinity, is grounded only upon the Word and oracle of God, and not upon the light of nature: for it is written: 'The heavens declare the glory of God;' but it is not written: The heavens declare the will of God: but of that it is said: 'To the law and to the testimony,' &c. This holdeth not only in those points of faith which concern the great mysteries of the Deity, of the creation, of the redemption, but likewise those which concern the moral law truly interpreted: 'Love your enemies;'" &c. "This," says Bacon, "is a voice beyond the light of nature;" that is, what Mr. Hallam would call, *not rational*. Thus we see that Bacon proclaims the subjection of man in theology to divine revelation, just as he had proclaimed his subjection in natural philosophy to the laws imposed by God on the material phenomena of the universe; and if the former of these two principles was irrational, and a restraint on "the boundless privileges of individual judgment," just so but no more was the latter.

Bacon indeed goes on to show that the use, notwithstanding, of reason, in spiritual things, "is very great and general; for it is not for nothing that the apostle calleth religion our *reasonable service* of God," &c. And if early Reformers did not hold the same view, why should Luther have addressed himself to the reason of mankind in such a vast number of controversial writings, or why should he have challenged Carlstadt, as we have just seen, to write and controvert him? Here Mr. Hallam has quite forgotten the following profoundly wise remarks of Bacon: "But most especially the Christian faith, as in all things, so in this deserveth to be highly magnified, holding and preserving the golden mediocrity in this point, between the law of the heathen, and the law of Mahomet, which have embraced the two extremes. *For the religion of the*

¹ Hunc titulum ignaviæ suæ prætextunt. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 613.)

dencies of man hold a more important place than is given to his moral nature; from those religions Christianity is distinguished by having, for its essence, the moral element in man. Christian sentiment reveals itself, not in the productions of the fine arts, but in the works of the Christian life. Any sect that should abandon this moral tendency of Christianity, would by so doing, forfeit its titles to the Christian name. Rome has not entirely abandoned this essential characteristic, but protestantism guards it with far more purity. It glories in going to the bottom of all that peculiarly belongs to the moral being of man, and in judging of religious acts, not by their fair outside and the manner in which they strike the fancy, but by their essential worth, and by the relation they bear to the conscience; in such wise that if the popedom is above all things an æsthetic religion, as has been proved by an illustrious writer,¹ protestantism is above all things a moral religion.

Notwithstanding, although the Reformation addressed itself

heathen had no constant belief or confession, but left all to the liberty of argument; and the religion of Mahomet, on the other side, interdicteth argument altogether; the one having the very face of error, and the other of imposture; whereas the faith doth both admit and reject disputation with difference." Had Bacon lived now, he would have found a still more apt illustration in the so called Rationalists on the one hand, and the Papists on the other; and whether Mr. Hallam would send all Christendom, with the former, into the *errors* of the heathen, or with the latter into *imposture* as gross as that of Mahomet, does not very clearly appear. Freethinkers may adduce him as an authority in favour of scepticism, as papists have done in favour of imposture.

It is impossible within the limits of a Note to show, how Bacon considered certain "articles and principles of religion exempted from examination of reason," while "we are permitted to make derivations and inferences therefrom." He uses this happy illustration, that as in a game of chess, the rules of the game are positive, merely, however, *ad placitum*, that is, as arbitrarily laid down by the inventor, yet in playing the game, we exercise our reason; "such," says he, "is that secondary reason, which hath place in divinity, which is grounded on the *placets* of God."

Now the Reformers may have erred in multiplying those *placets*, those articles that were not to be set aside by reason, because plainly revealed, any more than one of the laws of the physical world is to be set aside, but such was not the principle of the Reformation; and the remarkable agreement of the Reformed Churches as to these, seems to absolve them from this charge. But Luther's successors were guilty of this fault, insisting that a deference should be paid to all their great master's opinions, almost equal to that claimed for the Bible. Dr. Pusey, in his account of German Rationalism, has shown how the violent rebound from this error, helped to throw German Protestants into a state of scepticism, which was unhappily extended to the Bible, and produced Neology and Rationalism, being the extreme ascribed by Bacon to the religion of the heathen.

The reader will find, in Sir J. Mackintosh's History of England, a very different and much juster estimate of the character of the Reformation, than Mr. Hallam has given. Tr.

¹ Chateaubriand, Génie du Christianisme.

to man, in the first instance, as a moral being, it addressed itself to man in his entire nature. We have seen how it spoke to his understanding,¹ and what it did for literature; it spoke also, to his sensibility and to his imagination, and thus contributed to the development of the arts. The Church was no longer wholly composed of priests and monks; it was now the congregation of believers. All were to take part in worship, and the chanting of the clergy was to be succeeded by the psalmody of the people. Luther, accordingly, in translating the psalms, thought of adapting them to be sung by the Church. And thus a taste for music was diffused throughout the nation.

"Next to theology," Luther would say, "I give the first place and the greatest honour to music.²—A schoolmaster ought to be able to sing," he would further say, "without which I would not even look at him."

One day that some one with him was singing some beautiful pieces, he exclaimed in an ecstasy of delight: "If our Lord God has shed down such admirable gifts upon this earth, which is but an obscure corner, what will there not be in that eternal life where all will be perfection!" . . . From Luther's time the people sang; the Bible inspired their songs, and the impulse thus communicated at the epoch of the Reformation, afterwards

¹ Roman Catholics may now be found loudly insisting that their church, too, addresses itself to the understanding, and some have even adduced the case of Bossuet and Jurieu, as an example. "Bossuet did not hinder Jurieu from speaking." "True," it has been well replied, "but only in Holland, where Bossuet had no power to prevent him. Bossuet could discuss, yet, in doing so, quite approved of Louis XIV. interposing his authority in depriving all on whom persuasion did not act with sufficient effect, of any wish to reply."

But although the papal doctors may now make a virtue of a necessity, by addressing themselves to the understanding of man, let us not be mistaken as to the manner in which this is generally done, and which is infinitely worse than making no pretence to it at all. It consists in nothing but elaborate efforts to undermine the confidence of the understanding in all religious convictions whatever, except that, which is no proper conviction, of an implicit unreasoning assent to the dogmas of their church. Accordingly, as I have remarked before, the world has never seen such a strenuous or extensive inculcating of scepticism as by Roman Catholic doctors and their scholars, or such an ingenious employment of sophistical arguments for that purpose as they exhibit. And here Dr. Pusey, in ascribing German Neology and Rationalism, to the reaction from that extravagant respect for all of Luther's tenets which, in flagrant contradiction to the true principles of the Reformation, long marked the Lutheran Churches, though right so far, is not entirely so;—it having been discovered that those heresies originally sprang from the efforts of Romanists to invalidate the authority of the Scriptures as a rival to that of their own church. This I remarked before. TR.

² Ich gebe nach der Theologie, der Musica den nächsten Locum und höchste Ehre. (L. Opp. W. xxii. p. 2253.)

led to those magnificent oratorios which seem to have carried that art to its highest pitch of perfection.

Poetry took the same start. In celebrating the praises of God, people could not confine themselves to mere translations of ancient anthems. The souls of Luther and of several of his contemporaries, elevated by their faith to thoughts the most sublime, excited to enthusiasm by the struggles and the dangers to which the Church at its birth was unceasingly threatened, inspired in fine by the poetical genius of the Old Testament, and by the faith of the New, ere long gave vent to their feelings in hymns, in which all that is most heavenly in poetry and music, was combined and blended.¹ Hence the revival, in the sixteenth century, of the hymn (*cantique*) which as early as in the first century, used to cheer the martyrs in their sufferings. We have seen Luther, in 1523, employing it to celebrate the martyrs at Brussels; other children of the Reformation followed his footsteps; hymns were multiplied; they spread rapidly among the people, and powerfully contributed to rouse it from its sleep. It was in that same year, that Hans Sachs sang, the Wittenberg nightingale. The doctrine which during four centuries had prevailed in the Church, is in his eyes but as the moonlight beneath which men lose their way in the deserts. But the nightingale now harbingers the sun, and saluting the dawn with its song, soars above the mists of the morning.

While lyric poetry thus burst from the loftiest inspirations of the Reformation, satirical poetry and the drama attacked the most crying abuses, in pieces from the pens of Hütten, Mürner, and Manuel.

It is to the Reformation that the great poets of England, Germany, and perhaps of France, too, owe their noblest flights.

Painting is, of all the arts, that on which the Reformation exerted the least influence. Nevertheless, it, too, was renewed

¹ "The Germans," says Mr. Hallam, "constitutionally a devout people, were never so much so as in this first stage of protestantism. And this in combination with their musical temperament, displayed itself in the peculiar line of hymns. No other nation has so much of this poetry. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the number of religious songs was reckoned at 33,000, and that of their authors at 500. Those of Luther have been more known than the rest; they are hard and rude, but impressive and deep." (History of the Lit. of Europe, vol. i. p. 586.) Here there is no acknowledgment of the fact that much of this was owing to Luther's encouragement. 'Tr.

and sanctified, as it were, by the universal movement which then gave an impulse to all the capabilities of man. Luke Cranch, the great master of that period, fixed his residence at Wittemberg, lived there on intimate terms with Luther, and became the painter of the Reformation. We have seen how he represented the contrast between Christ and Antichrist (the pope), and thus took his place among the most influential instruments of the revolution that was then remodelling the nations. From the time of his acquiring new convictions, he consecrated his chaste pencil to such paintings only as harmonised with all that a Christian believes, and shed upon groups of children blessed by the Saviour, the graces with which he had previously invested the saints, male and female, of the Romish legends. Albert Durer, also, was won by the Gospel message, and from it his genius took a new flight. His finest pieces date from that epoch. It may be seen from the manner in which he ever after painted the evangelists and the apostles, that the Bible was restored to the people, and that from it the painter drew a depth, a force, a life, and a grandeur of conception, which he never could have found in himself.¹

Nevertheless, it must be owned that painting is of all the arts that whose religious influence is most obnoxious to well-founded and urgent objections. Poetry and music come from heaven, and will be found again in heaven; but painting we behold unceasingly combined with serious immoralities or with deadly errors. The man who has studied history or seen Italy, can expect nothing good for human nature from that art. Whatever weight may be attached to the exception which we think we are bound to make, our general remark still subsists.

The Reformation in Germany, while withal it addressed itself mainly to man's moral nature, gave an impulsion to the arts which they could not have received from Roman catholicism.

Thus there was a general advance in the arts, in literature, in spirituality of worship, and in the souls of the nations and of kings. But this magnificent harmony produced by the Gospel in all parts, in the days of its revival, was now to be broken. The notes of the Wittemberg nightingale were about to be

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, ii. p. 85.

interrupted by the whistling of the storm and the roaring of lions. A mist diffused itself in a moment over the whole of Germany; a beautiful day was succeeded by a dark and tempestuous night.

X. The empire had long been agitated by a political fermentation, very different from anything that the Gospel produces. Borne down by civil and ecclesiastical oppression, attached, in many districts, to the feudal baronies and sold with them, the people threatened to rise at length in wrath, and to break their chains. This unsettlement revealed itself in various symptoms long before the Reformation, and even thus early, the religious element had mingled with the political element; two principles intimately blended in the life of nations, and which it was impossible in the sixteenth century to separate.¹ In Holland, at the close of the preceding century, the peasants had risen with bread and cheese, the two grand blessings of life among those poor people, represented on their standards instead of armorial bearings. "The shoe league" had broken out in the neighbourhood of Spire, in 1503. In 1513, it was renewed under encouragement from the priests, in Brisgau. Wurtemberg in 1514, had witnessed poor Conrad's league, the object of which was by means of a revolt, to uphold "the rights of God." Carinthia, and Hungary, were in 1515, the theatres of terrible commotions.² These seditions had been suppressed by torrents of blood, but no relief had been granted to those who took part in

¹ Impossible, many readers will think, in any century. So intimate is the alliance between politics and morals, political relations so necessarily involving moral obligations, and morality without religion being so weak and capricious an authority among men. Tr.

² Here light is thrown on the supposition which we made in our Note in vol. first, as to the precise period of the risings among the peasantry in the Rhenish provinces, known by the name of the *Shoe-league*, as mentioned there by Mr. Merle, and compared with other writers: and what we then surmised is now confirmed by what is stated here, namely that this league, after a course of years, and in sundry places, was renewed; and we see more distinctly that the proper Shoe-league was first entered into in the country around Spire, in the year 1503, was renewed in the Brisgau, in 1513, while in 1514, a league of a like nature took place in Wurtemberg, under the name of the poor Conrad, and in 1515, similar commotions manifested themselves in Carinthia and Hungary. The uproar in our fatherland, in 1490 and 1491, known by the name of the *Cheese-and-bread-game*, from the emblems which the boors in that part of North Holland, called Kennemerland, where it first appeared, bore upon their flags, was partly connected with the preceding long-continued political dissensions betwixt the so-called Hooks and Codfish, and was partly of a more transitory nature, being caused by a temporary scarcity, an unfavourable harvest, and dearness of provisions, which served at least as a pretext for it. It is therefore without any foundation that such insurrections are charged against the Reformation.—L. R.

them. Political reform, accordingly, was no less necessary than religious; the people were entitled to it; but, it must be confessed, were not ripe for the enjoyment of it.¹

Since the commencement of the Reformation, these popular commotions had ceased to be renewed; men's minds having been absorbed by other thoughts. Luther whose piercing ken perceived the condition of the people, with the view of restraining their fevered minds, had addressed them from his commanding position at Wittenberg, in a tone of serious exhortation.

"Revolt," he had said, "does not produce the desired amelioration, and it is condemned by God. What is revolt, if it be not a man's revenging himself? The devil tries to stir up to revolt those who embrace the Gospel, with the view of bringing reproach upon it; but they who have rightly understood my doctrine, do not revolt."²

Everything gave ground to fear that popular agitation could be repressed no longer. The government which Frederick of Saxony had taken such pains to form, and which possessed the confidence of the nation, was dissolved. The emperor, whose energy might perhaps have replaced the influence of that national administration, was absent; the princes, whose union had always constituted the main force of Germany, were divided; and Charles V.'s new declarations against Luther, by removing all prospect of future harmony, so far deprived the Reformer of the moral authority by which he had succeeded, in 1522, in calming the storm. The main dykes that had hitherto confined the flood being destroyed, there was nothing to restrain its fury.

It was not the religious movement that produced political agitation; but in several places the former allowed itself to be

¹ There seems to be a considerable degree of crudeness of conception in these expressions. If by political reform, he meant just government, surely that is a blessing for which a people is always ripe (*mûr*); if, however, it mean the communication of political power, as a people not ripe for that will be sure to abuse it to their own harm, instead of a reform, it becomes a calamity, and we can hardly say that a people are entitled to a calamity. Political power and just government, often as they are confounded, are two very distinct things. Political power may be widely diffused, and yet civil government be so unjust as to establish slavery. Political power, again, may be extremely limited, yet justice and freedom largely abound, though, we fear, precariously, because too dependent on the characters of the few or the one invested with the government. Tr.

² Luther's *treue Ermahnung an alle Christen sich vor Aufruhr und Empörung zu hüten*. (Opp. xviii. p. 288.)

swept along by the tumultuous billows of the latter. Possibly we ought to go further than this, even to the acknowledgment that the movement communicated to the people by the Reformation, gave new force to the discontentment already fermenting in the nation. The violence of Luther's writings; the intrepidity displayed in his actions and in his words; the harsh truths that he uttered, not only to the pope and to the prelates, but to the princes, also, themselves; all this must have contributed to increase the effervescence that had already been produced. Accordingly, Erasmus failed not to say to him: "We reap the fruits of what you have sown."¹ Besides, the cheering truths of the Gospel, when exposed at last to the light of day, roused all hearts and filled them with expectation and with hope. Now many unregenerate souls, were by no means prepared by repentance for receiving Christian faith and liberty. They had every wish to throw off the yoke of the pope, but had no wish to accept of the yoke of Christ; so that when those princes who were devoted to Rome, sought in wrath to stifle the Reformation, real Christians, it is true, could patiently endure those cruel persecutions, but the multitude chafed and boiled over, and seeing their designs crushed on one side, they procured an outlet for these on the other. "Wherefore," it was said, "while the Church is calling all men to the enjoyment of a noble liberty, should slavery be perpetuated in the state? Wherefore, while the Gospel speaks of nothing but of mildness, should civil government rule by nothing but force?" Unhappily, at a time when religious reform was hailed with equal joy, by princes and people, political reform, on the contrary, had the most powerful part of the nation opposed to it; and while the former had the Gospel for its rule and stay, the latter soon had no better principles for its guidance and support, than violence and caprice. Hence, while the one was confined within the bounds of truth, the other, with all the fierceness of a torrent, rapidly shot ahead, and overleapt every bound of justice. But any attempt to deny that the troubles that burst forth in the empire, were indirectly influenced by the Reformation, to me would look like partiality. A flame had been kindled in Germany by religious discussions,

¹ *Habemus fructum tui spiritus.* (Erasm. *Hyperasp.* B. 4.)

and there could not fail to escape from these¹ some sparks likely to inflame the passions of the people.²

The evil was aggravated ere long by the pretensions of certain fanatics to divine inspiration. While the Reformation had been appealing unceasingly from the pretended authority of the Church, to the real authority of holy Scripture, these enthusiasts rejected not only the authority of the Church, but that, too, of Scripture; they spoke no more of anything but an internal word, a revelation from God to the inner man; refusing to acknowledge the natural corruption of their hearts, they gave themselves up to all the intoxication of spiritual pride, and fancied themselves to be saints.

"Holy Scripture," says Luther, "was to them but a dead letter, and all of them began to shout: *The Spirit! the Spirit!* But, assuredly, I will not follow them whither their spirit is leading them! May God, in his mercy, preserve me from a church in which there is none but saints.³ I desire to remain where there are the humble, the weak, the sickly, who know and feel their sin, and who, without ceasing, sigh and cry to God from their inmost hearts, that they may obtain his consolation and his aid." There is much profound meaning in these words of Luther's; they indicate the change that was taking place in his views of the true nature of the Church; and they show, at the same time, how widely opposed were the religious principles of the insurgents to those of the Reformation.

¹ Although it be very true that these disturbances did not arise from the Reformation, still that event favoured those more liberal ideas with regard to the original equality of mankind, with which the thralldom in which the people were held could not continue to subsist. Well had it been, if those who had the power in their hands, had perceived this, for in that case the Reformation itself would have put an end to those oppressions which had already, before its time, given rise to such disturbances. But the time had not then arrived. And have people even now come to a full and just perception of this? Here likewise is it true; "*Not by power, nor by might, but by the Spirit of the Lord, shall it be,*" then, to wit, when through the influence of the same, the true principles of the Reformation, and of genuine Christianity, shall have thoroughly penetrated the minds which it has itself renewed. We look for that wished-for time, even amid present commotions, as forming part of the futurity which lies in prospect before us.—L. R.

² This conclusion may be so far sound, but the interval of quiet occurring during the very period that the Reformation was producing so much excitement throughout, and as the author has said, was supplying those "other thoughts," wherewith men's minds were absorbed, there is much to make us cautious as to how far we should adopt it. TR.

³ Der barmherzige Gott behüte mich ja für der Christlichen Kirche, darin eitel heilige sind. (On John i. 2. L. Opp. (W.) vii. p. 1469.)

The most distinguished of these enthusiasts was Thomas Münzer; a man not deficient in talents, who had read the Bible, was zealous, and might have done good, had he but known how to calm down the agitation of his mind, and to find peace at heart. But, ignorant of himself, and wanting in true humility, he was possessed with the desire of reforming the world, and, like all such enthusiasts, forgot that he ought to have begun by reforming himself. Certain mystical writings which he had read in his younger days, had given his mind a wrong direction. He first appeared at Zwickau, left Wittenberg after Luther's return thither, in ill humour at the inferior post he there occupied, and became pastor of the small town of Alstädt in Thuringia. He could not long remain quiet there, and accused the Reformers of making their attachment to Scripture the foundation of a new popery, and of forming churches that were far from being immaculate and holy.

"Luther," he would say, "has delivered men's consciences from the yoke of the popedom, but he has left them in a state of carnal liberty, and has not advanced their progress in spirit and towards God."¹

To an evil so great as this, he thought himself called upon by God to apply a remedy, and the revelations of the *Spirit* were, according to him, the means by which he was to accomplish his reformation. "He who possesses that Spirit," he would say, "has true faith, even although he should never see the holy Scriptures all his life. Pagans and Turks are much more fitted for its reception than many Christians who call us enthusiasts." It was Luther to whom he alluded in these words. "In order to the receiving of this Spirit, the body must be chastised," he further said, "a mean dress must be worn, the beard must be allowed to grow, a man must look demure, preserve silence,² haunt retired spots, and beseech God to bestow on us a sign of his favour. God will then come and talk with us, as he talked of old with Abraham. Were he not to do so, he would not deserve a man's taking any thought about him?"³ I have received

¹ Führete sie nicht weiter in Geist und zu Gott. (L. Opp. xix. p. 294.)

² Saur sehen, den Bart nicht abschneiden. (Ibid.)

³ Münzer's expression is ignoble and impious. (History of Münzer, by Melancthon. (Ibid. p. 295.)

³ I omit the words given by the author in German, as profane and disgusting even in a foreign language. Tr.

commands from God to gather together his elect, in a holy and everlasting covenant."

The stir and ferment that prevailed in the minds of men, but too much favoured the propagation of these enthusiastic ideas. Man loves the marvellous and whatever flatters his pride. Münzer having led part of his flock to adopt his views, abolished church music and all ceremonies. He maintained that to obey princes "who had lost their reason," was to serve both God and Belial. Next, marching at the head of his parishioners to a chapel that stood near Alstädt, and to which people resorted on pilgrimages from all quarters, he pulled it down. Having been compelled after this exploit, to leave the country, he wandered about Germany, and came at last as far as Switzerland, bringing with him, and communicating to all who wished to hear it, the plan of a general revolution. Everywhere, too, he found men's minds prepared; he threw gunpowder upon burning coals, and a violent explosion followed.

Luther, who had repelled the warlike enterprises of Sickengen,¹ could not suffer himself to be implicated in the tumultuous movements of the peasants. The Gospel withheld him, and it was well for social order that it did so; for what might have been the consequences, had he carried his vast influence into their camp? . . . He ever firmly maintained the distinction between the spiritual and the secular order of things; he ceased not to repeat that it was immortal souls that Christ had emancipated by his Word; and if, with one hand, he attacked the authority of the Church, with the other he no less vigorously upheld the civil authority of the princes. "A Christian," he would say, "ought to endure death an hundred times rather than take the slightest imaginable part in the revolt of the peasants." He wrote to the elector: "What gives me particular delight is, that these enthusiasts themselves are boasting to all who choose to listen to them, that they do not belong to us. It is the Spirit that impels them, they say; and as for me, I answer: It is an evil spirit, that bears no better fruits than the pillage of monasteries and of churches; the greatest robbers on earth are capable of doing as much."

Desirous, at the same time, that others should enjoy the same

¹ First volume, Book I.

freedom that he claimed for himself, Luther advised the prince to avoid all rigorous measures: "Let them preach what they choose, and against whom they choose," said he, "for it must be the Word of God itself that marches ahead and gives them battle. If their spirit be the true one, it will not fear our rigours; if ours be the true, it will not dread their violence. Let us leave the spirits to struggle and fight with each other.¹ Some possibly may be seduced; there are no battles without wounds; but he that fights faithfully will be crowned. Nevertheless, if they will take to the sword, let your highness interfere and prevent them, ordaining them to quit the country."

The revolt commenced in the districts of the Black Forest, and the sources of the Danube, so often agitated by popular commotions. On the 19th of July, 1524, the Thurgovian peasantry rose against the Abbot of Reichenau, who did not choose to give them an evangelical pastor. Ere long thousands assembled around the small town of Tengen, for the purpose of rescuing a clergyman who had been put into prison. The revolt spread with inconceivable rapidity from Suabia to the districts lying on the Rhine, and into Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony. All these countries had revolted in January, 1525.

Towards the close of that month the peasants published a declaration, in twelve articles, in which they claimed the liberty of choosing their own pastors, the abolition of the petty tithe, that they might no longer be considered the slaves or bondsmen of their superiors, that the liberty of hunting and fishing might be common; that the great forests might not be regarded as private property, but be open for the use of all; that they might be delivered from the unusual burden of taxes under which they laboured; that the administration of justice might be less rigorous and more impartial; that the encroachments of the nobles upon meadows and commons, might be restrained. Each demand was supported by a passage (from the Bible). "If we are mistaken," said they in conclusion, "let Luther correct us by Scripture."²

¹ Man lasse die Geister auf einander platzen und treffen. (L. Epp. ii. p. 547.)

² The Bible had evidently become a book of popular authority in Germany, and thus it was natural for the peasants to seek to justify their conduct by perverting certain parts of it to their purposes, and to pretend to defer to the man who proclaimed absolute submission to its authority as the duty of all men, in every rank and condition of life. Ta.

Having applied to the Wittenberg theologians for their advice, Melancthon and Luther gave them theirs, each separately, and in a manner marked by their respective characters. Melancthon who saw a great crime in every kind of dispeace, exceeds the limits of his ordinary mildness, and cannot find words strong enough to express his indignation. The peasants he considers as criminals, against whom he invokes all laws human and divine. Should kindly negotiation prove of no avail, the magistrates ought to prosecute them as if they were robbers and assassins. "Yet," he adds, (and there could not fail to be one trait at least to remind us of Melancthon), let compassion be shown to the orphans, in the application of the penalty of death."

Luther's sentiments on the subject of the revolt agreed with those of Melancthon, but he had a heart that throbbed with sympathy for the grievous sufferings of the people. On this occasion he presented an example of strict impartiality, and spoke the truth frankly to both parties, addressing himself to the princes first, and more particularly to the bishops.

"It is you," says he, "who are the cause of this revolt; it is your declamations against the Gospel, your guilty oppression of the Church's little ones, that have driven the people to despair. It is not the peasants, dear lords, that have risen against you; it is God himself who wishes to oppose your madness.¹ The peasants are the mere instruments whom he employs to humble you. Think not to escape the punishment he is preparing for you. Even although you should succeed in destroying all the peasantry, God, from the very stones, might raise up new ones to punish your pride. Had I a wish to revenge myself, I might laugh in my sleeve, become a mere looker on at what the peasants are doing, or even stimulate their wrath; but God keep me from that! . . . Dear lords, for the love of God! let your indignation subside; treat these poor people reasonably, as if they were intoxicated and led astray. Appease these commotions by mildness, lest there should break out from them such a conflagration as shall set all Germany in a blaze. Among their twelve articles there are some that are fair and just."

This commencement was well fitted to gain for Luther the

¹ Gott ist's selber der setzt sich wider euch. (L. Opp. xix. p. 254.)

confidence of the peasants, and to make them listen with patience to the truths he had to tell them. He represented to them that a great part of what they petitioned for, was, it is true, well founded; but that to revolt was to act like pagans; that the duty of Christians was patience, not war; that if they continued to rise, in the name of the Gospel, against the Gospel itself, he should look upon them as enemies more dangerous than the pope. "The pope and the emperor," he continues, "combined against me; but the more the pope and the emperor stormed, the more progress did the Gospel make. . . . And why so? It is because I have never either drawn the sword or sought revenge; it is because I have never had recourse either to tumult or revolt; I committed all to God and waited on his mighty hand. It is neither with sword nor musket that soldiers fight, but with sufferings and with the cross. Christ, their captain, never wielded the sword . . . he was hanged on a tree."

But in vain did Luther thus express himself like a Christian. The people were too much fevered by the fanatical discourses of the leaders of the revolt, to pay the same attention to the Reformer that they had formerly done. "He is playing the hypocrite," it was said; "he flatters the princes; he has made war upon the pope, and yet would have us submit to our oppressors!"

The revolt, then, instead of subsiding, became more formidable. At Weinsberg, Count Louis von Helfenstein, and the seventy men under his orders, were condemned to death. One part of the peasants held their pikes forward, standing firm and immovable; another pursued the count and his soldiers, and forced them upon this iron hedge.¹ The wife of the unhappy Helfenstein, holding a child two years old in her arms, upon her knees and with piercing shrieks, besought them to spare her husband's life. But all her efforts to arrest this murderous proceeding were in vain; a boy who had been in the count's service, and had joined the rebels, gamboled near him with the utmost gaiety, and played the dead march, as if conducting the victims to a dance. All of them perished; the child was wounded in its mother's arms; she herself was thrown upon a dung cart, and taken thus to Heilbronn.

¹ Und jechten ein Grafen durch die Spiesse. (Mathesius, p. 46.)

On hearing of these cruelties a cry of horror burst from the friends of the Reformation, and a terrible conflict took place in the sensitive soul of Luther. The peasants, on the one hand, casting ridicule on all that he had urged upon them, pretended to revelations from heaven, made impious applications of the threatenings of the Old Testament, proclaimed equality of ranks and community of goods, defended their cause with fire and sword, and committed many a barbarous execution. The foes of the Reformation, on the other hand, asked the Reformer with a malignant sneer, if he had not at length discovered that it was easier to kindle a conflagration than to put it out? Indignant at such excesses, alarmed at the thought that they might arrest the advance of the Gospel, Luther hesitated no longer; he kept no measures now; but attacking the rebels with the whole force of his character, he possibly exceeded the just limits within which he ought to have confined himself.

“The peasants,” he said, “commit three horrible sins against God, and against man, and hence deserve death both of body and soul. First, they revolt against their magistrates, to whom they have sworn allegiance. Next, they steal, they pillage the convents and castles. If you will not put a mad dog to death, you will perish, and the whole country with you. He that is slain in fighting for the magistrates, will be a true martyr, if he have fought with a good conscience.” Luther then energetically depicts the criminal violence of the peasants in compelling simple and peaceable men to join their league, and thus dragging them into the same condemnation with themselves. He then adds: “Therefore, dear lords, do you succour, save, deliver, compassionate this poor people. Let every one that can strike, pierce and slay. . . . If thou shouldst die, thou canst not have a happier end; for thou diest in the service of God, and to save thy neighbour from hell!”¹

Neither mildness nor force could now arrest the popular torrent. It was no longer to summon the people to public worship that the bells were tolled, but when a prolonged and solemn peal resounded through the rural districts, it was the tocsin, and all ran to arms. The people of the Black Forest gathered round John

¹ Deinen Nehesten zu retten aus der Hölle. (L. Opp. xix. p. 266.)

Müller of Bulgenbach. This chief had an imposing presence; he was dressed in a red mantle and red bonnet, and haughtily advanced from village to village, followed by his peasants. Behind him, in a car, adorned with ribbons and leaves, the tricolour flag, black, red, and white, was borne aloft as the signal of revolt. A herald with stripes of the same colours, read aloud the twelve articles, and invited the people to join the insurrection. Whoever refused was excluded from the community.

This procession, although pacific at first, soon became more alarming. Shouts were uttered to the effect that the barons ought to be compelled to join the league. And as a means of leading them into it, the granaries were pillaged, the cellars emptied of their contents, the seignorial ponds were fished, the feudal castles of all resisting noblemen were reduced to ruins, and the monasteries were burnt. Resistance inflamed the resentment of these rude men; it was no longer enough for them that all should be made equal; they thirsted for blood . . . and vowed that whoever wore spurs, should bite the dust.

The towns were in no condition to offer resistance, and accordingly, as the peasants advanced, they opened their gates and joined the rebels. Wherever they went, pictures of the saints were torn down; crucifixes were broken;¹ women traversed the streets with arms in their hands, and threatened the monks. When beaten in one place, they assembled in another, and braved the most formidable forces. A committee of the peasantry established itself at Heildbronn. The counts of Lowenstein were made prisoners, and after being dressed in rustic frocks, had white wands put into their hands, and were compelled to swear to the twelve articles. "Brother George, and thou, brother Albert," said an Ohringen coppersmith to the counts of Hohenlohe, who had come to the camp, "do you swear to behave to us as brethren; for you, too, are now but peasants; you are no

¹ This war against pictures and crucifixes, is no proof that the rebels had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation. The religion which was identified with those objects of veneration and worship, oppressed the peasants; hence they were marked for destruction. The Count de Montlosier mentions a far wilder excess that occurred long before the Reformation, in one of the *Jacqueries* of France. The phrase *Je renie Dieu*, "I disown God," was a sort of watchword, and in the corrupted form of *Jirnigo*, if I recollect right, became a common profane oath. TR.

longer lords." Equality of condition, that dream of all democrats, was established in aristocratical Germany.

Very many of the barons, some influenced by fear, others by ambition, then joined the insurgents. The famous Götz of Berlichingen, seeing his own vassals refuse to obey him, wanted to flee to the elector of Saxony; but his wife, then in childbirth, in order to keep her husband near her, concealed the elector's reply. Götz was pressed so hard as to be compelled to put himself at the head of the rebel army. On the 7th of May, the peasants entered Wurtzburg, and were received there by the burgesses with shouts of welcome. The forces of the princes, and the knights of Suabia, and Franconia, then united in that city, thereupon hastily withdrew from it into the citadel, as the last bulwark of the nobility.

But by this time the movement had extended into other parts of Germany. Spire, the Palatinate, Alsace, and Hesse, had admitted the twelve articles, and the peasants threatened Bavaria, Westphalia, the Tyrol, Saxony, and Lorraine. The margrave of Baden, in consequence of his rejecting the articles, was forced to fly. The coadjutor of Foulda acceded to them with a smile. The small towns alleged that they had not lances wherewith to oppose the insurgents. Maintz, Treves, and Frankfort obtained the franchises that they called for.

An immense revolution was on the eve of being accomplished throughout the empire. The ecclesiastical and secular prerogatives, so oppressive to the peasantry, were to be abolished; the property of the clergy was to be secularised, partly as an indemnity to the princes, partly to provide for the wants of the empire; the imposts were to be abolished, with the exception of a tribute which was to be payable every ten years; the imperial authority, recognised by the New Testament, was alone to subsist; all other princes were to cease to reign; sixty-four free courts of justice were to be established, and men of all classes were to have seats in these; all states of life were to return to their primitive destination; ecclesiastics were to become mere pastors of churches; princes and knights were to cease being ought but the defenders of the weak; uniformity of weights and measures was to be introduced, and there was to be one coinage struck for the whole empire.

Meanwhile the princes were recovering from their first stupefaction, and the commander-in-chief of the imperial army, George von Truchsess, advanced on the side of the lake of Constance. He beat the peasants on the 2d of May, at Beblingen, marched on the town of Weinsberg, where the unfortunate count von Helfenstein had perished, burnt it, rased it to the ground, and commanded respect to be shown to the ruins, as an everlasting monument of the treason of its inhabitants. At Fürfeld, he joined the elector Palatine and the elector of Treves, and all three advanced towards Franconia.

The citadel of Wurtzburg, called the Frauenburg, still held out for the princes, and the main body of the peasants lay as before beneath its walls. On being apprized of the advance of Truchsess, they resolved upon an attempt to take the place by storm, and on May 15th, at nine in the evening, under a flourish of trumpets, the tricolour flag was unfurled, and the peasants rushed to the attack, rending the air with the most horrible cries. The castle was under the orders of Sebastian von Rotenhan, one of the warmest partisans of the Reformation. He had put its defences into a formidable state, and the soldiers had replied to his exhortations fearlessly to repel the assault, by swearing that they would so do, each raising three fingers to heaven. The most terrible conflict ensued; the fortress replying to the desperate efforts of the peasants by throwing petards, by pouring on them showers of burning brimstone and boiling pitch, and by a vigorous cannonade. Thus unexpectedly attacked by enemies whom they could not even see, the assailants hung back for a moment, but soon their fury was only exasperated by being thus baulked. Night came on and the battle was continued. Lighted up with countless battle fires, the fortress stood out from amid the surrounding darkness, like some huge giant, vomiting forth flames, and struggling alone, amid thundering detonations, for the salvation of the empire, against the ferocious valour of whole hordes of assailants, maddened with rage. By two o'clock next morning, all the attacks of the peasants had failed, and they retired.

They would now fain have come to terms, either with the garrison or with Truchsess, who was advancing at the head of his army. But this was to depart from their proper course;

violence and victory alone could save them. After some irresolution, they decided upon marching to meet the imperial army, but the artillery and cavalry made a frightful carnage in their ranks. First at Königshofen, next at Engelstadt, these unfortunate people were completely defeated; after which, princes, nobles, and bishops, abused their success by a display of the most unparalleled cruelty. The prisoners were hanged along the roads.¹ The bishop of Wurtzburg who had fled, returned and went through his diocese, accompanied by executioners, with whose assistance he made it flow with the blood both of the rebels, and of the unoffending friends, too, of the Word of God. Götz von Berlichingen was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The margrave Casimir of Anspach ordered the eyes to be taken from eighty-five rebel peasants, who had sworn that their eyes should never see that prince, and he threw upon the world that troop of blind people, who wandered about, groping their way as they held by each other, stumbling over the roads, and begging for wherewithal to support their miserable existence. The wretched boy who on his German flute had played the death march of von Helfenstein, was chained to a stake; a fire was lighted around him, and the knights stood by and laughed at his horrible contortions.

Worship was everywhere re-established in its old forms. The most flourishing and best peopled parts of the empire presented to those who traversed them, nothing but heaps of dead bodies and smoking ruins. Fifty thousand persons perished; and the people almost everywhere lost the small amount of freedom they had hitherto enjoyed. Such was the horrible winding up of the revolt in the south of Germany.

X. But the evil was not to be confined to the south and west of Germany. Münzer, after traversing part of Switzerland, Alsace, and Suabia, directed his course anew to the borders of Saxony. Some of the burgesses of Mulhausen in Thuringia, invited him to settle among them, and appointed him their pastor. As this was opposed by the town-council, Münzer turned

¹ The example was afterwards followed by the savage Blaize de Montlue, the Claverhouse of France, who in one part of his *Memoirs*, remarks that the course he took in passing through the country, could easily be traced by the numbers of Huguenots seen hanging from the trees. Tr.

them out and appointed others in their place, making the new council consist of his own friends, with himself at their head. Full of contempt for that Christ, "mild as honey, whom Luther preached," determined to have recourse to the most energetic measures: "We must," he would say, "like Joshua, destroy all the nations of Canaan with the sword." He established a community of goods, and pillaged the monasteries.¹ "Münzer," says Luther in a letter to Amsdorf, dated 11th April, 1525, "Münzer is king and emperor of Mulhausen, and not its pastor only." The poor no longer laboured; when any one required cloth or corn, he would go to get it from some wealthy person, and what the one refused to give, the other took. Mulhausen being an independent city, Münzer was able to exercise his influence there for nearly a year without opposition. The insurrection in the south of Germany, made him think it time for him to be extending his new kingdom. He caused cannons of large calibre to be cast in the Franciscan monastery, and endeavoured to excite the Mansfeldt peasantry and miners to revolt. "How much longer, then, do you mean to sleep?" said he in a fanatical proclamation; "rise and fight the Lord's battle! It is time for it. France, Germany, and Italy, are on their way. Forward! forward! forward! Dran! dran! dran! . . . Regard not the grief of the impious. They will supplicate you like children; but do you remain inexorable. Dran! . . . dran! . . . dran! . . . The fire burns: keep your swords warm with blood.² Dran! . . . dran! . . . dran! . . . Work while it is day." The letter was signed: "Münzer, servant of God against the impious."

The people in the rural districts, in their eagerness to enrich themselves, flocked to his standard, and the insurrection spread everywhere through the Mansfeldt, Stolberg, and Schwarzburg countries, as also in Hesse, and the duchy of Brunswick. The monasteries of Michelstein, Ilsenburg, Walkenried, Rossleben, and many others near the Hartz, or in the plains of Thuringia, were laid waste. At Reinhardsbrunn, which Luther had visited, the tombs of the old landgraves were profaned and the library destroyed.

¹ Omnia simul communia. (L. Opp. xix. p. 292.)

² Lasset euer Schwerdt nicht kalt werden von Blut. (Ibid. p. 289.)

Terror now spread far and wide, and even at Wittemberg people were not without alarm. The very doctors who had feared neither emperor nor pope, saw themselves compelled to tremble before a madman. News of the insurgents were anxiously looked for, and every step of their advance counted. "We are in great jeopardy here," said Melancthon; "should Münster succeed it is all over with us, if Christ save us not. Münster is advancing with a cruelty that exceeds that of the Scythians,"¹ and the terrible threats he utters are not fit to be mentioned.

The pious elector had been hesitating as to the course he should adopt. Münster had exhorted him and all other princes to conversion, for, said he, their hour was come; and these letters he had subscribed: "Münster, armed with the sword of Gideon." Frederick would fain have brought back these misguided men by employing mild measures, and when lying dangerously ill, had written as follows to his brother John, on the 14th of April. "These poor creatures may have had more than one cause of revolt given them. Alas! the little ones are in many ways oppressed by both their temporal and their spiritual lords." And when it was urged upon him to what humiliations, revolutions, and dangers, he would expose himself, if he did not promptly put down this rebellion: "I have up to this time," he replied, "been a mighty elector, having horses and carriages in plenty; if it be God's will now that they be taken from me, I am content to go on foot."^{2 3}

¹ Moncerus plus quam scythicam crudelitatem præ se fert. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 741.)

² So wolle er hinkünftig zu fuss gehen. (Seckendorf, p. 685.)

³ Admirable prince! may we here repeat.—Had all the princes and nobility been likeminded, not only might the insurrection have been easily suppressed, but it would have been prevented, and the reformation of the state following the reformation of the Church would have regulated all things according to the lessons of the Gospel, without on that account embracing that absurd equality of conditions, and community of goods, which would annihilate all social order. These two things are quite independent of each other. There may be necessary distinctions of rank and power, there may be princes and governors, persons invested with authority and dignity, without, by violence and excess, by pride and sumptuousness, making life miserable to the poorer classes, to whom they ought to be a help and stay, and depriving them of the means necessary for a decent maintenance. Were this observed, and practically attended to, it would even in our days, prove the best means of preventing the outbreak of that discontentment of the lower orders which is smouldering everywhere. Yet owing to the increase of irreligion, these lessons of wisdom may be expected to remain unheeded, until fearful insurrections open men's eyes when it is too late, until at last he shall, who according to his Gospel, and the word of prophecy, shall bring all to right.—L. R.

The first of the princes to take arms was the young Philip of Hesse, whose knights and soldiers swore to live and die with him. After having restored peace to his own states, he directed his course towards Saxony, while on their side duke John, the elector's brother, duke George of Saxony, and duke Henry of Brunswick advanced, and united their forces with those of Hesse. Alarmed at the sight of this army the peasants withdrew to a hill, where without arms or discipline, and the most of them without courage, they formed a rampart of their wheeled carriages. Münzer had been unable to procure powder for his enormous cannons. No succours appeared; the army closed in upon the insurgents, and they were seized with discouragement. Influenced by pity for them, the princes offered them terms, which they seemed inclined to accept. Münzer then availed himself of the most powerful of all the means that can be employed, for exciting enthusiasm to the utmost. "We shall this day see the arm of the Lord," said he, "and all our enemies shall be destroyed." At that moment there appeared a rainbow; and in it the fanatical crowd, who bore a rainbow on their standards, saw a sure token of the protection of heaven. Münzer took advantage of this. "Fear nothing," said he to the peasants and townsfolk, "I shall catch in my sleeve all the bullets sent against you."¹ At the same time he caused a young nobleman, Maternus von Geholfen, who had come with terms from the princes, to be cruelly put to death, so that the insurgents might lose all hope of pardon.

The landgrave, calling his troopers around him, addressed them thus: "I well know that we princes are often to be blamed; for we are but men; but God desires that honour should be given to the powers that be. Let us save our wives and children from the fury of these murderers. The Lord will give us the victory; for he hath said, *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.*" Philip then gave the signal for the attack; it

The tenderness of the elector's conscience, and keen sympathy with the oppressed, are strikingly evinced in a letter written to the brother who succeeded him on the very day before he died. "The princes," says he, "have applied to us for our assistance against the peasants; and I could wish to open my mind to them but I am too ill. Perhaps the principal cause of these commotions is that these poor creatures have not been allowed to have the Word of God preached freely among them." See Milner, vol. v. p. 224.

¹ Ihr sollt sehen dass ich alle Büchsensteine in Ermel fassen will. (L. Opp. xix. 297.)

was the 15th of May, 1525. The army began to move, but the mass of peasants stood firm, chanting the hymn, "Come, Holy Spirit," and waiting for a declaration from heaven in their favour. The artillery soon broke through their rude rampart, and carried dismay and death into the midst of them. Thereupon their fanaticism and courage alike forsook them; they fled panic-struck in all directions. Five thousand of them were slain in their flight.

The victorious princes and their troops entered Frankenhäusen after the battle was over. There a soldier having gone into a loft attached to the house in which he was quartered, perceived a man lying on the floor.¹ "Who art thou?" said he; "art thou a rebel?" Then, perceiving a portfolio, he took it up, and found in it letters addressed to Thomas Münzer. "Art thou Thomas?" said the trooper. "No," replied the terrified invalid. But on the soldier threatening him fiercely, Münzer, for it was no other than he, acknowledged who he was. "Thou art my prisoner," said the soldier. On being taken before duke George and the landgrave, Münzer persisted in maintaining that he was right in his intention of chastising the princes for their opposition to the Gospel. "Wretch," they said, "think of all for whose destruction you have to answer!" But to this he only replied, smiling in the midst of his anguish: "Thus would they have it." He took the sacrament in one kind. His head and that of Pfeiffer, his lieutenant, fell at the same time.² Muhlhausen was taken, and the peasants were thrown into confinement.

A nobleman having observed in the crowd of prisoners, a fine-looking rustic, went up to him and said: "Well now, young man, what government do you like best, that of peasants or that of princes?" The poor man answered with a deep-drawn sigh: "Ah, my dear lord, no knife cuts so keen, as when one peasant lords it over others."³

The remains of the insurrection were extinguished in blood,

¹ So findet er einen am Bett.

² Maimbourg makes a curious distinction between the two: "they both passed," says he, "like the rest under the sword of the executioner, but with this difference, that God did justice upon Pfeiffer, an apostate monk, by leaving him to die in his sin, and showed mercy to Münzer, by efficaciously touching his heart for his conversion at death." Tr.

³ Kein Messer scherpfert schirrt denn wenn ein Baur des andern Herr wird. (Mathesius, p. 48.)

duke George, in particular, displaying great severity. In the states of the elector, there was neither capital nor any other punishment.¹ The Word of God, preached in all parts of them, manifested how effectually it could restrain the tumultuous passions of the people.

Luther, in fact, had never ceased to combat the rebellion, which, in his view, seemed to be a harbinger of the last judgment, and in this effort he was lavish of instruction, prayer, and even sarcasm. At the conclusion of the articles that were drawn up by the rebels at Erfurt, he added, as a supplementary article: "*Item*: the following article has been omitted. Henceforward the honourable council shall have no authority; it shall have no power to do anything, but shall sit as an idol or as a log; the community shall chew all its morsels for it, and it shall govern with its hands and feet bound; henceforth, the carriage shall draw the horses, and the horses hold the reins, and thus all will go on to admiration, in conformity with the beautiful scheme exhibited in these articles."

Not satisfied with using his pen, even while the insurrection was as yet in all its force, Luther left Wittemberg and traversed some of the most disturbed districts. He preached, he strove to calm men's minds, and his hand, with a might that it derived from God, diverted, appeased, and restored to their proper bed, the furious overflowing waters.²

¹ *Hic nulla carnificina, nullum supplicium.* (Corp. Ref. i. p. 752.)

² Luther, it should seem, by his letters to the elector of Saxony, certainly at first promoted that good prince's forbearance towards Münzer. "Your highness," says he, "had better bear with him till he be more ripe. There is a great deal in him which has not shown itself as yet." In this same letter, however, he calls Münzer, Satan, and intimates with sufficient plainness, that he expected nothing but mischief from him. Afterwards he became dissatisfied with the elector's indecision respecting the prophets, and at length, when Münzer left no room to doubt his wicked purposes, he addressed the prince, and his brother, the duke, on the danger that threatened the country from this fanatic and his associates.

Milner, from whom I have abridged the above, gives this address in full. Written evidently before the war had commenced, it bears mainly on the destruction of images, and "the constant disposition to fighting," which he considered to be a proof that Münzer and his partisans were *not Christians*. Yet these are the men whom Roman Catholics call Lutherans! The following paragraph of this address is so applicable to the state of our own poor population at the present day, that it cannot be made too prominent:

"A just application of the divine Word, in the production of *TRUE* faith, is the only way to correct all bad practices. The removal of external evils, while the heart is devoid of this principle, is of little service. Such a heart soon invents new ones. The true method of expelling Satan, and ruining his devices,

The doctors of the Reformation everywhere put forth the same influence. At Halle, Brentz had raised the depressed minds of the burgesses, by urging upon them the promises of God's Word, and four thousand peasants fled before six hundred citizens.¹ At Ichterhausen, a multitude of peasants met with the intention of demolishing several castles, and putting the nobles who owned them, to death. Frederick Myconius went alone to them, and such was the effect of his eloquence, that they instantly abandoned their purpose.²

Such was the course pursued by the Reformers, and such the part of the Reformation, in the midst of this insurrection; they combatted it, with all their might, by the sword of the Word, and energetically maintained those principles which alone can, at all times, preserve order and obedience among the nations. Hence Luther goes so far as to state his conviction, that had not the fury of the people been arrested by the mighty influence of sound doctrine, the insurrection would have led to much greater ravages, and would have everywhere overthrown church and state. Indeed, everything would lead us to believe that these melancholy forebodings, but for that restraint, would have been realized.

If the Reformers thus combatted sedition, it was not without their being most painfully affected by it. That moral agony which Luther first experienced in the cell at Erfurt, reached perhaps its highest aggravation, after the revolt of the peasants. No great transformation, in humanity, is ever effected without sufferings in those who are the instruments of accomplishing it. It was required in order to the creation of Christianity, that the agony of the cross had to be endured; but He who was fixed to

is that of the New Testament; namely, the exercise of preaching the Word of God. This lays hold of the heart, and cures the evil radically."

How cure those evils of want of employment, despair, and starvation, some will say, which threaten these islands with an insurrectionary war, accompanied by all the horrors of that which desolated Germany in 1524-5? Can the preaching of the Gospel create a demand for our manufactures, or convert stones into bread? Luther, if alive, would probably answer: "No, but it makes Christians of the poor, and proves the Christianity of the rich, and when men are Christians, whether rich or poor, they inherit the promises of the Gospel. Their wants God will supply in his own way, and meanwhile will give them sobriety, patience, and contentment." Tr.

¹ *Eorum animos fractos et perturbatos verbo Dei erexit.* (M. Adam. Vit. Brentii, p. 441.)

² *Agmen rusticorum qui convenerant ad demoliendas arces, unica oratione sic compescuit.* (Ibid. Vit. Fred. Myconii. p. 178.)

that cross, thus addresses each of his disciples: "*Are ye able to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?*"

On the side of the princes, it was unceasingly repeated that Luther, and his doctrine, had caused the insurrection, and, however absurd this idea, the Reformer could not see it so generally received, without experiencing feelings of bitter distress. On the side of the people, Münzer and all the chiefs of the sedition, represented him as a vile hypocrite, a flatterer of the great; ¹ and these calumnies found easy credence. Even moderate men were displeased at the violence with which Luther had spoken against the insurgents. The friends of Rome triumphed; ² all turned against him, and he bore the brunt of the universal resentment of the age in which he lived. But what most of all pierced his soul, was his seeing the work of heaven thus dragged through the mud, and ranked among the most fanatical projects. Here he saw was his Gethsemane; he beheld the bitter cup that was presented to him; and foreseeing an universal abandonment, he exclaimed: "Soon perhaps, I too will have to say: *Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in ista nocte.*"³

Amid all this bitterness of soul he preserved his faith notwithstanding: "He," said he, "who has enabled me to trample my enemy under foot, when he rose against me like a cruel dragon, or like a raging lion, will not suffer that enemy to crush me, now that he presents himself with the perfidious look of a basilisk.⁴ I contemplate these calamities and groan under them. I have often asked myself, if it had not been better to have allowed the popedom calmly to pursue its course, rather than see so many troubles and seditions break out in the world. But no! Far better rescue some from the jaws of the devil, than leave all to his murderous fangs."⁵

Then it was that the revolution in Luther's mind which commenced on his return from the Wartburg, was consummated. The inward life no longer sufficed for him; the Church and her

¹ Quod adulator principum vocer. (L. Epp. ii. p. 671.)

² Gaudent papistæ de nostro dissidio. (Ibid. p. 612.)

³ All ye shall be offended because of me this night. (Matth. xxvi. 31, 33.) (Ibid. p. 671.)

⁴ Qui cum toties hactenus sub pedibus meis calcavit et contrivit leonem et draconem, non sinet etiam basiliscum super me calcare. (Ibid. p. 671.)

⁵ Es ist besser einige aus dem Rachen des Teufels herausreissen. (L. Opp. ii. Ed. ix. p. 961.)

institutions became objects of great importance in his eyes. The hardihood with which he had warred successfully with everything, was checked by the view of destructive measures of a far more radical description; he felt that it was necessary to preserve, to govern, and to construct; and it was from amid the blood-stained ruins wherewith the insurrectionary war of the peasants had covered all Germany, that the edifice of the new Church slowly raised its head.

These troubles left a keen impression for long on men's minds. People throughout the empire were terrified. The masses who, in the Reformation, had sought for nothing but political liberty, spontaneously withdrew from it, as soon as they perceived that spiritual liberty was all that it offered them. Luther's opposition to the peasants, involved his renunciation of the ephemeral favour of the multitude. All was soon an apparent calm, and throughout the whole of Germany, the noise and bustle of enthusiasm and sedition were followed by stillness, the effect of fear.¹

Thus did the passions of excited mobs, the cause of revolutionary politics, and the interests of radical equality, give way throughout the empire; but not so did the Reformation. These two movements, although confounded by many, were clearly distinguished from each other by their different results. The revolt originated from beneath; the Reformation from above. Some artillery and troopers were all that was required for the suppression of the former; but the latter ceased not to rise, to gather strength, and to increase in bulk, in spite of the unintermitted attacks of the Church and empire.²

¹ *Ea res incussit . . . vulgo terrorem, ut nihil usquam moveatur.* (Corp. Ref. i. p. 752.)

² It is of consequence to mark the distinction between the pure religious Reformation contemplated by Luther, and the use that was made of it in order to subvert social order, without our therefore denying altogether that the seeds of the latter may have been involved in the former. It is nothing better than malicious calumny to persist in charging Luther and the Reformation with being the cause of those social tumults and subversions, to which some derived greater inducement from the principles of the Reformation. None more earnestly opposed these disturbances than did Luther, and the genuine Reformers, as may be seen from the whole history of that period. And although the Reformation of religion generated improved sentiments with respect to social life, which must one day introduce a better ordering of the same, in conformity with the divine law of love; yet this must not take place by means of insurrection and violence, but by conscientious conviction, and the gradual improvement of principles.—L. R.

Maimbourg is more than ordinarily unfair and disingenuous in what he says of the insurrection of the peasants in Germany, being the subject with which he

XII. Meanwhile, the cause of the Reformation itself appeared at first as if doomed to perish in the same gulph that had swallowed up the people's liberties, a consummation that was likely to be hastened by the sad event that now happened. Just as the princes were marching against Münzer, and ten days before his defeat, the old elector of Saxony, the man whom God had raised up for the defence of the Reformation against attack from without, sank into the grave.

While his physical energies were daily declining, his compassionate heart was crushed with the horrors that attended the insurrectionary war. "Ah," said he, heaving a deep-drawn sigh, "were it God's will, gladly would I die. No longer do I behold love, truth, faith, anything good on the earth."

Averting his attention from the conflicts which then filled Germany, this godly prince peacefully prepared "for his departure," at his castle of Lochau. On the 4th of May, he sent for his chaplain, his faithful Spalatin: "You do well," he mildly said, as he perceived him enter the room, "to come and see me, for the sick should be visited." Then, giving orders for his long chair being wheeled up to the table near which Spalatin was seated, he beckoned to all who stood about him to retire, affectionately grasped the hand of his friend, and talked with him familiarly about Luther, the peasants, and his approaching departure. Spalatin returned that evening at eight o'clock; and then the old prince opened his whole soul to him, and con-

begins the second book of his "History of Lutheranism," as if those disturbances formed the first grand result of the Reformation in Germany. No one would suppose from what is to be found in his pages, that any part of Europe had been the scene of such commotions until then, or that they had originated in anything but the Reformation; whereas during the times of the most undisturbed popery, France, England, Holland, and Germany, had all had troubles of a like character. Maimbourg takes care, also, not to direct attention to the fact that the most active and effective, though not the most barbarous of the chiefs, who suppressed the risings, were Protestants, and in concluding his notice of the subject, he unhesitatingly says: "Thus ended this war, which in the four or five months that it lasted, caused the destruction of more than one hundred and thirty thousand of these miserable *Lutheran* peasants;" . . . With how much greater justice might it be said, that the horrors of the French revolution of 1793 were perpetrated by Roman Catholics? Maimbourg is the less excusable in calling the revolvers "*Lutheran* peasants," inasmuch as historical facts had compelled him to relate Luther's efforts both to prevent the disturbances before they began, by appealing to the divine command enjoining obedience to magistrates, and to animate the princes to suppress them by force after they had broken out. Milner considers the number stated by Maimbourg to have perished, as greatly overrated. Tr.

fessed his sins before God. On the day following, being the 5th of May, he received the communion in both kinds. He had no member of his family near him, his brother and nephew having gone to the army; but according to the old custom of those times, he was surrounded by his domestic servants. Fixing their eyes on the venerable prince, whose service they had found so endearing, all of them burst into tears:¹ "My children," said he, with a voice that bespoke the depth of his feelings, "if I have offended any of you, let him forgive me for the love of God; for we princes often inflict suffering on poor people, and that is bad." Thus did Frederick fulfil that saying of an apostle: "*Let the rich rejoice in that he is made low, because as the flower of the grass he shall fade away.*"²

Spalatin did not again leave him; he urged upon him the rich promises of the Gospel, and the powerful consolations of these filled the godly elector with ineffable peace. The doctrine of the Gospel was no longer to him the sword that assails error, pursues it wherever it is to be found, and, after a vigorous contest, at length triumphs over it; it distilled like the rain, and like the dew upon his heart, and filled him with hope and joy. Frederick had now forgotten the present world, and looked only to God and eternity.

Perceiving that his end was rapidly drawing near, he caused a testament which he had written out several years before, and in which he had recommended his soul to the "Mother of God," to be destroyed; he then dictated another, in which he appealed to the holy and sole merits of Jesus Christ for "the remission of his sins," and declared his firm assurance, "that he was redeemed by the precious blood of his beloved Saviour."³ He then says: "I can do no more!" and that evening, at five o'clock, he gently fell asleep. "He was a child of peace," exclaimed his physician, "and he has changed his quarters in peace!"—"O death, full of bitterness to all whom he leaves in life!"⁴ said Luther.⁵

¹ Dass alle umstehende zum weinen bewegt. (Seckendorf, p. 702.)

² Epistle of St. James, i. 10.

³ Durch das theure Blut meins allerliebsten Heyland's erlöset. (Seckendorf, p. 703.)

⁴ O mors amara! (L. Epp. ii. p. 659.)

⁵ Here we cannot, meanwhile, refrain from allowing our thoughts to dwell for the last time on the character of this excellent prince. He may have been wanting in the religious knowledge of Luther, a natural consequence of their differ-

Luther, who was now traversing Thuringia for the purpose of keeping it quiet, had never seen the elector except at a distance, attending Charles V. at Worms. But these two men had met in soul from the moment that the Reformer appeared. Frederick longed for nationality and independence, as Luther did for truth and reformation. No doubt, the Reformation was first and chiefly, a spiritual work; but it was necessary perhaps, in order to its success, that it should ally itself to some national interest. Accordingly, hardly had Luther protested against the indulgences, when the alliance between the prince and the monk, was tacitly concluded; an alliance purely moral, without contract, writings, or even words, and in which the only succour furnished by the stronger to the weaker party, was non-interference. But now that the vigorous oak under whose shelter the Reformation had gradually reared its head, was laid low, now that the enemies of the Gospel everywhere displayed fresh enmity and new resources, and that its partisans were reduced to concealment or silence, there seemed to remain nothing capable of defending it against the sword of its furious assailants.

The Ratisbon confederates, who had vanquished the peasants of the south and east of the empire, everywhere assaulted the Reformation, and the revolt simultaneously. At Wurtzburg, and at Bamberg, many citizens were put to death, and of these some were among the most peaceably disposed, while others had even resisted the peasants. "It matters not!" was the expression openly employed, "they held by the Gospel!" This was enough to secure the loss of their heads.¹

Duke George had great hopes of making the landgrave, and duke John of Saxony, participate in his predilections and resentments. "See," said he after the defeat of the peasants, as he showed them the field of battle, "see what mischief Luther has engendered!" John and Philip seemed to give him some hope

ent positions and education; but judged by the feelings of his heart, and his true and self-devoted, or cautious and deliberate following out of these, he may be put on a level with the Reformer, or even ranked above him, and prized as a chosen instrument in the hand of God, for the establishment of the Reformation. He was, likewise, an ornament to the princely order, a lasting and worthy model for all princes, and his death-bed shows us what a happy end may be expected to follow such a life in the case, too, of a prince *Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace.*—L. R.

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* ii. p. 226.

that they were about to adopt his views. "Duke George," said the Reformer, "thinks himself sure of a triumph, now that Frederick is dead; but Christ reigns in the midst of his enemies: in vain do they gnash their teeth . . . their desire shall perish."¹

George lost no time in forming, in the north of Germany, a confederation, similar to that of Ratisbon. The electors of Maintz and Brandenburg, dukes Henry and Erick of Brunswick, and duke George, met at Dessau; and concluded there a Romish league² in the month of July. George urged the new elector, and his son-in-law, the landgrave, to give in their adhesion to it; and then, as if to show the results to be expected from it, he ordered the heads to be taken off two Leipsick burgesses, in whose houses some of the Reformer's books had been found.

Letters were at the same time received in Germany from Charles V., dated at Toledo, and requiring a new diet to meet at Augsburg. Charles wished to give the empire a constitution that would enable him to dispose at his pleasure of the military forces of Germany. The religious divisions that then prevailed, offered him the means; he had only to let loose the (Roman) catholics against the Gospellers; and when they had mutually weakened each other, he would have an easy triumph over both. "Down with the Lutherans!" was the cry of the emperor.³

All things seemed thus to be combined against the Reformation. Never had the soul of Luther so much ground to be overwhelmed with alarms. The remains of Münzer's followers had vowed his death; his sole protector was no more; duke George, people wrote, meant to have him apprehended in the very town of Wittenberg;⁴ those princes who might have defended him, hung down their heads and looked as if they abandoned the Gospel; the university, with its numbers already diminished by the troubles, was about to be suppressed, it was said, by the new elector; Charles, flushed with the victory he had gained at Pavia, was about to convene a new diet, for the purpose of giving the Reformation its death-blow. What dangers had he not good cause then to anticipate! . . . Those pangs, those internal

¹ Dux Gorgius, mortuo Frederico, putat se omnia posse. (L. Epp. iii. p. 22.)

² Habito conciliabulo conjuraverunt restitutos sese esse omnia . . . (Ibid.)

³ Sleidan. Hist. of the Ref.

⁴ Keil, Luther's Leben, p. 160.

sufferings, that had often extorted cries from Luther, were now rending his very soul. How was he to make head against so many enemies? Amid all these agitations, in presence of so many perils, as he stood by the side of the dead body of Frederick which had hardly lost its vital heat, and surrounded by those of the peasants who had been slain, and which covered the plains of Germany, Luther—questionless, no man could have imagined such a thing—Luther married.¹

XIII. In the convent at Nimptsh, near Grimma, in Saxony, there lived in 1523, nine nuns who were assiduous in reading the Word of God, and saw the contrast between the Christian life and that of a cloister. Their names were Magdalen Staupitz, Elisabeth von Kanitz, Ave Grossn, Ave and Margaret Schonfeldt, Laneta von Golis, Margaret and Catherine Zeschau, and Catherine von Bora. The first thing done by these young women, after forsaking their monastic superstitions, was to write to their parents. "The salvation of our souls," said they to them, "will not permit us to continue living any longer in a cloister." ² Their parents, from alarm at the embarrassment into which they should be thrown by such a resolution, harshly repulsed the prayer of their daughters. The poor nuns were in consternation. How were they to leave the convent? Their natural timidity was frightened at the idea of attempting such a feat. At length, however, their horror for the popish worship, overcame all other considerations, and they made a mutual promise not to forsake each other, but to go in a body, with all order and decency, to some other honourable place.³ Two respectable and pious citizens of Torgau, Leonard Koppe, and Wolff Tomitzsch, offered to aid them in their design;⁴ this offer they accepted, as if it had come from God himself, and so they left the convent of

¹ In thinking of a help meet for him at such a time, Luther at least showed that he knew under what circumstances the true character of a wife may be best appreciated by her husband. The poet was never more true to nature than when he sang:

"Oh, woman in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and ill to please . . .
When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou!" (See *Marmion*.) TR.

² Der Seelen Seligkeit halber. (L. Epp. ii. p. 323.)

³ Mit aller Zucht und Ehre an redliche Stätte und Orte kommen. (Ibid. p. 322.)

⁴ Per honestos cives Torgavienses adductæ. (Ibid. p. 319.)

Nimptsch without any opposition, and as if the Lord's own hand had opened the gates for them.¹ Koppe, and Tomitzsch, received them in their carriage, and on the 7th of April 1523, these nine nuns, amazed at their own hardihood, stopt at the gate of the old Augustinian monastery where Luther resided.

"It is not I who have done it," said Luther as he received them, "but would to God I might thus save all captive consciences and empty all the cloisters;² the breach has been made!" Many sent offers to the doctor to receive the nuns into their houses, and Catherine von Bora was welcomed into the family of the burgomaster of Wittemberg.

If there was any solemn event for which Luther had thoughts at this time of being called to prepare himself, it was his going to the stake to be burnt, not to the altar to be married. Several months after, he replied to those who spoke to him about marrying: "God may change my heart as it pleases him; but now at least, I have no thoughts whatever of taking a wife; not that I feel no liking for that state of life; I am made neither of wood nor stone; but am daily looking for death and the punishment to which I am obnoxious as a heretic."³

Meanwhile every thing was advancing in the church. The monastic life, of man's invention, was everywhere in course of being succeeded by the domestic which was instituted by God. On the Lord's day, 9th Oct., 1524, Luther having risen as usual, laid aside the frock that he wore as an Augustinian monk and put on the dress of a secular priest; on his appearing in his new attire at church, the change excited a most lively joy. Christendom, as she renewed her youth, hailed with delight every outward sign that spoke of old things having passed away.

Shortly afterwards, the last remaining monk left the monastery, but Luther still remained; his were now the only steps that paced the long passages; alone he ate his silent meal, in the refectory that used so lately to resound with the noisy talking of the monks.⁴ What an eloquent solitude, and how did it

¹ Mirabiliter evaserunt. (L. Epp. ii. p. 319.)

² Und alle klöster ledig machen. (Ibid. p. 322.)

³ Cum expectem quotidie mortem et meritum hæretici supplicium. (Ibid. p. 570, dated November 30, 1524.)

⁴ It is strange that among the many causes that have been assigned for Luther's change of purpose in resolving to marry, after he had given up all thought of doing so, this absolute solitude to which the departure of the last of the monks

tell of the triumphs of the word of God! The conventual society had ceased to exist, and about the close of December 1524, Luther sent the keys of the monastery to the elector, with this message, that he must and would inquire where God would find means for his support.¹ The elector bestowed the monastery as

had consigned him, seems not to have occurred to any one. His experience at the Wartburg had already proved, that the utmost mental industry could not secure him from the terrible effects of solitude, on a person of his warm affections and ever-wakeful sympathies. Maimbourg imputes his marriage to nothing but the very lowest motives, alleging that he would have married sooner but for the respect he bore the elector, who had never married, and that he only waited for his highness's death. The Rev. father's account of the matter is much in the style of some libertine novelist. Michelet, again, considers Luther's faculties to have received such a shock from the attacks of Erasmus in his work *De libero arbitrio*, that his marriage must be regarded as the result of mental imbecility! But had the philosopher himself been left sole occupant of a gloomy monastery, with his solitude made still more burdensome by being surrounded with the unoccupied cells and seats of the departed monks, even his vivacity as a Frenchman, I suspect, would have been subdued, and he would have seen nothing but a dictate of common sense in Luther's application to himself of a text, to which God himself has made no limitation, that *it is not good for man to be alone*. TR.

¹ Muss und will Ich schen wo mich Gott ernähret. (L. Epp. ii. p. 582. 30th November, 1524.)

M. Michelet gives extracts from Luther's correspondence, presenting some further particulars respecting his personal circumstances, at this time. They illustrate the integrity of the Reformer's character, and add another to many instances of the poverty to which the greatest benefactors of society and the Church, have been at times consigned by their contemporaries.

"In 1523, Luther wrote to Spalatin, that he wished to resign his conventual income into the hands of the elector. . . . 'Since we neither read any more, nor shout litanies (*brailions*) nor say masses, nor do any of the things for which the foundation was instituted, we can no longer live upon this money: it may be lawfully reclaimed,' (Nov. 1523.)"

This honesty soon put the inmates to a severe trial. That same month Luther writes: "Staupitz has not yet paid us any of our revenues. . . . We are daily sinking deeper and deeper into debt, and I know not whether I ought still to ask any thing from the Elector, or allow things to go on as they are, and allow what is perishing to perish, until want at length compels me to leave Wittemberg and satisfy the pope's people and those of the emperor." Again, 1st Feb. 1524, he complains: "Are we here to pay every body while nobody pays us? That were strange indeed." On the 24th of April following he writes: I am daily more and more overwhelmed with debts. I must go and seek for alms in some manner or other. And at the close of December of that year, he says: "This life can last no longer. How should these delays on the part of the prince not excite just suspicions? As for me, I should have abandoned the convent long ago, to live elsewhere in labouring for a subsistence (though here I live not without labour), had I not dreaded a scandal for the Gospel and even for the prince." And yet this was the man who had at this time none but himself to support and whose health was hurt at the Wartburg by his having better fare than coarse bread and herrings; the man, moreover, to whom Wittemberg had owed so much of its celebrity and hence of its wealth, and who, had he chosen to make peace with Rome, might have had the richest livings in Europe as the reward of his apostacy. Luther's difficulties seem to have been owing, in part, to great generosity and to scruples about taking money from the publishers of his works. In 1527, he tells us that the sole claim he reserved was a right to take a copy of his works for himself now and then, although very poor, and although other authors, and even translators, received a ducat for each sheet. We shall see how he endeavoured to eke out a livelihood, after his marriage. There can

a gift upon the university, and invited Luther to continue to make it his residence. The habitation of monks was soon to become the sanctuary of a Christian family.

Luther, whose heart was so well formed for relishing the sweets of domestic life, held the married state in love and honour; it is even probable that he had some liking for Catherine von Bora. For long, his own scruples and the thought of the calumnies to which such a course would give occasion, had prevented his thinking of her, and he had offered poor Catherine, first to Baumgartner of Nuremberg,¹ and afterwards to Dr. Glatz of Orlamunde. But when he saw the former refuse Catherine and the latter refused by her, he asked himself seriously, whether he ought not himself to think of such a match.

His old father, who had been pained to see him embrace the ecclesiastical state, urged him to enter the married state.² But one idea, above all others, daily pressed itself on Luther's conscience with fresh force, and that was, that marriage is the institution of God, celibacy that of man. He held all that came from Rome in abhorrence. "I would fain," he would say to his friends, "preserve nothing of my papistical life."³ Night and day he prayed, conjuring the Lord to deliver him from his state of uncertainty. At length a thought struck him, and burst the last remaining ties that still held him down. To all the motives of personal convenience and obedience which led him to apply to himself that declaration of God: *It is not good for man to be alone*,⁴ there was added a more elevated motive and one of much greater potency. He saw that if he was called to marriage, as a man, he was called to it, also, as a Reformer; this fixed his purpose.

"If this monk marry," said his friend, the jurisconsult Schurff, "he will set the whole world a laughing, not excepting the devil, and he will destroy the work that he has begun."⁵ This saying

be little doubt that the fault lay, not with the prince, who was probably kept in ignorance of Luther's wants, but with Staupitz or some other public functionary. And it may have been thought at court that the profits on his writings, the immense popularity of which no doubt made them lucrative to the publishers, and the *honoraria* of the students, together with the privilege of residence in the monastery, should have made Luther independent of any other aids. Tr.

¹ Si vis Ketam tuam a Bora tenere. (L. Epp. ii. p. 553.)

² Aus Begehren meines lieben Vaters. (Ibid. iii. p. 2.)

³ Ibid. p. 1.

⁴ Genesis ii. 18.

⁵ Risuros mundum universum et diabolum ipsum. (M. Ad. Vit. Luth. p. 130.)

produced quite an opposite impression on Luther's mind from what one would have supposed. To brave the world, the devil, and his enemies, to prevent by a deed, likely, as was thought, to ruin the Reformation, people attributing its success in any wise to him—such was his desire. Boldly raising his head, therefore: "Well then," he replied, "I will do it; I will play off this stroke against the world and the devil; I will give my father this subject of joy; I will marry Catherine!" By his marrying, Luther broke more completely than ever, with the institutions of the popedom; he confirmed, by his example, the doctrines that he preached, and he encouraged timid men to a complete renunciation of their errors.¹ Rome at the time seemed to be here and there regaining a part of the domain that she had lost; she might possibly be hugging herself in the hope of victory; when behold, a mighty detonation carried surprise and terror into her ranks, and revealed to her more plainly than ever, the kind of courage possessed by the enemy whom she thought she had overcome. "I would fain," said Luther, "bear my testimony to the gospel, not by my words only, but also by my deeds. I would fain, in the face of my enemies, who are already triumphing, and giving utterance to their jubilations, marry a nun, that they may know and be forced to acknowledge that they have not vanquished me."² I take not a wife to live long with her; but seeing both princes and their subjects furiously breaking out against me, foreseeing that my end is near, and that after my death, people will trample anew upon my doctrines, I desire, for the edification of the weak, to leave a striking confirmation of what I have taught while here below."³

On the 11th of June, 1525, Luther repaired to the house of his friend and colleague, Amsdorff. He requested Pomeranus, whom he used to call emphatically, "the pastor," to solemnise the marriage. The celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach, and doctor John Apelles, were the witnesses. Melancthon was not present.

¹ Ut confirmem facto quæ docui, tam multos invenio pusillanimes in tanta luce Evangelii. (L. Epp. iii. p. 13.)

² Nonna ducta uxore in despectum triumphantium et clamantium Jo! Jo! hostium. (Ibid. p. 32.)

³ Non duxi uxorem ut diu viverem, sed quod nunc propriorem finem meum suspicarer. (Ibid. iii. 21.)

Hardly was the marriage over, when all Europe was in commotion about it; and from every quarter Luther was assailed with accusations and calumnies. "It is incest," exclaimed Henry VIII. "A monk marries a vestal," said some.¹ "Antichrist is sure to be the fruit of such a union," said others, "for it has been prophesied that he is to be born of a monk and a nun." To which Erasmus replied with a sneer: "If that prophecy be true, how many thousands of antichrists are there in the world already?"² But while Luther was thus assailed, several wise and moderate men in the Romish Church, undertook his defence. "Luther," said Erasmus, "has taken to wife a woman of the illustrious family von Bora, but she has no dowry."³ He received at that time a testimony that was entitled to still more veneration. The master of Germany, Philip Melancthon, who had been frightened in the first instance by this bold procedure, said with that serious tone which commanded the respect of his very enemies: "If it be maintained that there is anything unbecoming in Luther's marriage, the charge is false and calumnious."⁴ I believe that he must have done violence to his own feelings in marrying. The married life is an humble life, but it is a holy life, if there be such in this world; and the Scriptures represent it everywhere as honourable in the sight of God."

Luther was somewhat unnerved at first, when he saw what a storm of contempt and anger he had brought upon himself. Melancthon redoubled his friendship and respect for him;⁵ and ere long the Reformer was enabled to perceive in the opposition of men, a mark of the approbation of God. "If I did not scandalise the world," said he, "I might have reason to tremble lest what I have done may not be according to the mind of God."⁶

Eight years had elapsed from the time that Luther first assailed the indulgences, to the date of his union with Catherine von Bora; an interval that makes it difficult to attribute, as is

¹ Monachus cum vestali copularetur. (M. Adami, Vita Luth. p. 131.)

² Quot Antichristorum millia jam olim habet mundus. (Er. Epp. p. 789.)

³ Erasmus adds: Partu maturo sponsæ vanus erat rumor. (Ibid. p. 780, 789.)

⁴ Ὅτι Ψεῦδος τοῦτο καὶ διαβολή ἐστι. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 758. ad Cam.)

⁵ Πᾶσα σπουδὴ καὶ ἐννοία. (Ibid.)

⁶ Offenditur etiam in carne ipsius divinitatis et creatoris, he adds. (L. Epp. iii. p. 32.)



still done, his zeal against the abuses of the Church to an "impatient desire" to marry. He was now forty-two, and Catherine von Bora, had spent two years at Wittemberg.

This proved a happy connection for Luther. "The greatest gift of God," he would say, "is a pious, amiable, God-fearing wife, fond of home, with whom a man may spend his days in peace, and to whom he may unbosom all his cares." Some months after his marriage, he announced to his friends that Catherine was about to become a mother,¹ and, in fact, about a year after their union, she produced a son.² The sweets of domestic bliss soon dispersed those clouds which the irritation of his enemies at first raised around him. His Ketha, as he called her, showed him the utmost tenderness, consoled him when depressed, by repeating passages from the Bible, relieved him of all the cares of external life, sat by him during his leisure hours, embroidered her husband's portrait, reminded him of the friends he had to write to, and would often amuse him with the childlike simplicity of her questions. Yet, withal, she appears to have been by no means wanting in the characteristics of a high-spirited woman, so that Luther would call her sometimes "Lord Ketha;" and one day he said in jest, that if he had yet to marry, he would cut out an obedient wife for himself in stone, since to find a living one would be impossible. His letters bespoke how tenderly he loved his Catherine, calling her "his dear and gracious wife, his dear and lovely Ketha." Luther's temper acquired a tone of greater cheerfulness from the society of his Catherine, and this happy disposition remained with him from that time forward, even amid the greatest causes of alarm and anxiety.³

¹ 21st October, 1525. *Catena mea simulat vel vere implet illud Genes. iii. : Tu dolore gravida eris.* (L. Epp. iii. p. 35.)

² *Mir meine liebe Kethe einen Hansen Luther bracht hat, gistern um zwei.* (8th June, 1526. Ibid. p. 119.)

³ Luther's poverty seems to have continued after his marriage. Michelet says: "He wrote to Stiefel a year after the marriage, (12th August, 1526.) "Catherine, my dear rib, greets you: she is very well, thank God; gentle to me, obedient, and good-natured in all things, beyond my hopes. I would not change my poverty for the wealth of Cræsus."

"Luther, in fact, was very poor at the time. Engrossed with the cares of his household, and the family with which he was erelong to be burthened, he endeavoured to find himself some trade, and wrought with his own hands: "If the world," said he, "will not find us support in return for the word, let us learn to live with the help of our hands." He would, no doubt, have chosen, had the choice been in his power, one or other of the arts of which he was so fond, the

The almost universal corruption of the clergy had thrown the utmost contempt upon the priesthood, nor could the isolated virtues of some of God's true servants restore its ruined credit. Domestic peace and conjugal fidelity, those surest foundations of earthly felicity, were unceasingly disturbed, both in town and country, by the brutal passions of priests and monks, from whose attempts at seduction there was no means of being secure, inasmuch as they would take advantage of the access they had to the bosom of every family, and sometimes would even abuse the intimacy of the confessional, by insinuating a deadly poison into the souls of others, for the gratification of their own guilty propensities. Now, by abolishing the celibacy of the priests, the Reformation restored the sacred character of the union betwixt man and wife; marriage among ecclesiastical persons, put an end to a vast number of concealed crimes; the reformed pastors became the models of their flocks in regard to the most endearing and important relation of life; and the people, when they beheld anew the ministers of religion maintaining the character of husbands and fathers, were not long of being delighted at the sight.

XIV. At the first glance, Luther's marriage seemed, it is true, to add to the embarrassments of the Reformation. Hardly recovered as yet, from the damage it had sustained from the revolt of the peasants, still exposed to the drawn swords of the emperor and the German princes, its very friends, the landgrave Philip, and the new elector John, seemed themselves to be discouraged and disconcerted.

Nevertheless, matters did not long remain thus. The young

art of Albert Durer, and of his friend Luke Cranach, or music, which he called the first of the sciences, after theology; but he had no master (to teach him). He made himself a turner. "Since among us barbarians here," says he, "there is neither art nor mental culture, I, and Wolfgang our servant, have set ourselves to turn." (Michelet, vol. i. p. 233). He commissioned Wenceslas Link to buy tools at Nuremberg. He began, also, to work as a gardener, and as a mason: "I have planted out a garden," he writes to Spalatin, "I have constructed a fountain, and in both cases have succeeded tolerably well. Come and thou shalt be crowned with roses and lilies." (December, 1525). In April, 1527, he speaks of a wooden clock, the mechanism of which had puzzled him much, but he and his servant, with the aid of their turning tools, seem to have set about making them, for a month after he says: "I am already passed master (an adept) in clock-making." In July following, he boasts of the fine appearance of his melons, gourds, and pumpkins, but his gardening proved no great resource in M. Michelet's opinion. Poverty, however, could not damp his good humour. TR.

landgrave soon raised his head, with all the ardour and intrepidity of Luther, whose noble character had made a conquest of him to the cause. He threw himself into the Reformation with all the impetuosity of youth, whilst he studied it at the same time, with all the seriousness of a mature and superior mind.

In Saxony, in point either of wisdom or of influence, Frederick had no successor; but his brother, the elector John, instead of contenting himself with the passive character of protector, intervened in religious affairs at once more directly, and more courageously. On the 16th of August, 1525, just before leaving Weimar, he directed it to be said to all the assembled priests: "I desire that in future you preach the pure Word of God without any human addition." Some old clergymen who did not know how they should set about obeying this injunction, answered with much simplicity: "We are not forbidden, however, to say mass for the dead, or to bless water and salt?"—"All," rejoined the elector, "ceremonies as well as preaching, must be subjected to the Word of God."

Erelong the young landgrave formed the extraordinary project of converting his father-in-law, duke George. At times he would maintain the sufficiency of Scripture, at times he would attack the mass, the popedom, and obligatory vows. One letter followed another; and the declarations of the Word of God, were all made in their turn to bear against the faith of the old duke.¹

Nor were these efforts thrown away. The son of duke George was gained over to the Gospel, although, as respected the father, Philip met with no success. "In a hundred years," said the former, "we shall see which is in the right."—"A frightful expression," said the elector of Saxony, "what sort of faith must that be, which requires such a trial?² Poor duke . . . he will wait long. God, I fear, has hardened him, as he once hardened Pharaoh."

The Gospel party found in Philip an intrepid and intelligent leader—one capable of making head against the most formidable attacks that were preparing for him by his enemies. Still, is it

¹ Rommels Urkundenbuch, i. p. 2.

² Was das für ein Glaube sey, der ein solche Erfahrung erfordert. (Seckendorf, p. 739.)

not matter of regret, that the chief of the Reformation was thenceforth a man of the sword, not a simple disciple of the Word of God? . . . The human element was waxing in the Reformation, the spiritual element was on the wane, to the manifest detriment of the cause, for every work ought to advance according to the laws of its own nature, and that of the Reformation was essentially spiritual.

God was now multiplying its supports. Already had Prussia, then a powerful state on the frontiers of Germany, gladly ranged itself under the standard of the Gospel. The chivalrous and religious spirit which first gave rise to the Teutonic order, had gradually disappeared with the ages that witnessed its birth; and the knights, indifferent to everything but their own private interests, had given causes of dissatisfaction to the inhabitants of the territories subject to their rule. Poland had taken advantage of these, in 1466, for the purpose of getting the order to acknowledge her feudal sovereignty. The people, the knights, the grandmaster, and the Polish domination, formed so many antagonist powers, which by perpetual collisions with each other, made the prosperity of the country impossible.

Then came the Reformation, and in it was beheld the only means that remained of saving that miserable people. Brismann, Speratus, Poliander, who had been doctor Eck's secretary at the Leipsick disputation, and others, were still preaching the Gospel in Prussia.

A beggar one day from the countries subject to the Teutonic knights happened to arrive at Wittemberg, and halting in front of Luther's house, he sang with a deep voice that fine hymn of Poliander's.

"Salvation now to us is come!"¹

The Reformer, who had never till then heard that Christian hymn, listened with delight and astonishment; and what further augmented these feelings, was the foreign accent of the person who sang. "Again! Again!"² he exclaimed when the beg-

¹ Es ist das Heyl uns kommen her.

² Well might Luther be delighted with the hymn, for it sets forth boldly those very doctrines of faith, which he so strenuously advocated, and which the priests and monks as strenuously opposed.

We give below a translation of this Hymn, in which the author has preserved the rhythm and rhymes of the original, and has adhered as closely to the literal

gar had finished. He then asked him where the hymn could have come from; the tears rushed from his eyes when the poor meaning of the German as our language would admit of. He follows even the original copy in allowing the last line of each stanza to be without a corresponding rhyme.

Salvation now hath reach'd our shore,
From God's own free grace flowing
And works are held of worth no more,
As cures for sin bestowing.
Faith looks to Jesus Christ alone,
Who hath for all sufficient done;
He's now our Mediator.

Those things the law commanded us,
As we could not fulfil them,
Great wrath and pain they brought on us,
And there was none could still them.
The spirit in our bosom reign'd
Which by the law is most constrain'd
We thus were sunk in ruin !

Delusion great was thereby wrought,
God therefore may't have given,*
We could keep pure the law, we thought,
And thereby rise to heaven ;
Alas ! 'tis but a mirror sure,
Which shows the nature how impure,
That in our flesh is hidden.

We never could this nature vile
By our strength over-master,
Though oft 'twas tried ; yet all the while
Our sins increas'd the faster,
For through the law they first arose ;
This threatened me eternal woes,
Because sin still I follow'd.

Yet must the law full-honour'd be,
Else we're undone forever ;
God therefore sent his Son, and he
Died all men to deliver.
The whole law thus hath he fulfill'd,
And that great wrath at length hath still'd,
Which one and all did threaten.

As what the law required was done
By Him whom God elected,
So learn each pious Christian son
True faith, by man rejected ;
O ! master dear ! let each one say,
Thy death shall be my life for aye ;
My debt thou hast acquitted.

No kind of doubt on this I bear,
Thy word can never falter.
Now sayest thou, that none despair,
With words thou can'st not alter,
Who trusts in me, and is baptized,
For him hath heav'n been realis'd,
That he may never perish.

* Rom. i. 24, 26 ; 2 Thess. ii. 11.

man told him, that it was from the shores of the Baltic that a shout of deliverance was resounding as far as Wittemberg;

Just, before God, alone are they,
Who in true faith are living;
Yet faith will brighter shine alway
Through works their witness giving.
To God, 'tis faith alone that's near,
And love to Him doth make it clear,
That you're from God descended.

Sin, by the law, to us shown forth,
The conscience strikes with terror;
The Gospel comes with healing worth,
And turns our hearts from error.
It says, Come to the cross so dear!
Nor peace nor rest thou findest here
By legal works performing.

'Tis certain that good works proceed
From true faith unrecanting;
That would not be true faith indeed,
Where good works were awanting.
Though faith alone gives righteousness,
Works are the touchstone not the less,
Whereby we faith discover.

Hope waits on God's right time alway,
Whereof his Word hath spoken;
When that shall come, God sets no day
Nor goal to joys unbroken;
Full well he knows the time that's best,
And will not cheat us with a jest;
We therefore ought to trust him.

Although his promise seem to fail,
Let no vain terror move thee;
His purposes he oft may vail,
How much soe'er he love thee;
And though thy foolish heart say, nay,
Lean, lean upon his word alway,
With confidence unshaken.

Praise for his goodness then is due,
And honour loudly sounding,
God Father, Son, and Sp'rit, unto!
Who will with grace abounding,
Complete his work in us begun
Through wonder-deed on Calv'ry done;
Thy name be hallow'd ever!

Thy kingdom come, thy will be done,
In earth as 'tis in heaven;
Our daily bread give us each one,
Our debts let be forgiven,
As we do those who owe us ought;
Into temptation lead us not.
From ill preserve us! Amen!

This hymn, though called by M. d'Aubigné "Poliander's hymn," was in reality written by Dr. Paul Speratus, who was born in Swabia December 13th, 1484.

and then, clasping his hands, he thanked God with a joyful heart.¹

In fact, salvation was there.

"Take pity on our wretched condition," said the people of Prussia to the grandmaster, "and give us those preachers that proclaim the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ." Albert at first made no reply; but he opened a negotiation with his uncle and lord paramount, Sigismond, king of Poland.

The latter recognised him as hereditary duke of Prussia,² and the new prince entered his capital, Königsberg, amid merry peals from the steeple bells, and the acclamations of the people; the houses were all magnificently ornamented, and the streets were strewn with flowers. "There is but one (religious) order," said Albert, "and that is Christianity." The monastic orders disappeared, and that divine order was restored.

The bishops surrendered their secular rights into the hands of the new duke; the monasteries were converted into hospitals; the Gospel was proclaimed even in the poorest villages, and in the following year Albert married the daughter of the king of Denmark, Dorothea, who had a firm faith in the only Saviour.

The pope called upon the emperor to adopt the severest measures against this apostate monk, and Charles laid Albert under the interdict.

He resided for a long time in Paris, visited the academies of Italy, and taught theology in Würzburg, Salzburg, and Vienna. In this latter place, he was imprisoned because he preached the pure and undefiled Gospel. In 1523, he came to Wittemberg, and became acquainted with Luther. By him he was recommended to duke Albert of Prussia, who appointed him court preacher, and bishop of Lubmühl in Pomerania. Together with John Brismann, and John Poliander, or Graumann, he laid the groundwork of the Reformation in Prussia. He died September 17th, 1554.

Dr. John Graumann or Poliander, to whom M. d'Aubigné attributes the above hymn, was called the Prussian Orpheus, on account of the beautiful spiritual songs which he composed. He was born July 4, 1487, at Neustadt in Bavaria. He studied at Leipsick, and became sub-rector of the university, and in 1519 he was Dr. Eck's amanuensis at the famous Leipsick disputation, and by it was convinced of the truth of the Gospel. On Luther's recommendation he went afterwards to Prussia, as doctor in theology. There he became pastor of the Old town church in Königsberg, and assisted, along with Paul Speratus, and John Brismann, already mentioned, in introducing the Reformation. He died of apoplexy, April 29, 1541.—*Knapp's Evangelischer Liederschatz*.

For the above Note and translation, the reader is indebted to my learned friend, Dr. Blackie, of Glasgow. Tr.

¹ Dankte Gott mit Freuden. (Seckendorf, p. 668.)

² Sleidan, Hist. of the Ref. p. 220.

Another prince of the Brandenburg family, the cardinal-archbishop of Mainz, was at that time on the point of following his cousin's example. The ecclesiastical principalities were most of all threatened by the war of the peasants; the elector, Luther, all Germany, in fact, thought a great revolution was impending. Under the impression that the sole means of preserving his principality, lay in secularising it, the archbishop secretly invited Luther to prepare the people for this bold step,¹ and this the latter did by a letter intended for publication, and addressed to them: "God," he says in it, "has laid his hand on the clergy, that body must go down; nothing can save it."² But the war with the peasants having been brought to a close much more promptly than was expected, the cardinal kept his personal property; his disquietudes vanished, and he renounced his projects of secularisation.

While John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and Albert of Prussia, made so open a confession of their attachment to the Reformation, and that thus the prudent Frederick was replaced by three princes, all remarkable for resolution and for courage, the sacred work was making its way in the Church, and among the nations. Luther besought the elector to establish a Gospel ministry everywhere, in the place of the Romish priesthood, and to institute a general visitation of the churches.³ About the same period, the episcopal functions began to be exercised, and ministers to be ordained at Wittenberg. "Let not the pope, bishops, monks, and priests," said Melancthon, "exclaim: 'We are the Church, and whosoever secedes from us, secedes at the same time from the Church!' There is no church but the assembly of those who have the Word of God, and who are purified by it."⁴

A vigorous re-action was the sure consequence of all this being said and done. Rome had thought the Reformation extinguished in the blood of the rebel peasants; but, lo! everywhere its flames re-appeared more brilliant, and more lively than ever. She resolved to make a new effort. Both the pope and the emperor wrote threatening letters, the one from Rome, the other

¹ Seckendorf, p. 712.

² Er muss herunter. (L. Epp. ii. p. 674.)

³ L. Epp. iii. p. 28, 38, 51, &c.

⁴ Dass Kirche sey allein diejenige, so Gottes Wort haben und damit gereinigt werden. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 766.)

from Spain. The imperial government was preparing to have all things restored to their old footing; and serious thoughts were at length entertained of giving the Reformation its death-blow at the approaching diet.

This alarmed the electoral prince of Saxony, and the landgrave; accordingly, they held a meeting, on the 7th of November, at the castle of Friedewalt, and agreed that their deputies should act in concert at the diet. Thus did there meet in the forest of Sullingen, the first elements of an evangelical league, formed in opposition to those of Ratisbon and Dessau.¹

The diet was opened on the 11th of December, at Augsburg. The evangelical princes did not attend in person, but the deputies from Saxony and Hesse spoke boldly out from the time of their entering. "It is an imprudent severity," said they, "that we have to thank for the insurrection of the peasants. It is neither by fire nor by sword, that men's hearts can be detached from the truth of God. If you would use violent measures against the Reformation, the consequence of these will be calamities, still more awful than those from which you have escaped with difficulty."

It was felt that whatever resolution might be taken, it could not fail to be of immense importance; each of the parties, accordingly, was willing to stave off the decisive moment, that it might have time to augment its strength. Hence it was resolved that there should be another meeting held at Spire, in the month of May following; and, until then, the Nuremberg *recess*² was to be maintained. Then we shall enter, it was said, into a thorough examination of questions relating "to the holy faith, to justice, and to peace."

The landgrave, in pursuit of his design, had a conference with the elector at Gotha, towards the close of February, 1526. There the two princes agreed that should they be attacked on account of the Word of God, they would combine their forces,

¹ Milner says that "various conventions of the princes were held in different places." Tr.

² *Recess* or *recess*, in German, means the settlement of a disputed point, or the verbal or written statement of a legal argument, but is here applied to the final resolutions of the diet, embodying the formal decisions or opinions of that body, on the matters that had fallen under its deliberations. Tr.

and resist their adversaries. This alliance was ratified at Torgau, and was destined to be followed by great consequences.

But the league of Torgau was not sufficient for the landgrave. Convinced that Charles V. was endeavouring to form a league "against Christ and his holy Word," he wrote letter upon letter to the elector, urging the necessity for their uniting with other states. "As for me," he said to him, rather would I die than deny the Word of God, and allow myself to be expelled from my throne."¹

The prevalent feeling at the electoral court, was that of great uncertainty, there being a really serious obstacle in the way of union with the evangelical princes, and that obstacle being found in Luther and Melanchthon. Luther wished the doctrines of the Gospel to have God alone to defend them, believing that the less that men intermeddled with it, God's intervention would be only the more striking. All the measures people wanted to take, ought to be ascribed, he thought, to a paltry timidity, and to criminal distrust. Melanchthon dreaded lest an alliance among the evangelical princes, should bring on the very war they were wishing to avoid.²

The Landgrave would allow no such considerations to stop his proceedings, but after having done his utmost to induce the States that lay around him, to join the alliance, his efforts proved unavailing. Frankfort refused to accede; the elector of Treves gave up his opposition, and accepted a pension from the emperor; nay, the very elector Palatine, whose leanings towards the Gospel were generally known, rejected Philip's proposals.

Thus, on the side of the Rhine, the landgrave met with no

¹ Seckendorf, p. 768.

² It might here be asked, Which advised for the best? The princes who were zealous for the Reformation, or the theologians? Assuredly, the sentiments entertained by the latter accorded best with the genius of the Gospel, which desires to be defended, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons. But here there were also external privileges, freedom of conscience, and the rights of subjects in that respect, to be defended against oppressors who were powerful in point of arms. This, accordingly, was the incumbent duty of right-minded princes; a duty which could not be discharged but by a powerful, and a necessarily armed resistance: and thus far the procedure of the princes was right. We shall likewise perceive hereafter, that it was God's will to bring the cause of the Reformation in this manner, to a firm settlement. Still, this injurious consequence followed, that the Church became too much subjected to the secular power. Nor can it be otherwise: the Reformation was not then that perfect work which we expect to be realised at some future time.—L. R.

success;¹ but the elector, notwithstanding the advice to the contrary he had received from the divines of the Reformation, entered into treaty with the princes who, at all times, were wont to rally round the puissant house of Saxony. On the 12th of June, the elector and his son, the dukes Philip, Ernest, Otho, and Francis, of Brunswick and Lunenburg, duke Henry of Mecklenburg, the prince Wolf of Anhalt, counts Albert and Gebhard of Mansfeld, met at Magdeburg, and there, under the presidency of the elector, they formed an alliance similar to that of Torgau.

"God Almighty," said the princes, "having in his unspeakable mercy, caused his holy and eternal word, the food of our souls and our greatest treasure here below, to appear again among men; and whereas powerful measures are in progress among the clergy and their adherents, having its annihilation and extirpation for their object; in the firm persuasion that he who hath sent it into the world for the glorification of his name on the earth, knows, also, how to maintain it there, we engage ourselves to preserve that holy word for the people subject to us, and to that effect, to employ our goods, our lives, our States, our subjects, all, in short, that we possess; placing our reliance by no means in our armies, but solely in the omnipotence of the Lord, whose instruments we desire simply to be."² Such was the language of the princes.³

¹ This appears to have partly arisen from a state of things more fully described by Milner. "The avowed and unequivocal support," says he, "afforded to the Reformation by the new elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, did not produce all the good effects which might have been expected. . . Their example, indeed, was followed by all the most enlightened princes and States of Germany. . . But the rest, who under the cautious and ambiguous conduct of Frederick the Wise, had hitherto shown themselves averse to an open rupture, so soon as they clearly perceived that the Reformers designed to withdraw from the Romish communion, and reject the jurisdiction of the pontiff, instantly took fire at the very idea of such a basis of peace and concord. . . Thus the discordant princes of Germany arranged themselves into two distinct parties. . . But there was this essential difference between the patrons of Popery and Lutheranism. All the measures of the latter were in principle purely defensive; whereas the former meditated the complete extirpation of their adversaries." Milner, vol. v. p. 427-8. Tr.

² Allein auf Gott den Allmächtigen, als dessen Werkzeuge sie handeln. (Hortleber, Ursache des deutschen Krieges, i. p. 1490.)

³ Milner represents the Magdeburg league as the *same* as that of Torgau. He also quotes a letter from Luther to Spalatin, written about this time, and showing the necessity that existed for something being done to counteract the plots formed by the adherents of the popedom. "You can scarcely believe," says Luther, "what mischief Satan is plotting, through the medium of the bishops, with Duke George at their head. Shortly, in a little book, which is at

The city of Magdeburg was two days thereafter admitted into this alliance, and the new duke of Prussia, Albert of Brandenburg, gave his adhesion to it under a particular form.

The Gospel league was formed; but the dangers which it was designed to obviate, every day became more threatening. The priests and princes that were friendly to Rome, beheld the very Reformation which they had considered as extinct, suddenly swell out into an alarming magnitude, so that its partisans were already nearly as powerful as those of the pope, and were they to prove the majority in the diet, it might be guessed what would be the consequences to the ecclesiastical States. Now or never! accordingly, was the cry. It was no longer a mere heresy to be refuted; it was a powerful party to be encountered in battle, and Christendom was to be indebted for its salvation to victories of a different kind from those of Dr. Eck.

Efficacious measures had been already taken. The metropolitan chapter of the primatial church of Maintz had called a meeting of all its suffragans, and had resolved to send a deputation to the emperor and to the pope, beseeching them to save the Church.

At the same time, duke George of Saxony, duke Henry of Brunswick, and the cardinal elector, Albert, had met at Halle, and resolved to address Charles V. "Luther's detestable doctrine," said they, "is making rapid progress. Daily attempts are made to gain over ourselves; and as this cannot be accomplished by gentle methods, people would fain constrain us by exciting our subjects to revolt. We invoke the emperor's assistance."¹ Immediately after this conference, Brunswick himself went to Spain, for the purpose of bringing Charles to a decision.

He could not have arrived at a more favourable moment; the emperor had concluded with France the famous peace of Madrid;

this very time in the press, I purpose to give you a specimen of his iniquitous proceedings. If the Lord prevent not the accomplishment of the designs of these men, you will have to say, that the late rebellion and slaughter of the rustics was but the prelude to the universal destruction of Germany." Still the Reformer does not recommend armed alliances as the antidote. "I therefore seriously beseech you," says he, "join your prayers with me to the Father of mercies, that he may be pleased to confound the wild and insidious devices of these men. . . ." See Milner, vol. v. p. 439-40. Thus the prospects of Germany evidently concurred with the language of the Magdeburg allies, in proving that the latter were not actuated by selfish motives or political aims. Ta

¹ Schmidt, *Deutsche Gesch.* viii. p. 202.

on that side, accordingly, he seemed to have nothing more to dread, and his attention was no longer diverted from Germany. Francis I. had offered to pay him half the expenses of a war, either with the heretics or with the Turks.

The emperor was at Seville, and was about to espouse a princess of Portugal, so that the banks of the Guadalquivir resounded with the din of festive rejoicings. The ancient chief city of the Moors was thronged with a numerous nobility and an immense populace. All the Church's pomps were displayed under the vaulted roofs of the superb cathedral, where a legate from the pope officiated, and never, even in the time of the Arabs, had Andalusia seen a more magnificent or more solemn ceremony.

Such was the state of things when Henry of Brunswick arrived from Germany and supplicated Charles V. to save the Church and the empire, while attacked by the Wittemberg monk. His request was immediately taken into consideration, and the emperor decided upon adopting energetic measures.

On the 23d of March, 1526, he addressed letters to several of the princes and cities that had remained faithful to Rome, and at the same time, specially commissioned the duke of Brunswick to inform them, that he had learned, with the utmost grief, that the continual progress of Luther's heresy threatened to fill Germany with sacrilege, desolation, and blood; that, on the other hand, he beheld with extreme pleasure the fidelity of the greater number of his States; that putting aside all other affairs, he was about to leave Spain for Rome, there to concert measures with the pope, and from that would return to Germany, to enter into conflict with the detestable pest of Wittemberg; that, as for them, they ought stedfastly to adhere to their faith; and should the Lutherans attempt, whether by fraud or force, to seduce them into error, they should form a close union with each other, and make a bold resistance; that he would soon be among them, and support them to the utmost of his ability.⁴

On Brunswick's return to Germany, the Roman Catholic party were in high spirits and recovered all their confidence. The dukes of Brunswick and Pomerania, Albert of Mecklenburg, John of Juliers, George of Saxony, the dukes of Bavaria,

⁴ Weymar Archives. (Seckend., p. 768.)

all the ecclesiastical princes, upon reading the threatening letters from the conqueror of Francis I., thought themselves sure of a victory. They would still be able to attend the approaching diet, they would humble the heretical princes, and should they refuse to yield, they would compel them by the sword. "I shall be elector of Saxony whenever I please,"¹ said duke George, as we are assured, although he tried afterwards to give another meaning to the expression. "The cause of Luther will not hold out long," said the duke's chancellor, one day at Torgau, with an air of triumph, "let people look well to it!"

Luther did, in fact, look well to it, but not in the sense intended; he narrowly watched the designs of the enemies of God's Word, and expected, as did also Melancthon, to see thousands of swords unsheathed against the Gospel. But he looked to a higher source than man for support. "Satan," he wrote to Frederick Myconius, "gives loud expression to his fury; impious pontiffs conspire; and we are threatened with war. Exhort the people to wrestle valiantly before the Lord's throne, by faith and prayer, in such wise that our enemies, overcome by the Spirit of God, shall be constrained to be at peace. The first thing we want, the first thing we have to labour at, is prayer; let the people know that they are now exposed to the edge of many swords, and to the fury of the devil, and let them pray."²

Thus were all things preparing for a decisive combat. On the side of the Reformation there were Christian prayers, popular sympathy, and that onward movement of men's minds which nothing could arrest; the popedom had in its favour the old order of things, the force of ancient customs, the zeal and the violent antipathies of formidable princes, and the power of that mighty emperor who was reigning over two worlds, and who had just succeeded in giving a rude check to the glory of Francis I.

Such was the state of matters at the opening of the Diet of Spires. Let us now return to Switzerland.

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* ii. p. 349. Rommel *Urkunden*, p. 22.

² *Ut in mediis gladiis et furoribus Satanæ posito et periclitanti.* (L. Epp. ii. p. 100.)

BOOK ELEVENTH.

DIVISIONS.

SWITZERLAND—GERMANY.

(1523—1527.)

I. WE have now to mark the rise of the diversities of the Reformation, or, as they have been called, its *variations*. These form one of its most essential characteristics.

Unity in diversity, and diversity in unity, such is the law of nature, and such, also, is the law of the Church.

Truth is like the light of the sun. Light comes from heaven, one and always the same; and yet it assumes different colours on the earth, according to the objects on which it falls. In like manner may slightly different formulas express the same Christian idea, seen from different points of view.

What a melancholy scene would creation be, were this immense diversity of forms and colours which composes its riches, to be superseded by absolute uniformity! What a desolate aspect would it produce, were all created beings to become merged in one sole magnificent unity!

Divine unity has consequences legitimately flowing from it; human diversity has legitimate consequences too. In religion, we must not annihilate either God or man. Without unity, your religion cannot be from God; if you have not diversity, your religion cannot be that of man; now it ought to be both. You surely would not expunge from creation one of those laws which God himself has imposed on it, even that of an endless diversity. “*If things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp, give no difference of sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped.*”¹ But while in the things of religion there is

a diversity arising from differences between individuals, which consequently must exist even in heaven, there is a diversity also, proceeding from man's revolt (from God), and that is a great evil.¹

There are two tendencies that alike lead into error, the one exaggerating diversity, the other exaggerating unity, and the limit between which is to be found in the doctrines that are necessary to salvation. When we insist for more than these, we make too little allowance for diversity; when we admit less, we offend against unity.

This latter excess is that of rash and rebellious spirits, who throw themselves out from Jesus Christ, in order to form systems and doctrines proceeding from men.

The former is to be found in several exclusive sects, and, in particular, in that of Rome.²

The Church ought to reject error, and did it not reject it, Christianity could not be maintained. But when we would push this principle to an extreme, the result must follow, that the Church ought to take part against the slightest deviation, and put herself into a commotion about a strife of words; faith would then be gagged, and Christian sentiment reduced to a state of bondage. Such was not the state of the Church in the times of true catholicism, in that of the first ages. She rejected the sects that were opposed to the fundamental truths of the Gospel; but when those truths were admitted, she allowed faith to have ample liberty. Rome soon departed from this wise course; and

¹ It is of consequence well to mark this last observation. Religion is deprived of her true life when all difference in religious opinions is condemned, and when we would force all men into an immovable unity. Still, on the other hand, to leave all to think as they please, and to abandon necessary unity, were to annihilate religious truth and certainty. But here comes the difficulty—where to find the true mean between the two extremes; how to discover the right and proper method of uniting them. If we would judge impartially, we must acknowledge, that even the Romish Church does not forbid all differences; she allows a free play of thought in all matters not determined by the Church; yet holds this determination of the Church to be the divinely appointed means for preserving necessary unity. Here properly does the controversy with her lie. All genuine Protestants agree with her, that there must be an unity in things necessary (to be believed), and it is a false Protestantism that defends unlimited difference of opinion. And whereas men differ about the determination of what these necessary things are, it seems difficult, at the first glance, to discover how we ought to resolve that question.—L. R.

² According to this view, the Church of Rome would appear merely to add to the essential doctrines of salvation. But are not her additions, in some instances, destructive of those doctrines?—Tr.

in proportion as human domination and doctrine acquired form and consistency in the Church, human unity likewise was to be found there.

After a human system had been once invented, rigorous measures advanced apace from century to century. Christian liberty, respected as it had been by the catholicism of the first ages, was first restricted, then chained down, and finally suppressed. Conviction which, whether we look to the laws of human nature, or to the Word of God, ought to be left to form itself freely in man's heart and intellect, was imposed upon these from without, ready made, and symmetrically arranged, by the masters of man. Reflection, the will, moral feeling, in short, all the faculties of the human being, which, in submission to the Word and Spirit of God, ought to operate and produce freely, had their liberty constrained, and were forced to expand themselves in pre-determined forms; so that the human mind came to resemble a looking-glass, in which foreign images are represented, but which possesses nothing of its own. No doubt, some souls still were taught immediately by God. But the great majority of Christians, from that time forward, had no convictions but such as were derived from another; a faith that was really that of the individual, came to be very rare; and this treasure was restored to the Church, only by the Reformation.

Nevertheless, there was an interval of some duration in which the human mind was allowed a certain freedom of action, and there were certain opinions which a man might admit or reject at pleasure. But as a hostile army before a besieged city, continually draws its lines closer and closer, obliges the garrison to confine its movements within the narrow circle of its walls, and at length compels it to surrender; just so the hierarchy was seen to contract, century after century, and almost year after year, the space which it had granted for a time to the human mind, until at last it engrossed the whole, and left none to the mind at all. What was to be believed, loved, or done, was regulated and settled in the offices of the Roman chancery. The faithful were relieved of all the trouble of examination, thought, and controversy; they had no longer to do more than repeat the formulas which they had been taught.

Thenceforth, if there chanced to appear in the midst of the

catholicism of Rome, some one who inherited the catholicism of the times of the apostles, such an one, incapable of developing his views within the bounds by which he was circumscribed, behoved to burst these, and to show anew to the astonished world the free bearing of the Christian who accepts no law but that of God.

Thus, in restoring her freedom to the Church, the Reformation must have restored her original diversity, and peopled her with families, united by the grand traits of a family likeness, derived from their common head, but differing in their secondary lines, and in these recalling the varieties that are inherent in human nature. Perhaps it were desirable that this diversity should exist in the universal Church, without resulting in division into sects, yet we must not forget that sects are nothing but the expression of that diversity.¹

Switzerland and Germany, which had hitherto developed themselves independently of each other, began to meet in the years whose history we are about to retrace, presenting an example of the diversity of which we have been speaking, and which behoved to be one of the characteristics of protestantism. We shall there behold men agreed on all the grand points of faith, and yet differing on some secondary questions. No doubt, passion mingled itself with these debates; but although we deplore that melancholy alloy, protestantism, far from seeking to disguise her diversity, admits and proclaims it. It is by a long and difficult road that she tends to unity, but that unity is the true one.

¹ Here we have the resolution of the question that at first sight seemed so difficult. Whereas the determination of what is necessary, of what all must believe, by the Church, or by one, or several persons placed at the head of the same, under the title of bishops, is a pure encroachment, for which no good grounds can be alleged; so, then, does the determination of that necessary (faith) belong in some sense to each individual, yet for himself alone and not for others; yet, let him reflect that it is no matter of indifference with God, who desires that he should learn the truth, and has given him the means of doing so in his Word, whether he sets himself to this task in a careless spirit, or with an earnest and honest heart: and with that men will not remain far apart from each other. Should there be any remaining difference that appears too important to admit of a full union, the distribution of Christians into different communions (*gezindheden*) will not, in that case, be found at variance with the spirit of Christ's kingdom. Let men lay aside as much as possible the hated name of sect, let them honour each other's convictions in freedom, and thus approach nearer and nearer to the full Christian unity, which hitherto has been more the object that the Church ought to strive after, than anything she already may fully possess.—L. R.

Zwingli was advancing in the Christian life. Whilst the Gospel had delivered Luther from that profound melancholy of which he had once been the victim in the monastery at Erfurt, and had developed in him a serenity of mind which very often passed into a positive gaiety of disposition, as he proved on many occasions even in the face of the greatest perils, Christianity had produced quite an opposite effect on the joyous child of the Tockenburg mountains. Snatching Zwingli from a life of frivolity and worldliness, it had stamped his character with a seriousness which was in no wise natural to it. This seriousness he greatly needed. We saw how, about the commencement of the year 1522, numerous enemies seemed to rise against the Reformation.¹ Zwingli was everywhere overwhelmed with invectives, and disputes were often entered upon, even in the Churches.

Leo Juda, a person of short stature,² says an historian, but full of charity towards the poor and of zeal against false doctors, arrived in Zurich towards the close of the year 1522, to discharge the duties of pastor of St. Peter's Church. He was succeeded at Einsidlen by Oswald Myconius,³ a precious acquisition for Zwingli and the Reformation.

One day, shortly after his arrival, he heard, in the Church of which he had been called to be the pastor, an Augustinian monk preach very earnestly, that man of himself could satisfy the demands of God's justice. "Reverend Father Prior," exclaimed Leo, "listen to me for an instant, and you, my dear people of this town, be still; I will speak as becomes a Christian." He then proved to them the falsehood of the doctrine that they had been hearing.⁴ The result was a considerable commotion among those present, some of whom angrily assailed "the little priest" who had come from Einsidlen. Zwingli repaired to the grand council; he craved to be permitted to give an account of his doctrine, in presence of the bishop's deputies; and the council, being desirous that an end should be put to these discords, convoked a conference for 29th Jan. 1523. The news quickly spread throughout Switzerland. "There is to be held at Zurich,"

¹ See book viii.

² Er war ein kurzer Mann. (Füsslin Beyträge, iv. p. 44.)

³ Ut post abitum Leonis, monachis aliquid legam. (Zw. Epp., p. 253.)

⁴ J. J. Hottinger, *Heln. Kirch. Gesch.* iii. p. 105

said the opposite party spitefully, "a *diet* of vagabonds. All the blackguards that infest the highways, are to meet there."

As a preparation for the combat, Zwingli published sixty-seven theses; and in these we see the Tockenbourg highlander boldly attacking the pope in the eyes of all Switzerland.

"All who maintain that the Gospel is nought without the Church's confirmation," said he, "blaspheme God."

"The only way of salvation for all who have been, now are, or yet shall be, is Jesus Christ."

"All Christians are Christ's brethren and brothers to each other, and as they have no fathers upon earth, thus do the (religious) orders, sects, and parties, go for nought."

"No constraint ought to be laid upon those who do not own their being in error, provided, at least, that they do not disturb the public peace by their seditious conduct."

Such were some of Zwingli's expressions.

On Thursday, the 29th of January, early in the morning, more than six hundred persons met in the grand council-hall, at Zurich. Townsfolk and persons from a distance, learned men, people of distinction, and ecclesiastics, had answered to the council's call. "What will be the upshot of all this?" it was said.¹ None dared to reply; but the attention, the excitement, and the commotion that prevailed at the meeting, sufficiently demonstrated that great things were expected to be the result.

Burgomaster Roust who had fought at Marignan, presided at the conference. The knight James of Anwyl, grandmaster of the episcopal court of Constance, Faber, the vicar-general, together with a good many doctors, represented the bishop there. Schaffhausen had sent Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister; he was the only deputy from the cantons, so weak was the Reformation as yet in Switzerland. Upon a table in the middle of the hall there lay a Bible, and in front of it sat a doctor, namely Zwingli. "I am driven about and tossed on all hands," he had been saying; "nevertheless, I remain firm, resting, not on my own strength, but on the rock which is Christ, and with whose help I can do all things."²

¹ Ein grosses Verwunderen, was doch uss der Sach werden wollte. (Bullinger, Chron. i. p. 97.)

² Immotus tamen maneo, non meis nervis nixus, sed petra Christo, in quo omnia possum. (Zw. Epp. p. 261.)

Zwingli rose. "I have been preaching that salvation is to be found in Jesus Christ alone," said he, "and on that account I am called throughout all Switzerland, a heretic, a seducer, and a rebel. . . . Now then, in the name of God, here I am."¹

All eyes were then turned towards Faber, who rose and replied: "I have not been sent hither to dispute, but only to listen." Surprised at this, the meeting began to laugh. "The diet of Nuremberg," Faber went on to say, "has promised a council in the course of a year; we ought to wait until it has met."

"What!" said Zwingli, "is this great and learned meeting not worth a council?" Then turning to the town-council, he said: "Gracious lords, defend the Word of God."

This appeal was followed with profound silence; and as none seemed willing to break it, the burgomaster did so. "If there be any one who has aught to say," said he, "let him now speak!" . . . There was another pause. "I conjure all that have accused me, (and I know that there are several such here)," Zwingli then said, "to step forward, and for the truth's sake to state their charge." No one uttered a word. Zwingli repeated his request a second and a third time; but it was in vain. Thereupon Faber, feeling himself hard pressed, departed for a moment from the reserve that he had imposed on himself, to say that he had convinced the pastor of Filispach, while he lay in prison, that he was in the wrong, but he immediately after returned to the course he had adopted. In vain was he urged to explain the reasons by which he had convinced that pastor; he remained obstinately mute. This silence of the Romish doctors wore out the patience of the spectators. A voice was heard from the farther end of the hall, exclaiming: "Where, then, are those big fellows,² who talk so loud in the streets? Come on, stand forth, behold the man!" Nobody presenting himself, the burgomaster said with a smile: "It would appear that this famous sword with which the pastor of Filispach has been smitten, wont leave its scabbard to-day," and dismissed the meeting.

Having met again in the afternoon, the council declared that Mr. Ulrich Zwingli, not having been reprehended by any one, should continue to preach the holy Gospel, and that all the

¹ Nun wohlan in dem Namen Gottes, hie bin ich. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 98.)

² The monks. Wo sind nun die grossen Hausen. . . . (Zw. Opp. i. p. 124.)

other priests of the canton, should teach nothing that they cannot establish by the holy Scripture.

"Praise be to God, who would have his holy Word to rule supreme in heaven and upon earth!" exclaimed Zwingli. Here Faber could restrain his indignation no longer: "Mr. Ulrich Zwingli's theses," said he, "are contrary to the Church's honour, and to the doctrine of Christ, and I will prove them to be so." "Do so," exclaimed Zwingli. But Faber refused to do this anywhere but at Paris, Cologne, or Friburg. "I want no judge but the Gospel," said Zwingli. "Before you can succeed in shaking the truth of a single word I have uttered, the earth itself will open."¹—"The Gospel," said Faber, "still the Gospel! . . . One may live in holiness, peace, and charity, even were there no Gospel."²

In indignation at these words, those present rose from their seats, and so the dispute was at an end.

II. The Reformation had won the day, and it now behoved to hasten its conquests. After such a contest at Zurich, where the ablest champions of the popedom had held their peace, who now could be so bold as oppose the new doctrine? . . . Meanwhile recourse was had to other weapons. Zwingli's firmness and republican bearing overawed his opponents; private means, accordingly, were adopted with the view of getting the better of him. While Rome was persecuting Luther with her anathemas, she made an effort to gain over the Zurich Reformer with mild measures. Hardly was the disputation over, when Zwingli beheld the son of the burgomaster Roust, captain of the pope's guards, arrive, accompanied by the legate, Einsius, who was entrusted with a pontifical brief for him, in which Adrian VI. called Zwingli his beloved son, and informed him of the very particular regard he had for him.³ The pope, at the same time, made Zink press the gaining of Zwingli to his interests. "And what may it be that the pope authorises you to offer him?" asked Oswald Myconius—"All," replied Zink, "except the pontifical see."⁴

¹ *Ee muss das Erdrych brechen.* (Zw. Opp. i. p. 148.)

² *Man mocht denoch früntlich, fridlich und tugendlich läben, wenn glich kein Evangelium were.* (Bullinger, Chron. p. 107. Zw. Opp. i. p. 152.)

³ *Cum de tua egregia virtute specialiter nobis sit cognitum.* (Zw. Epp. p. 266.)

⁴ *Serio respondit: Omnia certe præter sedem papalem.* (Vita Zwingli per Osw. Myc.)

There was no mitre and cross, there was no cardinal's hat, at the cost of which the pope was not willing to gain over the Zurich Reformer. But Rome strangely deceived herself with regard to him; these offers were of no avail; and in Zwingli the Roman Church found a more pitiless enemy than she had found even in Luther. He cared less than Luther did about the ideas and the rites of preceding ages; to him it was enough that a custom, however innocent in itself, had been attached to some abuse, to call for its being denounced. The Word of God, he thought, ought alone to remain untouched.

But if Rome understood so little what was then taking place in Christendom, she had advisers who endeavoured to put her in the way.

Faber was angry at seeing the pope thus humble himself before his opponent, and lost no time in enlightening him. A practised courtier, with a simper ever on his lips, and honeyed words on his tongue, to hear him speak, one would have supposed him the friend of the whole world, not excluding even those whom he accused of heresy. But his resentments were deadly. Hence with a play upon the word Faber, the Reformer would say: "The vicar of Constance is a smith, and he forges . . . lies. Let him openly take to his arms, and see how Christ defends us."¹

Nor were these words an idle vaunt; for while the pope spoke to Zwingli of his eminent virtues, and of the particular confidence that he reposed in him, the Reformer's enemies were multiplying in Switzerland. The old soldiers, the great families, the shepherds of the mountains, were united in their hatred of a doctrine which thwarted their tastes. At Lucerne, there was announced the pompous spectacle of Zwingli's *Passion*; in fact, the Reformer in effigy was dragged to punishment, amid shouts that the heretic was going to be put to death; and certain Zurichers who happened to be in Lucerne at the time, were compelled to be spectators of this ridiculous execution. "They wont disquiet me," said Zwingli; "Christ will never be wanting to his own."² The very diet resounded with threats against him. "Dear confederates," said the councillor of Mullinen to the can-

¹ Prodeant volo, palamque arma capiant. . . . (Zw. Epp. p. 292.)

² Christum suis nunquam defecturum. (Ibid. p. 278.)

tons, "I would have you timeously oppose the Lutheran heresy. . . . At Zurich a man is no longer master in his own house!"

This commotion among the adversaries of the cause, told what was now passing in Zurich, better than all the proclamations could have done. The victory that had been won, was in fact bearing its fruits; the vanquishers gradually took possession of the country, and the Gospel made new progress every day. Four and twenty prebendaries, and a great number of chaplains, came spontaneously to the council, and asked for a reform in their statutes. It was resolved that in the room of these lazy priests, men of learning and piety should be appointed, who should give the youths of Zurich christian and liberal instruction, and instead of their vespers and masses, give a daily explanation of a chapter of the Bible, according to the Hebrew and Greek texts, first, for the learned, and immediately thereafter, for the common people.

Every army is unhappily troubled with certain reckless souls who separate from the main body, and prematurely attack positions which it were better, for the time, to let alone. A young priest of the name of Louis Hetzer, having published in German a book entitled, *God's judgment against images*, the work made a great impression, so that the minds of the people began to be wholly engrossed with it. When men allow themselves to be thus engrossed with matters of secondary consequence, it is always to the detriment of those things that are essential, and which ought to occupy their thoughts. A carefully sculptured and richly ornamented crucifix, stood outside one of the city gates, at a place called Stadelhofen; and, shocked at the superstitions occasioned by this image, the most ardent among the Reformers could no longer pass near it without giving utterance to their indignation. One of the burgesses, called Claud Hottinger, "an honest man," says Bullinger, "and well instructed in the holy Scriptures, having met the carpenter of Stadelhofen, to whom the crucifix belonged, asked him when he was to cause his idols to be thrown down." To this the carpenter had replied: "Nobody obliges thee to worship them." "But doest thou not know," Hottinger had continued, "that we are forbidden by the Word of God, to have graven images?"—"Very well," replied the carpenter, "if thou art authorised to pull them

down, I abandon them to thee." Hottinger now thought that he had a right to act, and shortly after, it was one of the last days of September, he was seen leaving the city, accompanied by a number of the burgesses. On reaching the crucifix, they proceeded quietly to dig all about it, until yielding to their efforts it came with a crash to the ground.

This bold proceeding spread consternation in all quarters, so that one would have said, that with the Stadelhofen crucifix, religion itself had been subverted. "These are sacrilegious doings! They deserve death!" exclaimed the friends of Rome. The council issued orders for the apprehension of the iconoclast burgesses.

"No," upon this said Zwingli and his colleagues from the pulpits, "Hottinger and his friends are not guilty towards God and worthy of death.¹ But they may be punished for having acted violently, and without the sanction of the magistrates."²

Meanwhile, similar proceedings became more frequent. A vicar of St. Peter's Church, seeing one day many poor people in want of food and clothing in front of the Church, said to one of his colleagues, looking up at the same time to the pompously ornamented images of the saints: "I should like to despoil those wooden idols, that I might have wherewithal to clothe these poor members of Jesus Christ." A few days after, at three o'clock in the morning, the saints and all their ornaments disappeared. The council made the vicar be thrown into prison, notwithstanding his declaring that he was innocent of the deed. "What now?" exclaimed the people, "was it pieces of wood, then, that Jesus enjoined us to clothe? Is it with reference to these images that he shall say to the righteous, *I was naked and ye clothed me?* . . ." Thus, upon every repulse, the Reformation rose with so much the greater force; the more it was pressed down, the more violent was the rebound it made, and the more did it threaten a general subversion.

III. These very excesses could not fail to have salutary results; a new conflict was necessary before there could be new

¹ One may see an exposition of the same principles in the speeches of M. M. de Broglie and Royer Collard, at the time of the famous debates on the law of sacrilege (in the French Chambers).

² Dorum habend ir unser Herren kein rächt zu inen, sy zu töden. (Bull. Chr., p. 127.)

triumphs; for in spiritual things, as well as with respect to the kingdoms of this world, there are no conquests to be made without a struggle, and as the soldiers of Rome remained inactive, it fell to those partizans of the Reformation, whose zeal bordered on recklessness, to challenge them to give battle. In fact, the magistrates were perplexed and agitated; they felt the need of having their consciences enlightened; and, with this object in view, they resolved to institute a second public disputation, in the German tongue, at which the question concerning images should be discussed according to Scripture.

The bishops of Coire, Constance and Basel, the university of Basel, and the twelve cantons, were consequently invited to send deputies to Zurich. But the bishops refused, remembering the sad figure made by their deputies at the time of the first disputation, and in no wise desirous of renewing such humiliating scenes. The Gospellers might dispute, all well; but let them have it all to themselves. The first time, no one spoke; the second, no one would even present himself; Rome may have imagined that the combat would cease from want of combatants. Nor did the bishops only refuse to appear. The Unterwalden men sent back word that they had no learned men among them, but only honest and godly priests who explained the Gospel as their fathers had done; that they would not, therefore, send any deputy to Zwingli "and the like of him;" but that if they once had him in their hands, they would treat him in such a manner as would take from him any wish to fall back into the like courses.¹ Schaffhausen and St. Gall alone sent deputies to represent them.

On Monday, the 26th of October, a meeting of nine hundred persons, composed of members of the grand council and three hundred and fifty priests, after divine service was over, filled the great hall of the town-house. Zwingli and Leo Juda sat before a table, on which lay the Old and New Testaments in the original tongues. Zwingli spoke first, when, subverting with a vigorous arm the authority of the hierarchy and their councils, he laid down what were the rights of every Christian, and called for a return to the liberty of the first ages;—even of those times

¹ So wolten wir Ihm den Lohn geben, dass er's nimmer mehr thäte. (Simmeler Samml. MSC. ix.)

when the Church as yet had no œcumenical councils, and no provincial councils. "The universal Church," said he, "is diffused throughout the world, wherever there are believers in Jesus Christ, in the Indies as well as at Zurich. . . . And as for particular Churches, we have them at Berne, at Schaffhausen, and even here. But the popes, their cardinals, and their councils, are neither the universal Church, nor one particular Church.¹ This assemblage of persons among whom I am now speaking, is the Church of Zurich; it desires to hear the Word of God, and it has the right to ordain whatsoever shall appear to it, to be conformable to holy Scripture."

Thus did Zwingli stay himself upon the Church, but then it was the true Church; not upon the priests only, but on the congregation of Christians—upon the people. All that the Scripture says of the Church in general, he applied to particular Churches. He had no idea that a Church that hearkens with a teachable spirit to the Word of God, can be deceived. The Church, in his view, was represented, both politically and ecclesiastically, by the grand council.² He first explained every question from the pulpit; next, when the minds of those who heard him were convinced of the truth, he took the matter to the grand council, which, in accordance with the ministers of the Church, accepted the decisions she required.³

In the absence of the deputies of the bishops, it was the old prebendary, Conrad Hoffman, the same that had called Zwingli to Zurich, that undertook to defend the pope. He maintained that the Church, the flock, "the third estate," had no right to discuss such subjects. "I have spent twelve years at Heidelberg," said he, "I lived in the house of a man of great learning, called Dr. Joss, an upright and godly man, with whom I ate and drank, and lived a pleasant life, for a long while; but I used ever to hear him say, that it was very unbecoming to hold discussions about such things. You see clearly how it is!" . . .

¹ Der Pöbste, Cardinäle und Bischöffe Concilia sind nicht die Christliche Kirche. (Fussl. Beytr. iii. p. 20.)

² Diacosion Senatus summa est potestas Ecclesiæ viæ. (Zw. Opp. iii. p. 339.)

³ Ante omnia multitudinem de quæstione probe docere ita factum est, ut quicquid diacosii (the grand council) cum verbi ministris ordinarent, jamdudum in animis fidelium ordinatum esset. (Ibid.)

Everybody present was ready to burst into a laugh, but the burgomaster checked this explosion. "So then," continued Hoffman, "let us wait for a council. For the present, I wish not to dispute, but to submit to my bishop, even were he a rogue!"

"Wait for a council!" rejoined Zwingli. "And who will repair to a council? Why, the pope, and lazy and ignorant bishops, who will do nothing that does not square with their own notions. No, the Church is not there! Höng and Küssnacht (two villages attached to Zurich) are far more certainly a Church, than all the bishops and the popes together!"

Thus did Zwingli assert the rights of the Christian people whom Rome had disinherited of privileges which were their legitimate inheritance. The meeting whom he was addressing, was not, according to him, the Church of Zurich; but it was the first representation of it. Here we find the earliest beginnings of the presbyterian system.¹ Zwingli removed Zurich from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Constance; he detached it from the Latin hierarchy; and upon the idea of a flock, of a Christian congregation, he founded a new ecclesiastical constitution, to which other countries were destined afterwards to adhere.

The disputation went on. Several priests having risen to defend images, but without having recourse, in doing so, to the holy Scriptures, Zwingli and the other Reformers refuted them by the Bible. "If no one," said one of the presidents, "rise to present biblical arguments in favour of images, we shall call on some of their defenders by name." Nobody offering himself, the parish priest of Wadischwyl was called. "He is asleep," replied one of those who stood by. The parish priest of Horgen was then called. "He sent me in his stead," answered his vicar, "but I have no wish to reply for him." The Word of God made its power to be evidently felt in the midst of that meeting. The partisans of the Reformation were full of vigour, liberty, and gladness; whereas, their adversaries seemed confounded, ill at ease, and chop-fallen. The parish priests of

¹ And, also, of the true Christian system, with this difference, that Zwingli confounded the ecclesiastical too much with the civil, whereby the ground was laid for placing the Church under the power of the magistrates. Calvin afterwards purified and completed this among other points.—L. R.

Laufen, of Glattfelden, of Wetzikon, the rector and the priest of Pfaffikon, the dean of Elgg, the Dominican friars and cordeliers who were known to preach up everywhere images, the Virgin, the saints, and the mass, were all called successively but all replied that they had nothing to say in their favour, and that thenceforward they would devote themselves to the study of the truth. "I have hitherto believed in the old doctors," said one of them, "I now desire to put faith in the new." "It is not we whom you ought to put faith in," exclaimed Zwingli, "it is the Word of God! There is nothing but the Scriptures of God alone that can never deceive us!" The sitting was prolonged and night was drawing on, when the president, Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, rose and said; "Blessed be the Almighty and everlasting God, in that in all things he gains the victory in us," and he exhorted the councillors of Zurich to abolish the images.

Another meeting was held on Tuesday, under the presidency of Vadian, for the purpose of discussing the doctrine of the mass. "Brethren in Christ," said Zwingli, "far be from us the thought, that there is any deception or any falsity, in the body and the blood of Christ.¹ Our sole object is to show, that the mass is not a sacrifice which one man can present to God for another man; at least, unless it be maintained that a man may eat and drink for his friend."

Vadian having asked two several times whether none of the persons present wished to defend, by Scripture, the doctrine that was attacked, and no one having replied, the prebendaries of Zurich, the chaplains, and several other ecclesiastics declared, that they were of one mind with Zwingli.

But hardly had the Reformers overcome the partisans of the old doctrines, when they were called upon to struggle against those impatient men who insist on abrupt and violent innovations, and are not content with wise and gradual reforms. The unhappy Conrad Grebel rose and said: "It is not enough that we have discussed the mass; we ought to abolish its abuses." "The council," replied Zwingli, "will pass an order to that effect." Thereupon Simon Stumpf exclaimed, "The Spirit of

¹ Das einigerley Betrug oder Falsch sy in dem reinem Blut und Fleisch Christi. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 498.)

God has already decided! why then remit the giving of a decision to the council.”¹

The commander, Schmidt of Kusnacht, then gravely rose, and gave utterance to sentiments replete with wisdom: “Let us teach Christians,” said he, “to receive Christ into their hearts.”² To this hour you have all gone after idols. Those of the plain have run into the mountains, and those of the mountains into the plain; the French into Germany, and the Germans into France. You now know whither you ought to betake yourselves. God has united all things in Christ. Ye nobles of Zurich, flee to the true source; and let Jesus Christ return at length into your territory, and there resume his ancient empire.”

What he said produced a deep impression, and nobody appearing to gainsay him, Zwingli, with much emotion, rose and spoke as follows: “Gracious lords, God is with us! . . . He will defend his own cause. Now then . . . in God’s name . . . let us go forward!” . . . Here Zwingli’s feelings overpowered him. He could say no more. He wept, and many wept as he did.³

Thus ended the disputation. The presidents rose; the burgomaster thanked them; and then the veteran warrior, turning to the council, gravely addressed them with that voice which had been heard so often on the field of battle: “Now then, let us take into our hands the sword of the Word of God, . . . and may God give success to his own work!”

This disputation of October 1523, proved decisive. The greater number of the priests who had been there, returned into various parts of the canton glowing with zeal, and the effects of those important days were felt throughout all Switzerland. The church at Zurich which had at all times maintained a certain degree of independence as regarded the bishopric of Constance, was now fully emancipated. Instead of resting through the bishop on the pope, it rested from that time forth, through the people, on the Word of God. Zurich resumed the rights that had been taken from her by Rome. Town and country,

¹ Der Geist Gottes urtheilet. (Zw. Opp. i. p. 529.)

² Wie sind Christum in iren Herzen sollind bilden und machen. (Ibid. p. 534.)

³ Dass er sich selbst mit vil andren beweget zu weinen. (Ibid. i. p. 537.)

rivalled each other in the interest they took in the work of the Reformation, and the grand council merely followed the popular movement. On important occasions, the city, and the villages, intimated their sentiments. Luther restored the Bible to the Christian people; Zwingli went farther; he restored to them their rights. In this we have a characteristic trait of the Reformation in Switzerland. There the maintenance of sound doctrine was entrusted, after God, to the people; and recent events have demonstrated that the people know how to guard this deposit better than priests and pontiffs.¹

Zwingli did not allow himself to be inflated by victory; on the contrary, people proceeded to reform the Church as he desired, with much moderation. "God knows my heart," said he, "when the council asked his advice; he knows that I am inclined rather to build up than to cast down. I know that there are timid souls who ought to be gently dealt with; let the mass then be read for some time yet on Sundays in all the churches, and let people beware of insulting those who celebrate it."²

The council passed a resolution to that effect. Hottinger and Hochrutiner, one of his friends, were banished from the canton for two years, with prohibition to enter it without permission.

At Zurich the Reformation pursued a wise and Christian course. Ever raising that city to a higher and higher point of moral altitude, it invested it with a moral glory in the view of all the friends of the Word of God. Those, accordingly, who in Switzerland had hailed with joy the new day that was bursting upon the Church, felt themselves powerfully attracted to Zurich. Oswald Myconius, when expelled from Lucerne, remained six months in the vale of Einsidlen, when as he was returning one day from a journey to Glaris,³ and was oppressed with fatigue, and the heat of the sun, he saw his son young Felix

¹ The author here alludes to an important transaction which took place, about two years ago, in the canton of Zurich when by far the greater part of the people stood up in the breach as one man, for maintaining pure Gospel truth, according to the Word of God, and prevented the coming among them of the infidel Dr. Strauss, who had been called as professor to Zurich by the less orthodox council, whereby an active change of the government even was effected.—L. R.

² Ohne sich jemant sich unterstehe die Mess-priester zu beschimpfen. (Wirtz. H. K. G. v. p. 208.)

³ Inesperato nuntio excepit me filius redeuntem ex Glareana. (Zw. Epp. p. 322.)

running out to meet him, with the tidings that he had received a call to take the direction of one of the schools at Zurich. Thinking such good news impossible, Oswald hesitated between hope and fear.¹ "I am wholly thine," he wrote at last to Zwingli. Geroldsek saw him leave the place with regret; and with a mind saddened with gloomy forebodings. "Ah," said he to him, "all who confess Christ go to Zurich; I fear that one day we may all perish there at once."² Melancholy presentiment, which was but too soon realised by the death of Geroldsek himself, and of so many other friends of the Gospel, on the plains of Cappel.

Myconius found a safe haven at last in Zurich. His predecessor, whose great height had procured for him at Paris the name of "the big devil," had neglected his duties; whereas Oswald devoted his whole heart and energies to the discharge of his. He explained the Latin and Greek classics; he taught rhetoric and logic; and the youth of the city gladly followed his instructions.³ Myconius was, in short, for the rising generation what Zwingli was for adults.

Myconius was frightened at first when he saw what tall scholars he was to have; but while gradually regaining his courage, he had his attention soon attracted to a young man of four and twenty, one of his pupils, whose looks indicated an intense love of study. His name was Thomas Plater, originally from the Valais. In the beautiful valley along which that mountain torrent, the Vierge, after its escape from the ocean of ice and snow surrounding mount Rosa, rolls its tumultuous billows, between Saint-Nicolas and Stalden, upon a hill that rises on the right side of the river, still stands the village of Grächen. There it was that Plater was born. From the immediate neighbourhood of those colossal Alps, one of the most original personages that figured in the grand drama of the sixteenth century, was to go forth into the world. At the age of nine he had been placed in the house of a parish priest, a relation of his, and there, as he himself confessed, the little rustic, often overwhelmed with blows, would cry like a kid when about to be killed. One of his cousins took him along with him on a visit to one of the German

¹ *Inter spem et metum.* (Zw. Epp. p. 322.)

² *Ac deinde omnes simul pereamus.* (Ibid.)

³ *Juventus illum lubens audit.* (Zw. Epp. p. 264.)

schools. But while running from one school to another, he came to be above twenty, without knowing hardly how to read.¹ On coming to Zurich he made it his first purpose to attend to his studies; and having made a bench for himself in a corner of Myconius's school-room, he said to himself: "There thou shalt learn, or there die." His heart was opened to the light of the Gospel. One very chill morning, finding nothing to heat the school-room stove with, a duty which had fallen upon him, he said to himself: "Thou hast no firewood, and yet how many idols are there in the Church!" No one had as yet entered the Church; Zwingli, however, was to preach in it, and the bells had begun to summon the congregation. Plater walked in softly, laid hold of a saint John that stood on one of the altars, and thrust it into the stove, saying: "Down with you, for in you must go." Unquestionably neither Myconius nor Zwingli would have approved of such a deed.

It was, in fact, with better arms that unbelief and superstition had to be combatted. Zwingli and his colleagues had held out the hand of fellowship to Myconius, and the latter expounded the New Testament daily in the church of Our Lady to a crowd that was eager to hear him.² A public disputation, held on 13th and 14th January, 1524, proved equally fatal to Rome, and it was in vain that the prebendary Koch exclaimed: "The pope, the cardinals, the bishops, and the councils, that is the Church for me!" . . .

Everything was making progress in Zurich; men's minds became enlightened, their hearts became decided, and the Reformation established itself among them. Zurich was a fortress conquered by the new doctrine, and from its walls that doctrine began to diffuse itself throughout the whole confederation.

IV. The adversaries of the truth could perceive all this, and felt that they must make up their minds to strike an energetic blow. They had now held their peace long enough; Switzerland's men of might, encased in steel, resolved at last to rise; and never did they do so, without making the battle-field red with blood.

The diet was convened at Lucerne; the priests did their

¹ See his *Life* written by himself.

² Weise, *Füsslin Beyt* iv. p. 66.

utmost to stir up the first council of the nation in their favour. Friburg and the Waldstetten showed themselves their docile instruments; Berne, Basel, Soleure, Glaris, and Appenzel were dubious. Schaffhausen had almost decided for the Gospel; but Zurich alone stood forth as its unshrinking defender. The partisans of Rome urged the meeting to comply with their urgent demands, and to yield to their prejudices. "Be it ordained," said they, "that no one preach, or relate anything new or Lutheran, secretly or in public, or speak and dispute about these things in inns and taverns, or when people are over their liquor."¹ Such was the ecclesiastical law which people sought to establish in the canton.

Nineteen articles drawn up to that effect, were approved on the 26th of January 1523, by all the states excepting Zurich, and sent to all the baillies, with orders to see to their being rigorously executed; "a result," says Bullinger, "which gave great satisfaction to the priests, and much distress to the faithful." Persecution now commenced on a plan regularly organised by the higher powers of the confederation.

One of the first to receive the diet's mandate, was Henry Flackenstein of Lucerne, baillie of Baden. Into the territory subject to his jurisdiction, Hottinger had withdrawn himself when banished from Zurich, after pulling down the Stadelhofen crucifix, and he had not imposed silence on his tongue. Happening to be seated at table one day, at the Angel inn at Zurzach, he said that the priests misinterpreted holy Scripture, and that a man ought to place his whole confidence in God alone.² The landlord, who was continually passing to and fro with bread and wine, listened to what was thus said, and thought it passing strange. On another day Hottinger had gone to see one of his friends, John Schutz of Schneyssingen: "What then," said Schutz, after they had eaten and drank together, "is this new faith, which the Zurich priests are preaching?"—"They preach," replied Hottinger, "that Christ was offered up once, for all Christians, that by this one sacrifice he has for ever purged and

¹ Es soll nieman in den Wirtzhüseren oder sunst hinter dem Wyn vom Lutherschen oder newen Sachen uzid reden. (Bull. Chr. p. 144.)

² Wie wir unser pitt Hoffnung und Trost allein uf Gott. (Ibid. p. 146.)

redeemed them from all their sins, and they demonstrate from Scripture that the mass is a lie."

Hottinger had after this left Switzerland (it was in February 1523), and had gone to attend to some business at Waldshut, beyond the Rhine. Measures were taken to make sure of him, and towards the end of February, the poor Zuricher, who suspected nothing of the kind, having crossed the Rhine, had hardly set foot in Coblentz, a village on the left side of the river,¹ when he was arrested. He was taken to Klingenau, and as he there boldly confessed his faith: "I will take you to a place," said the angry Flackenstien, "where people will know well how to answer you."

The baillie, in fact, took him successively before the magistrates of Klingenau, the upper court of Baden, and at last, unable to find any one who would declare that he was guilty, before the diet then met at Lucerne. It was absolutely indispensable to find judges who should condemn him.

Nor was any time lost by the diet in condemning him to death. On being informed of his sentence, he gave glory to Jesus Christ. "Enough, enough," said James Troger, one of the judges; "we don't come here to listen to sermons. You shall indulge your babbling at another time!"—"His head must be once taken from him," said the baillie Am-Ort of Lucerne with a sneer; "but should it return to him, we will all adopt his creed."—"May God," said the accused, "forgive all who condemn me!" A monk having then applied a crucifix to his mouth: "It is in the heart," said he, pushing it away, "that we ought to receive Christ."

When led away to the place of execution, many among the crowd could not refrain from shedding tears. "I am going to everlasting bliss," said he, turning towards them. On reaching the appointed spot, he raised his eyes to heaven and said: "I

¹ This less known Coblentz must not be confounded with the well known town and fortress of that name, situate also on the Rhine, but lower down, between Maintz and Cologne, in the old electorate of Treves; whereas the village here referred to, is in the territory of Baden, adjoining and subject to Switzerland, at the place where the river Aar flows into the Rhine, as the town of Coblentz stands at the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle, from which circumstance both places receive their name, Coblentz being a corruption of the Latin *Confluens*, signifying *a flowing together*.—L. R.

commit my soul into thy hands, O my Redeemer!" His head then rolled upon the scaffold.

Hardly had Hottinger's blood been shed when the enemies of the Reformation took advantage of it, in order still further to inflame the wrath of the confederates. It was in Zurich itself that they saw the evil must be utterly put down. The terrible example that had been given, was fitted to terrify Zwingli and his partisans; and if followed up by one vigorous effort more, the death of Hottinger might lead to that of the Reformation. . . . It was forthwith resolved in the diet, that a deputation should go to Zurich, and insist that the councils and the citizens should renounce their faith.

The deputation was admitted on the 21st of March. "The old Christian unity," said the deputies, "is now broken; the mischief is spreading; already the clergy of the four Waldstetten have declared to the magistrates that unless they come to their aid, they must leave off the exercise of their functions. Confederates of Zurich, let us combine our endeavours; let us unite in the suppression of this new faith;¹ do you dismiss Zwingli and his disciples; let us then make a common effort to remedy the injuries of the popes and their courtiers."

Such was the language held by the adversaries, and how was Zurich to act? Was she to lose heart, and was her courage to pass away from her, with the blood of her slain citizen?

Zurich did not allow either friend or foe to remain long uncertain as to her sentiments. The council sent a calm and noble reply, saying that they could make no concession where the Word of God was concerned, and forthwith proceeded to make a still more eloquent answer.

It had been the custom, since the year 1351, for a numerous procession to set out every Whit-Monday to worship the Virgin at Einsidlen, each pilgrim on this occasion bearing a cross; and this festivity, which was established as a memorial of the battle of Tatwyll, was attended with great disorders.² The procession was to take place on the 7th of May; but on the petition of

¹ Zurich selbigen ausreuten und unter truckenhelfe. (Hott. Helv. K. G. iii. p. 170.)

² Uff einen Creitzgang, sieben unehelicher kinden überkommen wurdend. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 160.)

three pastors, the councils abolished it, and all the other processions were successively reformed.

Nor did matters stop there. Relics, an abundant source of superstitions, were honourably buried.¹ Next, at the instance of three pastors, the council passed an ordinance, that God alone was to be honoured; that the images should be removed from all the churches in the canton, and their ornaments bestowed in alleviating the hardships of the poor. Twelve councillors, one from each tribe,² the three pastors, the city architect, blacksmiths and locksmiths, wrights and masons, repaired to the different churches, and having first shut the doors,³ the crosses were taken down, the frescos effaced, the walls white-washed, and the images removed, to the great delight of the faithful, who in this proceeding, says Bullinger, beheld a striking homage rendered to the true God. In some of the country churches, their ornaments were consigned to the flames, "to the honour and glory of God." In process of time the organs were put away, the playing of them having been found associated with sundry superstitions; and a new formulary for baptism was drawn up, in which everything was omitted that had no warrant in Scripture.

The burgomaster Roust, and his colleagues, joyfully contemplated the triumph of the Reformation on their death-beds. They had lived sufficiently long, and died in the very days of this great renovation of divine worship.

The Swiss Reformation here presents itself under a somewhat different aspect from the German. Luther rose in opposition to the excesses of the persons who broke down the images at Wittenberg; whereas it was in Zwingli's presence that the images fell down in the churches of Zurich. This difference is explained by the Reformers looking from different points of view. Luther wished that whatever was not expressly contrary to Scripture, should be retained in the Church, and Zwingli wished to abolish whatever could not be proved by Scripture. The German Reformer was willing to remain united to the church of all ages,

¹ Und es eerlich bestattet hat. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 101.)

² The tribes seem to have been what with us would be called guilds and trades' corporations. TR.

³ Habend die nach innen zu beschlossen. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 175.)

and was content to purify it from whatever was contrary to the Word of God. The Zurich Reformer passing over all these ages, went back to the times of the apostles, and, subjecting the Church to a complete transformation, endeavoured to re-establish it as it had existed at the first.¹

Zwingli's Reformation, then, was the more complete of the two. The task committed to Luther by Providence, that of re-establishing justification by faith, was unquestionably the grand work of the Reformation; but that work once accomplished, other things remained to be done, which, though secondary perhaps, were nevertheless important; and in these lay especially the task committed to Zwingli.

The reformers were called, in fact, to accomplish two great undertakings. Christian catholicism, born as it was in the midst of pharisaical Judaism and Greek paganism, had gradually fallen under the influence of both, and by them was transmuted into Roman catholicism. Now, it being the proper office of the Reformation to purify the Church, it had to disengage it equally from the pagan and from the Jewish element.

The Jewish element was chiefly to be found in that part of Christian doctrine which relates to man. From Judaism, catholicism had imbibed pharisaical notions of self-righteousness—of salvation to be obtained by human strength and human doings.

The pagan element was chiefly to be found in the part of Christian doctrine relating to God. Paganism had altered in catholicism the idea of an infinite God, whose power, absolutely self-sufficient, operates at all times and everywhere. It had established in the Church the reign of symbols, images, and ceremonies; and the saints had become the demigods of the popedom.

It was against the Judaical element that Luther's Reformation was specially directed. With that element it had to struggle, when an audacious monk sold, on the part of the pope, the salvation of men's souls for ready money.

¹ On good grounds therefore may the Church, as purified by Zwingli, with peculiar emphasis bear the name of the Reformed Church, and especially after that the still greater genius of Calvin, alluded to by the author in the sequel, had brought it, to a state of still greater completeness, had regulated the government of the Church according to its original institution, and had, also, given the finest development to its doctrine. May this true spirit of the Reformed Church become better known and appreciated.—L. R.

Zwingli's Reformation was specially directed against the pagan element. It was this element which it encountered when at the temple of Our Lady of Einsidlen, as of old, at the temple of Diana of the Ephesians, a crowd assembled from all quarters, stupidly prostrated themselves before an idol covered with gold.

The German Reformer proclaimed the grand doctrine of justification by faith, and by means of it he gave a death-blow to the pharisaical righteousness of Rome. No doubt, the Swiss Reformer did this too; man's inability to save himself, forms the basis of what was effected by all the Reformers. But Zwingli did something besides; he established the supreme, universal, and exclusive existence and operation of God, and thus he gave a deadly blow to the pagan worship of Rome.

Roman catholicism had exalted man and abased God. Luther abased man, and Zwingli exalted God.

These two tasks, specially, but not exclusively theirs, mutually complete each other. Luther's laid the foundation, Zwingli's supplied the cope-stone of the edifice.

It was reserved to a genius of still vaster dimensions, on the banks of lake Lemman, to stamp the Reformation as a whole with those two characters.^{1 2}

But while Zwingli was thus advancing with a steady pace at the head of the confederation, the dispositions of the cantons became every day more hostile. The government at Zurich felt the necessity of being able to look for support to the people. The people, that is to say, the congregation of the faithful, was, at any rate, according to Zwingli's principles, the highest authority to which an appeal can be made in this world. The council resolved to sound public opinion, and gave instructions to the baillies to inquire of all the communes, whether they were ready to endure all things for our Lord Jesus Christ, "who," said the council, "has given for us sinners, his life and his

¹ Litterarischer Anzeiger, 1840, No. 27.

² Here the author evidently alludes to Calvin, to whom much that was said, in a previous part of this history, on the merits of Melancthon, as the systematic theologian of the Reformation, is, perhaps, still more applicable. Roman catholic writers have remarked, that on the appearance of Calvin's Institutes, an arrest seemed to be laid, in a great measure, on the *variations* of protestantism. "He united," says the author of the *Esprit de la Ligue*, "almost all minds within a circle, of which that body of doctrine may be regarded as the centre."—TR.

blood.”¹ The whole canton had attentively followed the march of the Reformation in the city; and in many places, the houses of the peasants had become Christian schools in which the holy Scriptures were read.

The proclamation of the council, read in all the communes, was received by them with enthusiasm. “Let our lords,” they replied, “remain courageously attached to the Word of God: we will assist them in maintaining it;² and if it be intended to make them suffer for so doing, we will come to their support, like right-hearted fellow-citizens.” The rural population of Zurich at that time showed, as they have again done not long ago, that the Church’s strength lies in the Christian people.

But the people did not stand alone. The man whom God had placed at their head, made a fitting reply to their appeal. Zwingli multiplied himself for the service of God. All persons in the Helvetic cantons, who were suffering any persecution for the Gospel, addressed themselves to him.³ The responsibility attending public business, the care of the churches, the anxieties incident to that glorious conflict which was now going on in all the valleys of Switzerland, weighed hard on the Zurich evangelist.⁴ The tidings of his courage diffused joy throughout Wittenberg. Luther and Zwingli were two great lights placed in upper and lower Germany; and the doctrine of salvation, preached so powerfully by both, diffused itself over the vast countries which stretch downwards from the elevations of the Alps, to the shores of the Baltic and of the North sea.

The Word of God could not thus take possession of regions of vast extent, without its triumphs filling with indignation the pope in his palace, the parish priests in their parsonages, and the Swiss magistrates in their councils. Their terror was augmenting every day. The people were consulted; the Christian people again became of some consequence in the Christian Church, and appeals were addressed to their sympathies, and to

¹ Der sin rosenfarw blüt alein für uns arme Sünder vergossen hat. (Bullig. Chron. p. 180.)

² Meine Herrn sollten auch nur dapper bey dem Gottesworte verbleiben. (Füssl. Beytr. iv. p. 107, where all the answers from the communes are to be found.)

³ Scribunt ex Helvetiis ferme omnes qui propter Christum premuntur. (Zw. Epp. p. 348.)

⁴ Negotiorum strepitus et ecclesiarum curæ ita me undique quatiant. (Ibid.)

their faith, instead of appealing to the decrees of the Roman chancery! . . . So redoubtable an attack required a more formidable resistance. On the 18th of April, the pope addressed a brief to the confederates, and the diet which was convened at Zug, in the following July, from deference to the pontiff's urgent solicitations, sent to Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, a deputation commissioned to declare to those states the firm resolution it had taken to destroy the new doctrine, and to persecute its adherents in their property, their honours, and even in their lives. Nor was it without emotion that Zurich received this warning; yet it was firmly replied, that in matters concerning the faith they would obey the Word of God alone. On hearing this answer, Lucerne, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Fribourg, and Zug, trembled all over with rage; and forgetting the reputation and the power which the accession of Zurich brought, once on a time, to the nascent confederation; forgetting the precedence which was then almost immediately accorded to her, the simple, and yet solemn oaths that were sworn to her, and so many common victories and reverses, these states declared that they would no longer sit in diet with Zurich. Thus, in Switzerland as well as Germany, it was the partisans of Rome who first broke the federal unity. But threats and broken covenants were still insufficient. The fanaticism of the cantons would have nothing short of blood, and it was soon seen with what sort of arms the popedom professed to combat the Word of God. One of Zwingli's friends, the excellent Cæxlin,¹ was pastor at Burg, near Stein, on the Rhine. Wishing to have that baillie-
wick, the baillie Am-Berg, although he seemed to listen gladly to the Gospel,² had promised the influential men of Schwytz that he would destroy the new faith. Cæxlin, although he did not belong to his jurisdiction, was the first object of his attack.

On the night of the 7th July, 1524, some one was heard knocking at the pastor's door; it was opened, and in there came a party of the baillie's soldiers. Having laid hold of Cæxlin, they were about to take him to prison, but as they seemed to threaten assassination, he called out, murder! This alarmed the inhabitants, who instantly ran to the spot, and forthwith the

¹ See p. 41 of this vol.

² Der war anfangs dem Evangelio gunstig. (Bull. Chron. p. 180.)

village became the scene of a frightful scuffle, the noise of which was heard as far as Stein. The centinel on duty at the castle of Hohenklingen thereupon fired the alarm gun; the fire-bell was next rung, and the inhabitants of Stein, Stammheim, and the neighbouring hamlets, were in a few moments on the alert, and amid the darkness took means for ascertaining what was the matter.

At Stammheim lived the vice-baillie Wirth, whose two eldest sons, Adrian and John, young priests replete with piety and courage, preached the Gospel with an effective eloquence. John, in particular, was full of faith, and ready to give his life for him to whom he owed his salvation. They formed a truly patriarchal family. The virtues of Anna, the mother, who had presented the baillie with many children, and had brought them up in the fear of God, caused her to be regarded by the whole district with feelings of veneration. Hearing of the disturbance at Burg, the father and his two sons, like others, left the house. The father was indignant at finding that the baillie of Frauenfeld had exercised his authority, in an act contravening the legislation of the country. The sons were grieved to learn that their brother, their friend, the man whose bright example they loved to imitate, had been carried off as a criminal. Each of them laid hold of a halbert, and in spite of the expressed alarm of a most affectionate wife and mother, the father and two sons joined a band of the townsfolk of Stein, with the view of rescuing their pastor. Unfortunately, a crowd of those reckless persons who rise without any object on every occasion of a disturbance, put themselves also in motion; the baillie's officers were pursued, and hearing the fire-bell, and other signals of alarm, they hurried on, dragging their victim after them, and soon placed the river Thur between them and their opponents.

When the people from Stein and Stammhau had reached the river side, not finding any means of passing, they resolved to send a deputation to Frauenfeld. "Ah," said the baillie Wirth, "the pastor of Stein is so dear to us, that for his safety I would give my property, my liberty, my very bowels."¹ The mob now finding that they were not far from the monastery of the Char-

¹ Sunder die Kuttlen im Buch fur In wagen. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 193.)

treux friars at Ittengin, who were alleged to have stimulated the tyranny of the baillie Am-Berg, entered it and established themselves in the refectory. Erelong these wretches lost the command of their senses, and scenes of disorder were the consequence. Wirth besought them, but in vain, to leave the monastery;¹ he ran the risk of being maltreated by them. His son, Adrian, stopped outside the cloister, but John went in, only, however, instantly to come out again, so much distressed was he at the scene he witnessed.² The tipsy peasants had begun to ransack the cellars and granaries, to break the furniture, and burn the books.

The news of these disorderly doings having reached Zurich, the deputies immediately met in council, and passed an order, commanding all persons belonging to the canton, to return to their homes, which they did. But a crowd of Thurgovians having been attracted by the tumult, they installed themselves in the convent, with the view of making themselves merry. All of a sudden, flames burst forth, nobody knew how, and the monastery was reduced to ashes.

Five days after, the deputies of the cantons met at Zug, and nothing was then to be heard among them but cries of vengeance and of death. "Let us march with flags unfurled, against Stein and Stammheim," said they, "and put their inhabitants to the sword." The vice-baillie and his two sons had long been the objects of very marked hatred on account of their faith. "If any one be found guilty," said the Zurich deputy, "he ought to be punished, but according to the rules of justice, and not by violence." This opinion was seconded by Vadian, deputy of St. Gall, whereupon the avoyer,³ John Hug, of Lucerne, unable any longer to restrain himself, and accompanying what he said with frightful maledictions, exclaimed,⁴ "The heretic, Zwingli, is the father of all these insurrections; and thou, doctor from St. Gall, thou favourest his infamous cause, and thou doest promote his success. . . . Thou oughtest not any longer to sit among us!" The Zug deputy made an effort to restore peace, but in vain. Vadian went out, and as some of the populace

¹ Und badt sy am Gottes willen uss dem Kloster zu gand. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 183.)

² Dan es Im leid was. (Ibid. p. 195.)

³ The *avoyer* is the president of the Swiss diet. Tr.

⁴ Mit fluchen Kund wüten. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 184.)

would fain have taken his life, he secretly left the town, and reached the monastery at Cappel, by taking a circuitous road.

Zurich was so determined to repress everything like disorder, as to resolve that the persons marked out by the wrath of the confederates, should meanwhile be apprehended. Wirth and his sons were living quietly at Stammheim. "Never shall God's enemies be able to overcome his friends," said Adrian Wirth from the pulpit. The father was informed of the fate that awaited him, and was entreated to fly along with his sons. "No," said he, "putting my trust in God, I wish to wait for the officers of justice." And when these came, "my lords of Zurich," said he, "might have saved themselves so much trouble: had they sent a child for me I should have obeyed."¹ The three Wirths were conducted to the prisons of Zurich, Rutiman, baillie of Nussbaum, sharing their fate. They were carefully examined, but nothing reprehensible was found in the course they had pursued.

As soon as the deputies were informed of the imprisonment of these four citizens, they insisted that they should be sent to Baden, and, in case of refusal, gave orders for troops to march upon Zurich and carry them off. "To Zurich," replied the deputies from that state, "belongs the duty of ascertaining whether these men be guilty or not; and we have found nothing to blame in them." Thereupon the deputies from the other cantons exclaimed: "Are you willing to hand them over to us? Answer, yea, or nay, and keep to that." Two Zurich deputies thereupon took horse, and went off with the utmost haste to their constituents.

On their arrival, the whole city was in the utmost agitation. Should they refuse to give up the prisoners, the confederates would come to demand them at the point of the sword; and should they deliver them up . . . it would be consenting to their death. Opinions were divided; Zwingli was for refusing. "Zurich," he said, "ought to remain faithful to her established maxims." At last it was thought that a middle plan might be adopted. "We will send you the prisoners," said the townsmen to the diet, "but on condition that you shall examine them on the Ittingen affair alone, and not on their creed." To

¹ Dann hättind sy mir ein kind geschickt. . . . (Bullinger, Chron. p. 186.)

this the diet acceded; and on Friday before the feast of St. Bartholomew, (August, 1524,) the three Wirths and their friend, accompanied by four councillors of state, and some armed men, left Zurich.

A general gloom now overspread the city, for it was easy to foresee what must be the fate of those two veterans, and those two youths. Nothing but sobs was heard as they passed along. "Alas!" exclaims a contemporary writer, "what a doleful march it was!"¹ The people flocked to the churches. "God," cried Zwingli, "God will punish us. Ah, let us pray, at least, that he will impart his grace to these poor prisoners, and fortify them in the faith."²

On Friday evening, the accused arrived at Baden, where an immense crowd was expecting them. They were taken first to an inn, and then to prison, the people meanwhile in their eagerness to have a sight of them, pressing so hard that they could hardly move on. The father, who walked first, turning round to his sons, said: "My dear children, you see that as the apostle says, we are as it were appointed to death, for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men," (1 Cor. iv. 9). Then, perceiving his mortal enemy, and the cause of all his calamities in the crowd, he went up and, holding out his hand to him, notwithstanding that the baillie turned away: "God beholds in heaven, and he knows all things," said he calmly, as he grasped his.

The inquest began on the day following, the baillie Wirth being first examined. Regardless alike of his character and of his time of life, they put him to the torture; but he persisted in maintaining his innocence of the acts of pillage and fire-raising, committed at Ittingen. He was next accused of having destroyed an image of St. Anne. . . . None of the charges against the other prisoners could be substantiated, beyond Adrian Wirth's being married, and his preaching like Zwingli and Luther; and John Wirth's having given the sacrament to a person lying ill, without bell and candle.³

¹ O weh! was elender Fahrt war das! (Bern. Weyss. Fussl. Beyt. iv. p. 56.)

² Sy troste und in warem glauben starckte. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 188.)

³ On Kersen, schellen und anders so bisszar geüpt ist. (Ibid. p. 196.)

But the more manifest their innocence, the fiercer was the fury of their adversaries. From morning to noon the old man was subjected to cruel torture, forcing tears from his eyes without at all softening his judges. John Wirth was tortured still more cruelly. "Tell us," they asked him amid his agony, "how didst thou come by thy heretical faith? Didst thou get it from Zwingli, or from some one else?" And as he exclaimed: "O merciful and everlasting God, do thou help and comfort me!"—"Well then," said one of the deputies, "where is now thy Christ?" When Adrian appeared, Sebastian von Stein, deputy from Berne, said to him: "Young man! tell us the truth, for if thou dost refuse to do so, I swear to thee by the knighthood I obtained on the very spots where God suffered martyrdom, that we will open thy veins for thee, one after another."¹ The youth was then attached to a cord, and as they were hoisting him aloft: "My little gentleman," said Stein to him with a diabolical sneer, "there's the present we give you for your wife;" thus alluding to the marriage of the Lord's young minister.

The inquest being over, the deputies went back to their cantons to report proceedings, and did not return for four weeks. The baillie's wife, mother of the two young priests, repaired to Baden with an infant in her arms, that she might intercede with the judges. John Escher of Zurich, accompanied her as advocate. Perceiving among the judges the landamman of Zug, Jerome Stocker, who had been two several times baillie of Frauenfeld: "Landamman," said he to him, "you know the baillie Wirth; you know that he has been a worthy man all his life." "You say what is true, my dear Escher," replied Stocker, "he has never harmed any man; fellow-citizens and strangers alike have ever been kindly welcomed to his table; his house was like a monastery, inn, and hospital."² Accordingly, had he been guilty of robbery or murder, I should do my utmost to obtain a pardon for him. But since he has burnt St. Anne, our Lord's grandmother, die he must!" . . . "God have mercy on us!"³ exclaimed Escher.

¹ Alls man inn am folter sey! uffzog, sagt der zum Stein: Herrli, das is die gaub die wir üch zu üwer Hussfrowen schänkend. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 190.)

² Sin huss ist allwey gsin wie ein Kloster, wirtshuss und pitall. (Ibid. p. 198.)

³ Well, indeed, might a man make this exclamation at such an instance of blindness and prejudice!—What a mighty influence superstition exercises and

The doors were closed; it was the 28th of September, and deputies from Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glaris, Friburg and Soleure, having proceeded to pass sentence with shut doors, according to custom, they passed sentence of death on the baillie Wirth, his son John who was the firmest in maintaining his faith, and who seemed to have influenced the others, and the baillie Rutiman. Adrian, the second of the sons, they granted to his mother's tears.

They then repaired to the tower in search of the prisoners "My son," said the father to Adrian, "never revenge our deaths, although we, indeed, have not deserved the scaffold." . . . Adrian sobbed violently. "Brother," said John to him, "the cross of Christ must ever follow his Word."¹

After reading the sentence, the three Christians were conducted to prison, John Wirth going first, the two vice-baillies next, and a chaplain following last. As they passed along the castle-bridge where there stood a chapel consecrated to St. Joseph, "Fall on your knees and worship the saint," said the priest to the two old men. John Wirth, who was in advance of the rest, turning round as he heard these words, exclaimed; "Father, be firm. You know that there is but one mediator between God and man, to wit, Jesus Christ." "Certainly, my son," replied the old man, "and aided by his grace I will maintain my steadfastness to the last." They then, all three, began to repeat the Lord's prayer; "Our Father which art in heaven," after which they passed the bridge.

They were then conducted to the scaffold. John Wirth whose heart was filled with the most affectionate solicitude for his father, gave him his last farewell. "My much loved father," said he, "henceforth thou art no longer my father, and I am no longer thy son, but we are brethren in Christ, our Lord, for the sake of whose name I must suffer death."² This day, if it please

how it hardens the mind against all human affections. This is particularly the case with the superstitions of Rome. This we see in the landamman of Zug, who was otherwise not insensible to the admirable character of the worthy Wirth, yet in whose eyes dishonour done to the image of a saint not only did away all such excellence, but seemed worse even than robbery and murder. Aye, we might well say with Escher: "God have mercy on us," were that superstition to have full freedom of action again granted to it.—L. R.

¹ Doch allwäg das crutz darby. (Bullinger, Chron.)

² Furohin bist du nitt me min Vatter und ich din Sun, sondern wir sind brüdern in Christo. (Ibid. p. 204.)

God, O my much loved brother, we shall go to him who is the Father of us all. Fear nothing.”—“Amen!” replied the old man, “and may God Almighty bless thee, my much loved son and brother in Christ.”

Thus, on the very threshold of eternity, did this father and this son take leave of each other, while they hailed the approach of that new era which was about to unite them for ever. The greater number of those that stood round, shed many tears.¹ The baillie Rutiman prayed in silence.

All three kneeling on the ground, were, “in the name of Christ,” beheaded.

The populace when they perceived the marks of torture on their persons, gave loud expression to their grief. The two bailies left behind them twenty children, and forty-five grand children. Anna had to pay twelve golden crowns to the executioner who had taken the lives of her husband and her son.

Thus was blood, blood undefiled, poured forth. Switzerland and the Reformation were baptized with the blood of martyrs. The grand enemy of the Gospel had done his work; but his power was shattered in the doing of it. The death of the Wirths could not fail to hasten the triumphs of the Reformation.

VI. No intention had been shown at Zurich to proceed to the abolition of the mass, immediately after the abolition of images; but the moment for effecting that other reform seemed now to have arrived.

Not only had the light of the Gospel begun to influence the sentiments of the people, but, further, the blows that were dealt by the adversaries, urged the friends of God’s Word to reply to them, by the most open and evident demonstrations of their staunch fidelity. Each time that Rome raises a scaffold and makes some heads fall, the Reformation will be found to raise the holy Word of the Lord, and to make some abuses give way. When Hottinger was executed, Zurich abolished images; and now that the heads of the Wirths have rolled upon the ground, Zurich will reply by abolishing the mass. The more that Rome increases her cruelties, the more will the Reformation be found to wax in strength.

• Des gnadens weyneten vil Lüthen herzlich. (Bullinger, Chron., p. 204.)

On the 11th of April, 1525, the three Zurich pastors presented themselves along with Megander and Oswald Myconius, before the grand council, and craved that the Lord's supper might be restored. They spoke earnestly;¹ their minds were solemnly affected; each felt the importance of the resolution which the council was asked to take. The mass, that mystic rite, which for three centuries had been the very soul of the Latin Church's whole worship, was about to be abolished; the bodily presence of Christ in the elements, was to be declared an illusion, and even of that illusion the people were to be deprived; courage was required in order to a man's making up his mind to such a thing, and there were certain members of the council who shuddered at the very thought of such audacity. Joachim Am-grüt, under-secretary of state, dismayed at the daring request made by the pastors, opposed it with all his might. "Those words, *This is my body*," said he, "prove irresistibly that the bread is the body of Christ himself." Zwingli pointed to the fact, that there is no word in the Greek but *ἵστι* (*is*) to express *signifies*, and he quoted many instances in which this word is used in a figurative sense. The grand council was too fully convinced to hesitate any longer; the doctrines of the Gospel had found their way into all hearts; besides which, having resolved to separate from the Church of Rome, people felt a certain satisfaction in doing so as completely as possible, and in digging a gulph between it and the Reformation. The council, accordingly, ordained the abolition of the mass, and decreed, that on the day following, being Easter Thursday, the supper should be celebrated in conformity with apostolical usages.

Zwingli's mind was much affected and absorbed with these considerations, so that after he had closed his eyes at night, he was still in search of arguments wherewith to meet his opponents. What had engrossed him so much during the day, became the subject of a dream. He dreamed that he was engaged in an argument with Am-Grüt, and could not reply to his main objection, when a person suddenly appeared to him and said: "*Why don't you refer to Exodus XIIth chapter and 11th verse: You shall eat the lamb in haste, it is the Lord's passover?*"

¹ Und vermantend die Ernstlich. (Bullinger, Chron., p. 263.)

Zwingli awoke, rose out of bed, took the translation of the Seventy (the Septuagint,) and found the same word *ἔστι*, (is), where, by universal consent, the meaning can only be "*signifies*."

Here then, in the very institution of the passover under the old covenant, was the very meaning for which Zwingli insisted. How avoid the conclusion that the two passages are parallel?

On the following day, Zwingli took that passage as the text of his sermon, and spoke with a force that removed every doubt.

This circumstance, which explains itself so naturally, and the expression used by Zwingli, in saying that he could not recollect the appearance of the personage he had seen in his dream,¹ have led to the averment, that it was from the devil that the Reformer learnt his doctrine.

The altars had disappeared; they were succeeded by mere tables, with the bread and wine of the eucharist laid out upon them, and surrounded by an attentive crowd. There was something solemn in that multitude. Our Lord's death was celebrated in succession by the young on Easter Thursday, by the men and women on Good Friday, and by the old persons on Easter-day.²

The deacons read those passages of Scripture which relate to this sacrament; the pastors gave a pressing exhortation to the flock, calling upon all, who, by persisting in sin, should desecrate the body of Jesus Christ, to keep away from that sacred supper; the people fell upon their knees, the bread was brought in large pattens or wooden plates, and each broke off a piece of it; the wine was passed round in wooden goblets: in all which it was thought a closer resemblance was maintained to the original supper. All hearts were filled with surprise and joy.³

¹ *Ater fuerit, an albus, nihil memini; somnium enim narro.* "I cannot remember whether he was black or white, for it is a dream that I relate." This was namely, a mere proverbial expression, by which all that we are given to understand, is, that the person was unknown, all recollection of his appearance having been forgotten. But as the idea readily occurred here that people picture to themselves the devil as black, and good angels as clothed in white, it has been explained as if Zwingli himself, had, by using these words, meant to intimate that he knew not whether it was a good angel or the devil. But it is notorious that this is quite contrary to his meaning, and that this dream, although he had lost all distinct recollection of the person who addressed him in it, he certainly regarded as a divine interposition for his direction.—L. R.

² Fusslin Beytr. iv. p. 64.

³ Mit grossen verwundern viler Lüthen und noch mit vil grössern frouden dergloubigen. (Bullinger, Chron., p. 264.)

Thus was the Reformation effected in Zurich. The simple celebration of our Lord's death, seems to have diffused afresh throughout the Church, love to God and love to the brethren. The words of Jesus Christ were found anew to be spirit and to be life. While the various orders and the various parties that divided the Church of Rome, ceased not to dispute with each other, the first effect produced by the Gospel on its re-entering the Church, was to restore mutual love among the brethren. Then was the love that marked the first ages, given back to Christendom. Personal foes were beheld renouncing old and inveterate enmities, and embracing each other, after having united in eating the eucharistic bread. Gladdened by these affecting displays, Zwingli gave thanks to God for those wonders of charity, which the sacrifice of the mass had long failed to operate, being anew wrought by the Lord's supper.¹

"Peace makes her abode in our town," he exclaimed; "dissimulation, dissension, envy, and quarrelling, have disappeared from amongst us. Whence can such concord have arisen, if not from the Lord, and from the tendency of the doctrine that we preach, to produce order and peace?"²

Charity and unity were to be found at that time, although not uniformity. In his *Commentary on True and False Religion*, dedicated to Francis I., in March, 1525, the year of the battle of Pavia, 3 Zwingli presented some truths in the manner best fitted to recommend them to human reason; in this following the example of some of the most distinguished schoolmen. Thus he applied the term *malady* to original corruption, reserving the term *sin* for the actual transgression of the law.⁴ But this mode of stating the matter, although it called forth some reclamations, produced no breach of brotherly love; for while he persisted in calling original sin a malady, he added, that all men were ruined by it, and that the sole remedy was Jesus Christ.⁵ Hence it involved no Pelagian error.⁶

¹ Expositio fidei. (Zw. Opp. ii. p. 241.)

² Ut tranquillitatis et innocentie studiosos reddat. (Zw. Epp. p. 390.)

³ De vera et falsa religione commentarius. (Zw. Opp. iii. p. 145—325.)

⁴ Peccatum ergo *morb*us est cognatus nobis, quo fugimus aspera et gravia, sectamur jucunda et voluptuosa; secundo loco accipitur peccatum pro eo quod contra legem fit. (Ibid. pp. 204.)

⁵ Originali morbo perdimur omnes, remedio vero quod contra ipsum invenit Deus incolumitati restituimur. (De peccato originali declaratio ad Urbanum Rhesium. (Ibid., p. 632.)

⁶ They, therefore, who would represent Zwingli and the Zwinglians as the

But, while the celebration of the supper was attended in Zurich with the return of Christian brotherhood, Zwingli and his friends had just so much the more irritation to sustain from adversaries without. A true patriot as well as a Christian doctor, we have seen how zealously he opposed the capitulations with foreigners, and the pensions and alliances that followed in their train.¹ He was convinced that these external influences were destructive to piety, blinding to the reason, and that they sowed discord everywhere. But his courageous protestations, could not fail to retard the progress of the Reformation. In almost all the cantons, the chiefs who received foreign pensions, and the officers who led the Helvetic youth to battle, formed powerful factions and formidable oligarchies, which attacked the Reformation, not so much in its ecclesiastical aspect, as on account of the prejudicial effect it had on their interests and their honours. Already had they carried all before them at Schwytz; and that canton where Zwingli, Leo Juda, and Oswald Myconius had taught, and which might have been expected to follow the same course with Zurich, had again, all at once, opened itself to mercenary capitulations, and closed itself to the Reformation.

At Zurich itself, some wretched creatures, stirred up by foreign intrigues, attacked Zwingli at midnight, assailed his house with stones, broke the windows, and shouted, "the red Uli, the Glaris vulture," so that Zwingli being roused from sleep by the noise, ran for his sword.² This trait was characteristic.

But these isolated attacks could not paralyze the movement which was carrying Zurich along with it, and which was beginning to unsettle all Switzerland. They were like throwing a few pebbles into a torrent, to arrest the rushing of its waters.

maintainers and favourers of semi-pelagianism, and who would put a wide difference in that respect between them and the Calvinists, either act unfairly, or allow themselves inconsiderately to be carried away by prepossessions in favour of their own views. Impartial history contradicts this, by the good understanding that subsisted between Calvin and the Swiss Church, which attached itself to Zwingli's sentiments, and Mr. Merle gives us plainly to understand, that Zwingli, notwithstanding his milder forms of expression, yet confessed the pure truth, and was very far from being tinged with pelagianism.—L. R.

¹ The author here alludes to the custom which prevailed of old in Switzerland, and subsists even to the present day, of going into the military service of foreign countries, and even sending away their youth for that purpose, according to treaties made to that effect.—L. R.

² *Interea surgere Zwinglius ad ensem suum.* (Zw. Opp. iii. p. 411.)

Everywhere these waters threatened, as they rose, to overcome the greatest obstacles.

The Bernese having declared to the Zurichers that several States had refused to sit with them for the future in diet: "Well, then," replied the men of Zurich, calmly, and with their hands uplifted to heaven, like the men of Rutli long before, "we have the firm assurance that God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in whose name the confederation was formed, will not withdraw from us, and will make us sit at last, through mercy, by the side of his supreme majesty."¹ With such a faith, the Reformation had nothing to fear. But could it carry off like victories in other States of the confederation? Might not Zurich be expected to remain alone on the side of the Word? Were Berne, Basel, and other cantons besides, to remain subject to the power of Rome? This is what we are about to see. Let us turn to Berne then, and contemplate the march of the Reformation in the most influential of the confederated States.

VII. No where might a keener struggle be looked for than at Berne, for there the Gospel had at once the most powerful friends and the most formidable enemies. At the head of the Reformation party, were found the banneret John von Weingarten, Barthelemy von May, member of the little council, his sons Wolfgang and Claudius, his grandsons James and Benedict, and more than all, the family von Watteville. The avoyer, James von Watteville, who, since 1512, had held the first place in the republic, had been an early reader of the writings of Luther and Zwingli, and had often conversed about the Gospel with John Haller, pastor at Anseltingen, whom he had protected from his persecutors.

His son Nicolas, then at the age of one and thirty, had for the last two years been provost of the Church at Berne, and as such, in virtue of certain papal ordinances, enjoyed such privileges, that Berthold Haller called him, "our bishop."²

The prelates of the pope rivalled each other in their endeavours to attach him to the interests of Rome;³ and every thing

¹ Bey Ihm zuletzt sitzen. . . . (Kirchhofer Ref. v. Berne, p. 55.)

² Episcopus noster *Vadivillius*. (Zw. Epp., p. 285.)

³ Tantum favoris et amicitiae quæ tibi cum tanto summorum pontificum et

seemed likely to keep him away from becoming acquainted with the Gospel; but God's working was more powerful than men's flatteries. Von Watteville was brought out of darkness into the pleasant light of the Gospel, says Zwingli.¹ As the friend of Berthold Haller, he read all the letters received by him from Zwingli, and could not find words to express his admiration of them.²

The influence of the two von Watteviles, occupying as they did the first positions in the State and the Church respectively, must, according to appearances, have carried the republic along with them. But the opposite party was no less powerful.

Among its leaders were to be seen the Sheriff von Erlach, the banneret Willading, and several patricians whose interests were identified with those of the monasteries placed under their administration. Behind these influential men, there was an ignorant and corrupt clergy, who called the doctrines of the Gospel "an invention of hell." "Dear confederates," said the councillor von Mullinen, in full assembly, in the month of July, "beware of being gained over to this Reformation; at Zurich a man is not safe even in his own house, and one needs to have armed men to defend himself there." In consequence of this, John Heim, lecturer to the Dominicans, was sent for to come to Berne, and there set himself to display all St. Thomas's eloquence³ from the pulpits, in attacking the Reformation.

Thus were the two parties pitted against each other; a conflict was apparently inevitable, and already there seemed little doubt as to the result. A common faith, in fact, united a part of the people to the most distinguished families in the state. Full of confidence in the future, Berthold Haller exclaimed: "Unless the wrath of God turn against us, it is impossible that the Word of the Lord can be banished from this town, for the Bernese are hungering after it."⁴

By and bye, two acts of the Government seemed to make the

potentissimorum episcoporum cœtu hactenus intercessit. (Zw. Opp. i., anc. ed. Lat. p. 305.)

¹ Ex obscuris ignorantiae tenebris in amœnam Evangelii lucem productum. (Ibid.)

² Epistolas tuæ et eruditionis et humanitatis testes locupletissimas. . . (Zw. Epp. p. 287.)

³ Suo Thomistico Marte omnia invertere. (Ibid. p. 287.)

⁴ Famem verbi Bernates habent. (Ibid., p. 295.)

balance incline to the side of the Reformation. The bishop of Lausanne having announced an episcopal visit, the council caused it to be intimated to him by the provost von Watteville, that he must give up all idea of visiting the town or the villages of the Bernese.¹ And, at the same time, the councils of Berne passed an ordinance, which, while it made a concession apparently to the enemies of the Reformation, gave a solemn sanction to its principles. They made it the law that the holy Gospel and doctrine of God, such as could be established by the books of the Old and New Testament, should be preached exclusively, freely, and openly; and that preachers should abstain from all doctrine, disputation, or writing, proceeding from Luther or other doctors.² Great was the surprise of the opponents of the Reformation when they beheld Gospel ministers openly appeal to this ordinance, which was the groundwork of all that followed, and formed the legal commencement of the Reformation in Berne. From that time forward, there was more decision observable in the procedure of that state, and Zwingli, whose eyes were on the alert, in regard to all that was passing in Switzerland, could write to the provost von Watteville: "All Christians are, on every account, delighted at the faith which has been received by the godly city of Berne."³ "It is Christ's own cause," exclaimed the friends of the Gospel,⁴ and they devoted themselves to it with greater courage than ever.

Alarmed at these first advantages, the adversaries of the Reformation drew themselves more closely together, and resolved to give such a blow to the cause as would make them sure of victory. They conceived the project of disembarassing themselves of those ministers whose audacious preaching was now subverting the most ancient customs; and a favourable opportunity soon occurred. There was at that time in Berne, where now stands the hospital of the Isle, a Dominican nunnery, consecrated to St. Michael. That archangel's festival (the 29th of September) was held with great pomp at that convent. Several

¹ Ut nec oppidum nec pagos Bernatum visitare prætendat omnino.

² Alein das heilig Evangelium und die leer Gottes frey, öffentlich und unverborgen. (Bull. Chr., p. 111.)

³ Alle Christen sich allenthalben fröuwend des glaubens. . . . (Zw. Opp. i. p. 426.)

⁴ Christi negotium agitur. (Zw. Epp. 9th May, 1523.)

ecclesiastics repaired thither on the occasion that year, among others Wittembach of Bienne, Sebastian Meyer, and Berthold Haller. Having engaged in conversation with the nuns, among whom was Clara, daughter of Claudius May, one of the props of the Reformation: "The merits of the monastic life are imaginery," said Haller to her in her grandmother's presence, "and marriage is an honourable state, instituted by God himself." Some nuns to whom Clara repeated what Berthold had said, uttered a cry of horror. "Haller maintains," it was soon reported in the town, "that all nuns are children of the devil." . . . The occasion sought by the foes of the Reformation was now found; they presented themselves before the little council; they recalled an old ordinance bearing that whoever should be guilty of the abduction of a nun from her monastery, should lose his head; they craved that the sentence "should be mitigated," and that without giving the three ministers a hearing, they should be content with banishing them for life.

The little council acceded to this, and the affair was promptly brought before the great council.

Thus was Berne about to be deprived of her Reformers; the intrigues of the papal party were carrying the day. But Rome, triumphant when she addressed herself to oligarchs, was vanquished when she came before the people or their representatives. Hardly had the names of Haller, Meyer, and Wittembach, men venerated by all Switzerland, been pronounced in the grand council, when a powerful opposition manifested itself against the little council and the clergy. "We cannot condemn these accused persons," said Tillman, "without having heard them! . . . Their testimony is well worth that of some women." Accordingly, the ministers were summoned to appear. The members of the council knew not how to extricate themselves from the affair. At last, "Let us believe both parties," said John von Weingarten, and his advice was taken. The ministers were absolved from the complaint against them, with a hint, however, that in future they should attend to their pulpits, and not meddle with monasteries. But the pulpit sufficed for them. The efforts of their enemies had turned to the confusion of those enemies; the Reformation gained a great victory; and

hence, one of the patricians exclaimed: "the thing is done now; Luther's affair must be allowed to go on."¹

In fact, it did go on, and in places, too, where this was least to be expected. At Königsfeld on the Aar, near Hapsburg castle, there stood a monastery, stuffed with the monasterial magnificence of the middle ages, and where lay the ashes of many members of that illustrious house which had given so many emperors to Germany. The most considerable families of Switzerland and Suabia, made their daughters take the veil there. It was at no great distance from it that the emperor Albert, in 1308, fell beneath the blows of his nephew, John of Suabia; and on the beautiful stained-glass windows of Königsfeld Church, were represented the horrible punishments with which the relations and the vassals of the guilty were on that occasion visited. Catherine von Waldburg Truchsess, abbess of the convent at the time of the Reformation, reckoned among her nuns Beatrix von Landenburg, sister of the bishop of Constance, Agnes von Mullinen, Catherine von Bonnstetten, and Margaret von Watteville, sister to the provost of that name. That same freedom, the enjoyment of which, by this nunnery, had proved favourable in former times to culpable disorders, now gave admission to the holy Scriptures, together with the writings of Luther and Zwingli; and, ere long, its whole aspect was changed by a new life on the part of its inmates. Near that same cell which had been the retreat of queen Agnes, daughter of Albert, after having bathed herself in torrents of blood, as if in May dew, and where while employed in spinning wool or embroidering church ornaments, she used to mingle exercises of devotion with thoughts of revenge, Margaret von Watteville had no thoughts but such as breathed peace, read the Scriptures, and made up an excellent electuary from several wholesome ingredients. Then, as she sat musing in her cell, the young nun summoned up courage to write to the doctor of Switzerland. Her letter displays far better than could be done by many reflections, the Christian spirit that dwelt in these godly women, notwithstanding the calumnies with which they have been assailed, even down to our own days.

¹ Es ist nun gethan. Der Lutherische handel muss vorgehen. (Anshelm. Wirtz. K. G. V., p. 290.)

“May grace and peace in the Lord Jesus be ever bestowed and multiplied upon you by God, the heavenly Father,” said the Königsfeld nun to Zwingli. “Most learned, reverend, and dear sir, I conjure you not to take the letter I now write to you in bad part. The love that is in Christ urges me to do it, especially since I have been apprised that the doctrine of salvation is making daily progress through your preaching of the Word of God. Therefore do I offer my praises to the everlasting God, for having anew enlightened us, and sent us, by his Holy Spirit, so many heralds of his holy Word; and, at the same time, I present to him my fervent prayers, that he would endue you with his strength, you and all those who preach his good news, and that, arming you against all the enemies of the truth, he would make his divine word to increase in all men. Most learned Sir, I venture to send your reverence this small mark of my affection; be so good as not to despise it, for it is the offering of Christian charity. If this electuary does you good and you would like more, let me know; for it would give me the greatest satisfaction to do something that would be agreeable to you; and it is not I only who think thus, but all who love the Gospel in our convent of Königsfeld. They present to your reverence their salutations in Jesus Christ, to whose ever-present guardianship and aid, we assiduously commend you.¹

“Saturday before *Lætare*, 1523.”

Such was the pious letter that the Königsfeld nun wrote to the doctor of Switzerland.

A convent into which the light of the Gospel had thus penetrated, could not long persevere in the practices of the monastic life. Margaret von Watteville and her sisters, persuaded that they could serve God better in their families than in the cloister, petitioned for permission to leave it. The council of Berne, alarmed at this, wished at first to bring these nuns to their senses, and both the provincial and the abbess employed threats and promises with them by turns; but the sisters Margaret, Agnes, Catherine, and their friends among the nuns, showed that they were not to be shaken in their convictions. The rule of the convent was thereupon tempered, the nuns were exempted

¹ Cujus præsidio auxilioque præsentissimo, nos vestram dignitatem assidue commendamus. (Zw. Epp. p. 280.)

from fasts and matins, and their allowance was augmented. "It is not carnal liberty that we want," was their reply to the council; "it is spiritual liberty. We, your poor and innocent prisoners, we beg that you will pity us!"—"Our prisoners, *our* prisoners!" exclaimed the banneret Krauchthaler, "I have no wish that they should be my prisoners!" These words from one of the staunchest supporters of the convents, decided the council; the convent was thrown open; and shortly after, Catharine von Bonstetten, married William von Diesbach.

Berne, however, far from frankly siding with the Reformers, pursued a kind of middle course, and sought to adopt a see-saw system which an occasion soon occurred for practically exhibiting. Sebastian Meyer, lecturer to the Franciscans, published a retraction of Roman errors, which produced a great sensation, and in which, in giving a representation of the conventual life, he said: "There one lives more impurely, one falls more frequently, one rises more tardily, one advances more unsteadily, one reposes more dangerously, one pities more rarely, one is cleansed more slowly, one dies more despairingly, one is condemned more severely."¹ While Meyer was expressing himself thus against the cloisters, John Heim, lecturer to the Dominicans, shouted from the pulpit: "No! Christ has not, as the Gospellers teach, given satisfaction to his Father, once for all. It is further necessary that God be daily reconciled with men by the sacrifice of the mass and by good works." Two of the burgesses in the congregation interrupted him, saying: "That's not true!" Whereupon there was an uproar in the Church; Heim held his peace, and though many pressed him to go on, he left the pulpit without finishing his discourse. On the following day the grand council struck at both Rome and the Reformation; it sent away from the town the two great controversialists, Meyer and Heim. "They are neither clear nor muddy,"² said some of the Bernese, using a word in a double sense; *Luther* meaning clear in old German.³

¹ Langsamer gereiniget, verzweifelter stirbt, härter verdammet. (Kirchhofer, Reform. v. Bern. p. 48.)

² Dass sie weder luther noch trüb seyen. (Kirchhofer Ref. v. Bern. p. 50.)

³ Romish writers, and M. de Haller, in particular, have quoted from Salat and Tschudi, both enemies of the Reformation, a pretended letter from Zwingli, addressed at this time to Kolb at Berne, to the following effect:

"Health and benediction from God, our Saviour. Dear Francis, proceed

But it was vain to attempt to extinguish the Reformation in Berne. Its progress became everywhere manifest. The nuns of the convent of the isle had preserved the remembrance of Haller's visit. Clara May, joined by several of her friends, anxiously asking themselves what course they ought to take, wrote to the learned Henry Bullinger. "St. Paul," he replied, "prescribes to young women, not to come under vows, but that they should marry and not live in sloth, under a false appearance of piety. (1 Timothy, v. 13, 14). Follow Jesus in humility, charity, patience, purity, and integrity."¹ Clara, with prayers for divine assistance, resolved to follow this advice, and to quit a life that was contrary to God's Word, of human invention, and full of seductions and sin. Her father Bartholomew, who had spent fifty years in battle fields, and in councils, heard of his daughter's resolution with delight. Clara left the convent.

cautiously in this affair; throw at first to the bear but one sour pear among several sweet ones, then two, then three; and when he shall have begun to eat them, throw to him always more and more: sour and sweet pell mell, and at last shake out the sack to him; soft, hard, sweet, sour and unripe, he will eat them all, and will not suffer any one to take them from him, or to drive him away. Zurich, Monday before St. George's day, 1525.

"Your servant in Christ, Ulrich Zwingli."

Decisive reasons oppose the admission of this letter's authenticity. 1st. In 1525, Kolb was pastor at Wertheimer; he did not come to Berne till 1527. (See Zw. Epp. p. 526.) M. de Haller puts 1527, it is true, but very arbitrarily in place of 1525: this correction has, no doubt, been very wisely adopted; but, unfortunately, in doing so, M. de Haller is in contradiction with Salat and Tschudi, who, although not agreed as to the day on which this letter was spoken of in diet, are agreed as to the year, which with both is 1525. 2d. It is not understood how the letter came to be known: according to one account, it was intercepted; according to another, the parishioners of Kolb communicated it to a man belonging to the smaller cantons, who happened to be at Berne. 3d. The original is in German; now Zwingli wrote always in Latin to his literate friends; moreover, he saluted them as their *brother*, not as their servant. 4th. If we read Zwingli's letters, it will be seen that there could not possibly be a style more widely different than that of this pretended letter. Zwingli never would have written a letter for the purpose of saying so little; his epistles are for the most part long, and full of news. To call the paltry piece of pleasantry picked up by Salat *a letter*, is truly ridiculous. 5th, Salat is entitled to little credit as an historian, and Tschudi seems to have copied him with a few variations.—It is possible that some person belonging to the smaller cantons might have had communicated to him by some one at Berne, Zwingli's letter to Haller, formerly mentioned, (see Book viii. chapter x.), in which Zwingli employs this same comparison of the bear with much nobler effect, and it is to be found, besides, in all the authors of that time. This might have suggested to some way the idea of fabricating this above forged letter, supposed to have been addressed to Kolb by Zwingli.

¹ Euerem Herrn Jesu nachfolget in Demuth. . . . (Kirchhofer, Ref. v Bern, p. 60.)

The provost Nicolas von Watteville, though attached by every tie of personal interest to the Romish hierarchy, and certain of being promoted to the first vacant bishopric in Switzerland, sought, also, to keep a pure conscience by renouncing his titles, his revenues, and his hopes; and bursting through all those ties by which the popes had hoped to entangle him, he entered into the married state; a state established by God ever since the creation of the world. Nicolas von Watteville took to wife Clara May; and her sister Margaret, the nun of Königsfeld, was united, much about the same time, to Lucius Tscharnener of Coire.¹

VIII. Thus did all things foretoken the triumphs that the Reformation was soon to obtain at Berne. A no less important city, and one which was at that time, the Athens, as it were, of Switzerland, namely, Basel, was now, likewise, beginning to prepare herself for the grand struggle that marks the sixteenth century.

Each of the cities of the confederation had its own particular aspect. Thus Berne was the city of great families, and the question seemed likely to be decided there by the part that should be taken by such and such of the city's leading men. At Zurich, ministers of the Word, such as Zwingli, Leo Juda, Myconius, and Schmidt, drew after them a powerful body of burgesses. Lucerne was the city of arms and military capitulations; Basel that of science and printing establishments. In the latter city Erasmus, the chief of the republic of letters in the sixteenth century, had fixed his abode; and preferring the liberty he enjoyed there, to the seductive invitations of popes and of kings, he had become the centre of a large circle of learned men.

But an influence still more powerful than that of the prince among scholars, was soon to be exercised in Basel by a meek, mild, and godly man, though in point of genius inferior to Erasmus. The bishop of Basel, Christopher von Utenheim, a man of the same views with Erasmus, sought to surround himself with persons fitted to effect a reformation of the golden mean description; and to that end, had invited Capito and Ecolam-

¹ Zw. Epp. annotatio, p. 451.—From this union are descended the Tscharners of Berne.

padius to reside near him. In the latter of these, there was something of the monastic cast, which would often prove offensive to the illustrious philosopher, but Œcolampadius soon became enthusiastically attached to him, and in this intimacy might have lost at last all independence of character, had not providence removed him to a distance from his idol. Having returned, in 1517, to Weinsberg, his native town, and having been shocked while there, at the disorderly lives and profane jests of the priests, he has left us a beautiful monument of the serious spirit which then animated him, in his celebrated work on the *Easter Sports*, which seems to have been written at that time.¹

Called to Augsburg, towards the close of 1518, as cathedral preacher, he found that city still under the excitement produced by the famous conference between Luther and the papal legate in May of that year. Under the necessity of deciding one way or other, Œcolampadius did not hesitate, but pronounced himself in favour of the Reformer. This frankness soon raised a keen opposition against him; and under the impression that his timidity, and the feebleness of his voice, gave him no chance of succeeding in the world, he began to cast his eyes about him, and fixed them on a monastery of friars of the order of St. Bridget, celebrated for piety and for depth and liberality of study, which stood not far from Augsburg. Feeling that he needed rest, leisure, labour, and prayer, he went to those monks and said: "Can a man live with you according to the Word of God?" And on their giving him their assurance that he might, Œcolampadius passed the threshold of the monastery on the 23d of April, 1520, under the express condition of his being free, should the service of the Word of God call for his services, to go anywhere.

It was well that the future Reformer of Basel should, like Luther, become practically acquainted with that monastic life which was the highest expression of Roman catholicism. But he found no repose in it, his friends blamed the course he had taken, and he himself openly declared that Luther was nearer the truth than his adversaries. Accordingly Dr. Eck and other Romish doctors pursued him with their threats, even into the quiet retreat to which he had betaken himself.

¹ Herzog, Studien und Kritiken, 1840, p. 334.

At this time Æcolampadius was neither reformed nor one of the sect of Rome; he would have had a certain purified catholicism which has no existence in history, but the idea of which has often served as a bridge for facilitating the passage of many from Rome to the Reformation. He set himself to correct the statutes of his order by the Word of God. "I beseech you," said he to the friars, "do not consider your ordinances as superior to the Lord's commandments!"—"We desire to have no other rule," replied the friars, "but that of the Saviour; take our books, and mark, as if in the presence of Christ himself, what you shall find contrary to his Word." Æcolampadius began this task; but he almost gave it up in disgust at the trouble it cost. "O Almighty God!" said he, "what abominations has not Rome approved in these statutes!"

Hardly had he pointed out some of these when the friars became very angry. "Heretic!" said they to him, "apostate! thou well deservest to be thrown for the remainder of thy days into a dark dungeon!" He was excluded from the common prayers. But still greater danger threatened him from without. Eck and his party had not abandoned any of their projects. "In three days," it was intimated to him, "you will be arrested." He went to the friars. "Would you," said he to them, "deliver me up to assassins?" The monks were confounded and wavering . . . they were unwilling either to save or to ruin him. At this conjuncture, the friends of Æcolampadius arrived in the neighbourhood of the monastery, with horses to convey him to some place of safety, on hearing which the monks decided on allowing the quiet departure of a brother who had brought trouble into their monastery. "Farewell," they said, and he was free. He had passed nearly two years in the monastery of St. Bridget.

Æcolampadius was saved; he breathed freely at last: "I have sacrificed the monk," he wrote to a friend, "and have recovered the Christian." But his flight from the monastery, and his writings, became known everywhere; everywhere, too, people recoiled from his approach. He knew not what was to become of him, when Sickingen, in the spring of 1522, offered him a retreat which he accepted.

His mind had been pressed down by monkish servitude, but

took a new spring amid the noble warriors of Ebernburg. "Christ is our liberty," he exclaimed, "and that which men regard as the worst calamity—death itself—is to us real gain." He set himself immediately to read the Gospels and Epistles to the people, in German. "As soon as those trumpets are sounded," he would say, "the walls of Jericho fall."

Thus did the modest man of his age, in a fortress on the banks of the Rhine, and in the midst of rough-spun knights, prelude to that transformation of public worship which Christendom was ere long to undergo. Ebernburg, meanwhile, was too narrow a sphere for him; he felt the want of other society than that of those armed warriors. Cratander, the bookseller, invited him to repair to Basel; Sickingen consented, and *Æcolampadius*, delighted at the prospect of again beholding his old friends, arrived there on the 16th of November, 1522. After having lived for some time simply as a man of learning, without any public call, he was appointed vicar of St. Martin's church, and perhaps it was this call to a humble and obscure employment,¹ that decided the reformation of Basel. Every time *Æcolampadius* entered the pulpit, an immense crowd filled the Church.² At the same time, such was the success of the public lectures given by him, or by Pellican, that Erasmus was obliged to exclaim: "*Æcolampadius* carries all before him here?"³

This mild but firm man shed, in fact, all around him, says Zwingli, the good odour of Christ, and all who were about him increased in the truth.⁴ Often, it is true, the news were spread, that he was to be obliged to leave Basel, and begin his perilous adventures anew. His friends, Zwingli in particular, would be in the utmost alarm; but soon the report of new successes gained by *Æcolampadius*, dissipated their fears and confirmed their hope. The fame of his doings reached even Wittenberg, and gladdened the heart of Luther, who made him the subject of almost daily conversation with Melancthon. The Saxon Reformer, nevertheless, was not without his apprehensions. Eras-

¹ *Meis sumptibus non sine contemptu et invidia.* (*Æcol. ad Pirck. de Eucharistia.*)

² *Dass er kein Predigt thate, er hatte ein mächtig Volk darinn*, says Peter Ryf his cotemporary. (*Wirtz*, v. p. 350.)

³ *Æcolampadius apud nos triumphat!* (*Erasm. ad Zwing. Zw. Epp.* p. 312.)

⁴ *Illi magis ac magis in omni bono augescunt.* (*Ibid.*)

mus was at Basel, and Erasmus was the friend of *Æcolampadius*. . . . Luther thought it his duty to put this person, the object of so much affection, on his guard. "I much fear," he wrote to him, "that like Moses, Erasmus may remain in the lands of Moab, and prove incapable of conducting us into the land of promise."¹

Erasmus had taken refuge in Basel, as being a quiet town, placed in the centre of the literary movement, and from which by means of Frobenius's printing establishment, he might act upon France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and England. But he did not like that people should come and disturb him, and if he felt some umbrage at *Æcolampadius*, there was yet another who filled him with far more apprehension. Ulrich von Hutten had followed *Æcolampadius* to Basel. He had long attacked the pope, as one knight would attack another. "The axe," he would say, "is already laid at the root of the tree. Germans! do not ye give way in the very heat of the battle; the lot is cast; the enterprise has begun. . . . Long live liberty!" He had given up Latin, and wrote now in German only, for he wished to address himself to the people.

He was a man of extensive and generous projects. The affairs of the Church should be regulated, he thought, by a yearly assembly of the bishops. A Christian constitution and, still more, a Christian spirit, ought to go forth from Germany, as formerly from Judea, into the whole world. Charles V. was to have been the youthful hero destined to realise this golden age; but Hutten, when he saw his hopes on that head come to nothing, had turned to Sickingen, and sought to obtain from chivalry what had been refused him by the empire. Sickingen, as the leading man among the feudal nobility, had acted a great part in Germany; but, ere long, the princes besieged him in his castle of Landstein, and those new arms, cannons and cannon-balls, brought tumbling down those ancient battlements that had been used to blows of a different kind. The taking of Landstein proved the final down-fall of chivalry, the decisive victory of artillery over lances and bucklers, the triumph of modern times over the middle ages. Thus was the last effort of expir-

¹ Et in terram promissionis ducere non potest. (L. Epp. ii. p. 353.)

ing chivalry to be in favour of the Reformation, the first effort of the new system of warfare, to be against it. The mail-clad men who fell beneath the unlooked-for shot, and who lay dead or dying amid the ruins of Landstein, were superseded by a different kind of knights. Other feats of arms were about to commence; a spiritual chivalry was superseding that of the du Guesclins and the Bayards.¹ And those old shattered turrets, those dilapidated battlements, those dying heroes, proclaimed more powerfully than even Luther could have done, that it was not with such arms that the Gospel of the Prince of peace was to win the victory.

All Hutten's hopes fell with the fall of Landstein and of chivalry. Over the dead body of Sickingen, he bade farewell to the glorious days which his imagination had fondly pictured to him, and, renouncing all trust in man, he now only looked for a little obscurity and repose. In search of these, he came to Switzerland, and wished to be near Erasmus. The two had long been friends; but the rough and noisy knight, braving the other's judgment, ever ready to clap his hand upon his sword, attacking, right and left, all that stood in his way, could hardly be expected to harmonize with the fastidious and timid Erasmus, with his refined manners, soft and polished tone, love of applause, readiness to sacrifice everything for the sake of it, and excessive dread of disputation.² No sooner had Hutten, a poor and sickly fugitive, reached Basel, than he sought out his old friend. But Erasmus trembled at the thought of sharing his table with a person who lay under the ban of the pope and the emperor, with one who spared nobody, who might possibly borrow money from him, and who would, no doubt, bring after him a crowd of those "Gospellers," whom Erasmus dreaded more

¹ Guesclin and Bayard were two distinguished French knights and field officers, the former of whom in the fourteenth century, and the latter in the beginning of the sixteenth, displayed extraordinary gallantry, and greatly added to the military renown of France.—L. R.

² Erasmus said of himself, (See Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, 4th Ed. p. 315,) that by a kind of natural instinct he so abhorred all sorts of quarrels, that if he had a large estate to defend at law, he would sooner lose it than litigate it. Yet he indulged his powers of sarcasm as if he wished to invite quarrels, and about this time he seems to have affected a dislike to controversy, as an excuse for not refuting Luther, a task expected of him by his Romish friends, but which, it would appear, he could no more undertake conscientiously than Balaam could curse Israel. TR.

and more every day.¹ He refused to see him, and ere long the magistracy of Basel requested Hutten to leave the city. Hutten, with wounded feelings, and angry at his timid friend, went to Mulhausen, and there published against Erasmus a most violent production, to which the latter returned a very clever answer. The knight had seized his sword with both hands, intending that it should descend with full force on his adversary; but the scholar, adroitly parrying the blow, replied to blows with the sword, by pecks with the beak.²

Hutten had again to fly; he came to Zurich, where he found a generous welcome from the noble Zwingli. But that city, likewise, he was constrained by cabals to quit, and after having spent some time at the baths at Pfeffers, he repaired, with a letter from the Swiss Reformer, to the house of the pastor John Schnepf, who inhabited the small island of Ufnau, on the lake of Zurich. The poor minister received the sickly and fugitive knight, with the most charitable tenderness. It was in that peaceful and obscure retreat, after a life of great agitation, banished by some, persecuted by others, abandoned by nearly all, having uniformly combatted superstition without having ever, it would appear, possessed the truth, that Ulrich von Hutten, one of the most remarkable geniuses of the sixteenth century, died unnoticed, about the end of August, 1523.³ Although skilled in the art of healing, the poor pastor lavished his attentions upon him in vain. With him chivalry may be said to have breathed its last. He left behind him neither money, books, nor furniture, excepting only a pen.⁴ Thus was broken that arm of brass which had dared to bear up the ark of God.

IX. Germany possessed a man that was more to be dreaded

¹ Ille egens et omnibus rebus destitutus quærebat nidum aliquem ubi moveretur. Erat mihi gloriosus ille miles cum sua scabie in ædes recipiendus, simulque recipiendus ille chorus titulo *Evangelicorum*, writes Erasmus to Melancthon in a letter in which he endeavours to excuse his conduct. (Erasm. Epp. p. 949.)

It is remarkable that Erasmus does not make Hutten's immoral character an excuse for having shut his door upon him. Hence we may infer that Jortin's account of the knight's misdeeds is exaggerated. Tr.

² Expostulatio Hutteni.—Erasmi Spongia.

³ Jortin makes him die at Zurich, and was evidently unacquainted with the singular isolation and abandonment in which he closed his career. Tr.

⁴ Libros nullos habuit, supellectilem nullam, præter calamum. (Zw. Epp. p. 313.)

by Erasmus than the unfortunate knight, and that man was Luther. The time was now come when the two great wrestlers of the sixteenth century, were to measure each other's powers in a close encounter. They pursued two very different reformations; for while Luther was bent on having things thoroughly reformed, Erasmus, a friend of the golden mean, endeavoured to obtain from the hierarchy concessions that would unite the two parties. Luther revolted at Erasmus's vacillations and uncertainties. "You would walk upon eggs without crushing them," said he to him, "and among glasses without breaking them."¹

At the same time, to the vacillations of Erasmus he opposed a thorough decision. "We Christians," he would say, "ought to be fully assured as to the doctrine we profess, and ought to be able to say yes or no, without hesitation. To pretend to prevent us from affirming, with an undoubting conviction, that which we believe, is to deprive us of faith itself. The Holy Ghost is no sceptic;² and he has written in our hearts a firm and strong assurance which renders us no less certain of our faith than we are of our very life."

These very words suffice to show on which side lay the preponderance of moral force. There must be a firm and living faith in order to the accomplishment of a religious transformation. A healthful revolution in the Church, never will be produced by philosophical views and human opinions.³ That the earth may become fertile after a long drought, the clouds must be furrowed by the lightning, and the reservoirs of heaven must be opened. Criticism, philosophy, history even, may prepare the way for the true faith, but they never can occupy its place. In vain would you clear the canals and repair the dykes, as long as no water descends from heaven. All human sciences without faith, are but canals without water.

¹ Auf Eyern gehen und keines zutreten. (L. Opp. xix. p. 11.)

² Der heilige Geist ist kein Scepticus. (Ibid. p. 8.)

³ What the worthy author says here of the impotency of philosophical views is everyway true, understanding thereby such views as he has in his eye. He refers to human opinions, and accordingly, animadverts on such as are generally called philosophical, and are nothing better than a collection of ideas proceeding from human reason alone. This does not imply that true philosophy is not salutary even as respects religion, and perhaps it is alone capable when allied with the faith, with which it is not incompatible, to effect that revolution in the Church which is particularly promoted in our days, to wit, that involved in the restriction of human reason within her own proper boundaries, and the regulation of all things entirely according to the verdict of God's word.—L. R.



Whatever might have been the essential difference between Luther and Erasmus, for a long while Luther's friends, and even Luther himself, hoped to see Erasmus unite with them against Rome. Expressions were repeated that had fallen from him in his fits of caustic humour, and that demonstrated the difference of sentiment between him and the most zealous of the abettors of (Roman) catholicism. One day, for instance, when he was in England, engaged in a keen dispute with (Sir) Thomas More about transubstantiation: "Believe that you have the body of Christ," said the latter, "and you have it in reality." Erasmus made no reply. Shortly afterwards, he quitted the banks of the Thames, and More lent him his horse to take him as far as the sea, but Erasmus took it with him to the continent. No sooner was More apprised of this than he reproached him severely, but all the reply that Erasmus sent, was in the following four lines.

Of the body of Christ what lately you said;
 "Believe that you have, and you have it;"
 Permit me, to say, in my turn, of your steed:
 "Believe that you have, and you have it."¹

It was not only in Germany and England, that Erasmus had procured himself this character. "Luther," it was said in Paris, "has only enlarged the opening into the house, of which Erasmus first broke the lock."²

Erasmus was placed in a difficult position. "I will not prove faithless to the cause of Christ," he wrote to Zwingli, "at least as far as this age permits."³ In proportion as he saw Rome lift itself against the friends of the Reformation, he prudently kept on the back ground. People turned to him on all hands; the pope, the emperor, kings, learned men, and even his own most intimate friends, solicited him to write against the Reformer.⁴

¹ Quod mihi dixisti nuper de corpore Christi;
 Crede quod habes et habes;
 Hoc tibi rescribo tantum de tuo caballo:
 Crede quod habes et habes.

(*Paravicini Singularia*, p. 71.)

² *Histoire cathol. de notre temps*, par S. Fontaine, de l'ordre de Saint François, Paris, 1562.

³ Quantum hoc seculum patitur. (Zw. Epp. p. 221.)

⁴ A Pontifice, a Cæsare, a regibus et principibus, a doctissimis etiam et carissimis amicis, huc provoco. (Erasm. Zw. Epp. p. 308.)

"No engagement," the pope wrote to him, "could be more agreeable to God, or more worthy of you and your genius."¹

Erasmus long rejected those solicitations; he could not conceal from himself that the cause of the Reformers was that of religion as well as of literature. Besides, Luther was an adversary with whom one dreaded to measure weapons, and Erasmus seemed to feel the redoubled and vigorous blows of the Wittemberg gladiator. "It is easy to say," he replied to a Roman divine: "Write against Luther, but the task is replete with danger."² Thus he fain would have done it . . . and notwithstanding wished to let it alone.

This irresolute conduct on the part of Erasmus, made him the object of fierce attacks from the more violent men of both parties. Luther himself knew not how to reconcile the respect he entertained for the learning of Erasmus with the indignation he felt at his timidity, and from this painful predicament he resolved to deliver himself by writing to him, in April, 1524, a letter, which he entrusted to Camerarius. "You have not yet received from the Lord," said he to him, "the courage necessary for your proceeding with us against the Papists. We endure your weakness. If literature flourishes, if it opens the treasure of the Scriptures to all, it is a gift which God has bestowed on us through you: a magnificent gift, and one for which our thanksgivings mount up to heaven! But forsake not the task that has been imposed on you, in order to pass into our camp. No doubt, your eloquence and your genius might be useful to us; but since you are wanting in courage, remain where you are. I should wish our people to allow your old age peacefully to fall asleep in the Lord. The magnitude of our cause has long exceeded your energies. But, on the other hand, my dear Erasmus, pray refrain from throwing about, by whole handfuls, the biting salt which you know so well how to conceal under the flowers of rhetoric; for to be slightly stung by Erasmus is more acutely painful than to be pounded to atoms by all the Papists put together. Be content to be a mere spectator at our tragedy;³

¹ Nulla te et ingenio, eruditione, eloquentiaque tua dignior esse potest. (Adrianus Papa, Epp. Er. p. 1202.)

² Res est periculi plena. (Er. Epp. p. 758.)

³ Spectator tantum sis tragœdiæ nostræ. (L. Epp. ii. p. 501.)

and do not publish books against me; me, who, on my side, will publish none against you."

Thus did Luther, the man who was inured to warfare, call for concord, while Erasmus, with all his love of peace, disturbed it.

Erasmus took the Reformer's treatment of him on this occasion as the bitterest insult; and if he had not as yet fully resolved to write against Luther, it is most likely that he now did so. "It is possible that Erasmus in writing against you," he replied to him, "may prove more useful to the Gospel than some of those foolish persons who write for you,¹ and who no longer permit me to be a mere spectator of this tragedy."

But he had other motives besides these.

Henry VIII. of England, and the leading men of that country, insisted with much urgency, that he should declare himself in a public manner against the Reformation, and Erasmus, in a fit of courage, had allowed them to extort from him a promise to that effect. Besides, the equivocal position he occupied had become a matter of continual vexation to him; he was fond of repose, yet the obligation under which he lay to justify himself, perpetually disturbed him; he was fond of glory, yet already, he was charged with being both afraid of Luther, and too weak to reply to him; he was accustomed to the first rank, yet the petty Wittenberg friar had dethroned the puissant Erasmus. Accordingly, he had no choice but by an act of determined courage to reconquer the place that he had lost. All ancient Christendom addressed him with pressing solicitations to do so. A man of the highest capacity and reputation was wanted to oppose the Reformation, and Erasmus yielded to these solicitations.

But what was the weapon he was to employ? Was he to re-echo the thunders of the Vatican? Could he defend abuses which were the disgrace of the popedom? This Erasmus could not do. The grand movement which, after the death-like apathy that had lasted for ages, was setting all men's minds astir, gladdened his heart, and he must have trembled to think of opposing it. Unable to make himself the champion of Roman catholicism in what it had added to Christianity, he undertook to defend it in regard to what it had taken away. In attacking

¹ Quidam stolidi scribentes pro te. (Unschuldige Nach-richt, p. 545.)

Luther, Erasmus selected the point at which Roman catholicism is at one with rationalism, namely, the doctrine of free will, or of the natural powers of man.¹ Thus, while he undertook the defence of the Church, Erasmus gratified the men of this world, and contrived, while he was fighting for the popes, to fight also for the philosophers. It has been said that in so doing, he unwisely involved himself in an obscure and useless question. Luther, together with the other Reformers, and all the men of that age, thought very differently, and we are of their opinion. "I must acknowledge," said Luther, "that you alone, in this struggle, have seized your enemy by the throat. I thank you heartily for having done so, for I prefer being occupied with such a subject, to engaging with those secondary questions about the pope, purgatory, and the indulgences, with which, until now, I have been worried by the enemies of the Gospel."²

His own reiterated experience, together with a diligent study of the holy Scriptures and the writings of St. Augustine, had convinced Luther that man's present faculties are so inclined to evil, that of himself he can attain to nothing beyond a certain outward integrity, completely insufficient in the eyes of the Deity. He had perceived, at the same time, that it was God who, by his Holy Spirit freely operating in man the work of faith, gave him a true righteousness. This doctrine had become the very root of the religious life in him, the predominant idea in his theology, and the hinge on which turned the whole of the Reformation.³

¹ One can hardly take himself for his own kind, says on this subject M. Nisard (Erasmus, in the *Revue des deux mondes*, iii. p. 411.), when he sees men capable of entering into close combat with eternal truths, fencing all their lives with soap-bubbles; like gladiators attacking flies.

² L. Opp. xix. p. 146.

³ This paragraph is far from being expressed with the author's usual clearness. Taken by itself, one might suppose that justifying righteousness, with Luther, was that wrought by God in the soul, and that this, not Christ's imputed righteousness, was sufficient for or satisfied the Deity. But neither was such a view any part of Luther's theology, nor was it the turning point of the Reformation. Jortin, in this apparently following Le Clerc, speaking of this controversy, says: "If there was any difference between Luther and the Thomists of the Church of Rome, it was this, that Luther spoke more simply and sincerely, and openly than they; for he absolutely denied that there was any such thing as free will, whilst they admitted it in words. This, perhaps, deceived Erasmus, who imagined that he was only disputing against Luther, whilst he was really disputing as much against Thomas Aquinas and his followers." And in later times, not only the Jansenists but other Romish theologians, such as Bossuet, have strongly insisted on the absolute necessity of divine grace to the doing of works pleasing to God. *Tr.*

While Luther maintained that all good in man proceeds from God, Erasmus joined the ranks of those who taught that this good comes from man himself.—God or man . . . good or evil . . . —these assuredly are no trifling questions, and when such soap bubbles are to be found at all, it is elsewhere that we must look for them.

It was in the autumn of the year 1524, that Erasmus published his famous work, intitled, "*Diatribes on the Freedom of the Will*;" and after its appearance, the philosopher could hardly believe that he could have had so much courage.¹ Trembling with apprehension, and fixing his eyes on the lists, he gazed at the gauntlet which he had thrown before his adversary. "The die has been cast," he wrote with emotion to Henry VIII., "the book on the *freedom of the will*, has appeared. . . . Believe me, it is an audacious deed. I expect to be stoned for it.² . . . But I console myself by the example of your majesty, whom these folks have not spared in their wrath."

Ere long his fright increased to such a degree, that he bitterly regretted what he had done. "Why should I not have been permitted," he exclaimed, "to wear out my old age in the garden of the Muses? Here have I been, I, an old man of sixty, violently pushed into the arena, and instead of the lyre, obliged to hold the cestus and the net!³ . . . I know," said he to the bishop of Rochester, "that in writing on free will, I was not in my proper sphere. . . . You wish me joy of my triumphs. . . . Ah, I know not over whom I have triumphed! The faction," (the Reformation) "increases daily.⁴ Was it then in

¹ "He (Erasmus) very dexterously and artfully choose this point of disputation, that he might appear to the Romanists to write against Luther, and yet that he might avoid censuring his other doctrines opposite to the Roman Church; and he so managed the point as to abstain from all rudeness and malice against Luther, and to act quite differently from the monks. . . . To attack Luther on the single point of liberty and necessity was, in an oblique and indirect way, to allow him to be superior to his adversaries in other respects;" . . . Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, i. p. 335. Le Clerc supposed Luther to be a Thomist, but Jortin shows from Seckendorf, that he abhorred both Thomists and Scotists, and that if favourable to any scholastic sect, it was to that of Occam. Tr.

² *Jaeta est alea . . . audax, mihi crede, facinus . . . expecto lapidationem.* (Er. Epp. p. 811.)

³ Alluding to peculiar modes of fighting among the Roman gladiators. The combatants, according to one of these, endeavoured each to throw a net over the head of his antagonist. Tr.

⁴ *Quomodo triumphans nescio. . . . Factio crescit in dies latius.* (Er. Epp. p. 809.)

my destiny, that at the age I have lived to, instead of being a friend of the Muses, I should become a wretched gladiator!" . . .

It was much, no doubt, for the timid Erasmus to have opposed Luther; still he was far from having given proofs of any great hardihood. In his book he seems to attribute little to man's will, leaving the greater part to divine grace; yet he so selects his arguments as to induce the belief that man does everything, God nothing. Not daring to give a clear expression to his thoughts, he states one thing and proves another; so that we may be allowed to suppose that he believed what he proved, and not what he stated.

He distinguishes three opinions, opposed in different degrees to that of Pelagius. "Some," says he, "think that man cannot will, that he cannot begin, and that still less can he accomplish anything good, without the special and constant aid of divine grace; and this opinion seems sufficiently probable. Others teach that the will of man has no power but for evil, and that grace alone works any good in us; and, lastly, there are some who maintain that there never has been any freedom of the will in the angels, in Adam, or in us, whether before or after grace; but that God is the author in man both of good and evil, and that whatever takes place, does so by an absolute necessity."¹

Now, while he seems to admit the truth of the first of these opinions, Erasmus employs arguments that go to refute it, and which the most decided Pelagian would employ. Thus, in pointing to those passages of Scripture where God places before man the choice betwixt good and evil, he adds: "It must needs be then that man has the power of willing and choosing; for it would be ridiculous to say to any one: Choose! without its being in his power to do so."

Luther did not fear Erasmus. "Truth," he would say, "is more powerful than eloquence. Victory is with truth, though it stammer, not with eloquence when it lies."² But when he received the work of Erasmus in October, 1524, he found it so feeble a production that he hesitated to reply to it. "What! so much eloquence in so bad a cause!" said he to him; "one

¹ De libero arbitrio Διατριβή. (Erasm. Opp. ix. p. 1215, sq.)

² Victoria est penes balbutientem veritatem, non apud mendacem eloquentiam. (L. Epp. ii. p. 200.)

would say, it was a man presenting the sweepings of a stable on vessels of gold and silver.¹ One can no where lay hold of you. You are like the eel that slips from between one's hands; or like the Proteus of the poets, changing in the very arms of the person that would grasp him."

Meanwhile, as Luther made no reply, the monks and scholastic divines began to exclaim: "Well then, where now is your Luther? Where is the great Machabeus? Let him show himself in the lists! let him stand forth! Ah! ah! he has found his man at last! He knows, then, that it is time for him to keep on the back ground; he has been taught to hold his tongue."²

Luther saw that he must reply; but it was not till about the end of the year 1525, that he set about it; and when Melancthon informed Erasmus that Luther was to treat him mildly, the philosopher was almost frightened out of his wits. "If I have written with moderation," said he, "it is my character to do so; but Luther has the wrathful spirit of the son of Peleus (Achilles). And how could it be otherwise? When a ship is encountering such a tempest as that which has risen against Luther, what anchor, what ballast, what a helm, does it not require, if it would not be driven out of its course? If, then, he shall reply to me in a manner inconsistent with his character, the sycophants will exclaim, that we are guilty of collusion."³ Erasmus, we shall find, was soon to be rid of these fears.

The doctrine of an election on the part of God, the sole cause of man's salvation, had ever been dear to the Reformer; but he had hitherto considered it only in a practical point of view. In his reply to Erasmus, he contemplated it in its speculative aspect chiefly, and endeavoured to establish by such proofs as to him seemed most conclusive, that God is the sole agent in man's conversion, and that our heart is so estranged from the love of God, that without the regenerating operation of the Holy Ghost, it cannot have any sincere desire of good.

"To call our will a free will," says he, "is to do like those princes who heap up long titles, calling themselves lords

¹ Als wenn einer in silbern oder guldern Schüsseln wollte Mist und Unflath auftragen. (L. Opp. xix. p. 4.)

² Sepet, sehet nun da zu! wo ist nun Luther. . . . (Ibid. p. 3.)

³ Ille si hic multum sui dissimilis fuerit, clamabunt sycophantæ, colludere nos. (Er. Epp. p. 819.)

of such and such kingdoms, such and such principalities and distant isles (Rhodes, Cyprus, and Jerusalem), whilst they do not exercise the smallest degree of authority in them." Here, however, Luther makes an important distinction, showing that he in no wise shared in the third opinion pointed out by Erasmus, at the same time attributing it to him. "The will of man," says he, "may be called a free will, not in relation to that which is above him, that is to say, to God, but in relation to what is beneath him, that is to say, the things of the earth.¹ When I have to do with my property, my fields, my house, my farm, I can act, do, and administer freely. But in the things that concern salvation, man is captive; he is subject to the will of God, or rather to that of the devil.² Show me a single person among all these doctors of freedom of the will," he exclaimed, "who has been able to find in himself sufficient moral strength for the patient endurance of even a slight insult, an outbreak of angry feeling, nay, even a look from his enemy, and gladly to endure it, then—without even asking him to be ready to resign his body, his life, his property, his possessions, his honour, and everything—I declare that you have gained your cause."³

Luther was too quick-sighted not to perceive the contradictions into which his opponent had fallen. In his reply, accordingly, he endeavours to enclose the philosopher in the net in which he had involved himself. "If the passages you quote," said he to him, "establish the point that it is easy for us to do what is good, wherefore then should we dispute? what need have we of Christ and of the Holy Ghost? Christ, then, acted foolishly in shedding his blood to obtain for us a power which we already possess, by our own nature!" In fact, the passages quoted by Erasmus, ought to be understood in quite another meaning from that which he has given them. This so much debated question is clearer than at first sight it appears. When the Bible says to man "choose!" it assumes the assistance of that grace of God by which alone he can do what it commands. God, while he gives the command, gives likewise the power to execute that command. If Christ say to Lazarus: "Come

¹ Der Wille des Menschen mag . . . (L. Opp. xix. p. 29.)

² Ibid. p. 33.

³ Ibid. xix. p. 33.

forth!" it was not that Lazarus could resuscitate himself, but that Christ, in commanding him to come forth from the tomb, gave him the power of doing so, and accompanied his word with his creative energy. He speaks and the thing exists. In other respects, it is most true that the man to whom God addresses himself, ought to exercise his will; it is he that wills and not another; he can receive this will only from God; still it is in him that it ought to exist, and even this commandment addressed to him by God, and which according to Erasmus, establishes the power of man, is so perfectly reconcilable with God's agency, that it is precisely the means by which it operates. It is in saying to man, Be converted! that God converts man.

But the idea to which Luther mainly attached himself in his reply is, that the passages appealed to by Erasmus have for their object to teach men what they ought to do, and the condition of impotency in which they are for accomplishing it, but by no means to inform them of the pretended power which has been attributed to them. "How often," says Luther, "does it not happen that a father calls to him his feeble child and says to him: 'My son! would you come to me? Come, come then!'" that the child may learn to ask for his assistance, and allow his father to carry him."¹

After having combatted the reasons alleged by Erasmus in favour of the freedom of the will, Luther defends his own against the attacks of his adversary, "Dear Diatribe," says he ironically, "most potent heroine, thou that pretendest to subvert that word of the Lord in St. John: '*Without me ye can do nothing,*' which thou regardest, notwithstanding, as the strongest of expressions, and callest Luther Achilles, listen to me for a little. Unless thou canst prove that that word *nothing*, not only may, but also must mean *little*, all thy lofty words, all thy magnificent examples, have no more effect than if a man would oppose an immense conflagration with bits of straw. What matters it to us to make such assertions as these: *This may* mean that *he wished to say*; *we may understand it thus*. . . . Whilst thou oughtest to demonstrate that it *ought* to be understood thus. . . . Failing to do so, we take that declaration in its

¹ L. Opp. xix. p. 55.

natural meaning, and we ridicule all thine examples, thy grand preparations, and thy pompous triumph."¹

Finally, in a last part of his work, Luther demonstrates, and always by Scripture, that it is the grace of God that does all. "In a word," he says at the close, "since Scripture everywhere opposes Christ to whatever has not the Spirit of Christ; since it declares that all that is not Christ and in Christ, is under the power of error, of darkness, of the devil, of death, of sin, and of God's wrath, it follows that all the passages in the Bible that speak of Christ, are against the freedom of the will. But those are countless; the whole sacred writings are full of them."²

It will be perceived that the discussion between Luther and Erasmus, is the same with that which arose, a century later, between the Jansenists and the Jesuits, between Pascal and Molina.³ How happens it that, while the Reformation has had such measureless results, Jansenism, with all the lustre derived from men of the finest genius, grew faint and expired? It is because Jansenism traced itself to St. Augustine and rested its cause on the fathers, while the Reformation went at once to the Bible and rested on the Word of God; because Jansenism made a compromise with the Church of Rome, and wanted to establish a kind of golden mean between truth and error, while the Reformation, reposing on God alone, cleared the ground of the human ideas that had encumbered it for ages, and exposed the primitive rock to view. To stop midway is ever an useless proceeding; we ought in all things to go to our journey's end. Hence while Jansenism has passed away, the destinies of the world belong to evangelical Christianity.⁴

As for the rest, after warmly refuting error, Luther renders

¹ L. Opp. xix. p. 116.

² Ibid. p. 143.

³ It is needless to say that I do not speak of personal disputations between these two men, the one of whom died in 1600, and the other was not born until 1623.

⁴ Not only were the views of the Jansenists, on the subject of grace, drawn rather from St. Augustine than from the Bible, but these views were in themselves defective. Both their and the Protestant views of that subject were of a humbling character; but when we compare the former with Scriptural statements on the one hand, and with the general scope of the theology of the Jansenists on the other, one is disposed to conclude that it was rather in their search after whatever tended to humble human nature than in a spirit of simple submission to the truth of God, that that body stopt short of their "journey's end." Hence, no doubt, those remains of will-worship and asceticism, and that spirit of bondage, which at once darkened and shortened the days of Pascal. Tr.

the most striking homage to Erasmus personally, though there may be a little malice in what he says: "I confess," says he, "that you are a great man: where was there ever seen more learning, more mind, more aptitude for speaking or writing? As for me I have nothing of all that; there is but one thing that I can draw any glory from. . . . I am a Christian. May God raise you infinitely above me in the knowledge of the Gospel, so that you may outstrip me as much in that respect as you have done already in everything else!"¹

Erasmus was almost beside himself upon reading Luther's reply; and would see nothing in its eulogiums but the honey of the poisoned cup, or the embraces of the serpent, at the moment it is inflicting its sting. He immediately wrote to the elector of Saxony, demanding justice at his hands; and Luther having been willing to appease him, he left his usual posture and set himself, says one of his most fervent apologists, to "inveigh with a cracked voice and in gray hairs."²

Erasmus was vanquished. Moderation had until then been his strength, and he had lost it. In encountering Luther's energy he had shown nothing but anger. The wise was found wanting in wisdom. He made a public reply in his *Hyperaspistes*, in which he accused the Reformer of barbarity, lying, and blasphemy. The philosopher even ventured upon prophecies. "I prophesy," says he, "that no name under the sun will be held in greater execration than Luther's." The Jubilee of 1817 has, after the lapse of three hundred years, replied to that prediction, by the enthusiasm and the acclamations of the whole Protestant world.

Thus, while Luther placed himself with the Bible, at the head of the age in which he lived, Erasmus, in opposing him, wished, also, to place himself there, but with philosophy instead of the Bible at his side. Which of the two chiefs has been followed? No doubt both; nevertheless, the influence that Luther has exercised over the nations of Christendom, has been infinitely greater than that of Erasmus. Those even who do not comprehend the matter essentially in dispute, when they see the profound conviction of one of the antagonists, and the doubts of the other,

¹ L. Opp. xix. p. 146, 147.

² M. Nisard. Erasmus, p. 419.

cannot resist the conclusion that the former was in the right, the latter in the wrong. It has been remarked that the last three centuries, the sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the eighteenth, may be viewed as an immense battle fought in three days.¹ We willingly accept this beautiful illustration, but not the part assigned to each of the days. The same things are alleged to have been done in the sixteenth, and in the eighteenth centuries. On the first of the three days, as well as on the last, philosophy is represented as breaking through the ranks. The sixteenth century an age of philosophy! . . . Strange misconception. No; each of the three has its own marked character. On the first, it was the Word of God, the Gospel of Christ, that triumphed, and then it was Rome as well as human philosophy, that was defeated in the persons of Erasmus and others of its representatives. On the second of the days, we admit that Rome, its authority, its discipline, its doctrine, re-appear upon the field, and carry off a triumph for which they are indebted to the intrigues of a celebrated society, and to the influence of the scaffold and the stake, as well as to men of fine character and sublime genius. The third day beholds the rise of human philosophy with all its lofty pretensions, and entering upon the field while occupied by Rome, not by the Gospel, it finds an easy task to accomplish, and soon carries all the defences opposed to it. The first day is God's battle, the second the priests' battle, the third is the battle of reason. What shall we say, will the fourth be? . . . the confused tumult, we conceive, the deadly encounter of all these powers together, to end in the triumph of Him to whom appertaineth the victory.²

X. But the action fought by the Reformation, beneath the standard of God's Word, in the grand field-day of the sixteenth century, was not one and simple; it was manifold. The Reformation had simultaneously to encounter many enemies; and after having protested, first against the decretals and the sove-

¹ Port Royal, by Sainte Beuve, vol. 1. p. 20.

² To this is tending, in our own days, everything in which those different parties, Rationalism and so-called Catholicism, by turns approach, by turns combat each other with fresh animosity, yet both opposing, not the less, the true doctrine of Christ; while that doctrine, notwithstanding, goes on unfolding itself in secret, more and more plainly to its fullest clearness, until it please God, by great and unlooked-for events, yet events which his Word has foretold, and which all things are preparing to secure its complete triumph.—L. R.

reignty of the popes, then against the frigid apophthegms of the rationalists, whether philosophers or schoolmen, it opposed with no less energy the reveries of enthusiasm and the hallucinations of mysticism; confronting these three powers at once with the sword and shield of God's holy revelations.

It must be owned that there is a strong resemblance, a striking unity, among these three mighty opponents. The false systems which, in all ages, have opposed Gospel Christianity, are ever to be distinguished by their making religious knowledge come from within man himself. Rationalism makes it proceed from reason; mysticism from certain internal lights; Roman catholicism from an illumination on the part of the pope. These three erroneous systems look for truth in man; Gospel Christianity looks for it only in God; and while rationalism, mysticism, and Roman catholicism admit a permanent inspiration in the persons of certain men like ourselves, and thus open the way to all kinds of eccentricities and variations, Gospel Christianity recognises such inspiration solely in the writings of the apostles and prophets, and presents one grand beautiful and living unity, running without change through all ages.

It was the work of the Reformation to restore the Word of God to its rights, in the face, not of Roman catholicism only, but also of rationalism, and even of mysticism also.

The fanaticism of the anabaptists, after having been suppressed in Germany by Luther's return to Wittenberg, re-appeared with much force in Switzerland, and threatened to pull down the edifice which had been reared upon the Word of God by Zwingli, Haller, and Œcolampadius. Compelled to quit Saxony in 1521, Thomas Münzer reached the confines of Switzerland. Conrad Grebel, whose restless and ardent temperament we have already had occasion to notice, formed a connection with him, as did, also, Felix Manz, son of a prebendary, and certain other inhabitants of Zurich, upon which Grebel immediately endeavoured to gain Zwingli. In vain had the latter gone farther than Luther; he was doomed to see the rise of a party that wanted to go still farther than him. "Let us form," said Grebel to him, "a community of true believers, for to them alone belongs the promises, and let us establish a church in which there will be no sin." ¹—

¹ Vermeintend ein kilchen ze versammeln die one Sünd wär. (Zw. Opp. ii. p. 231.)

"We cannot," replied Zwingli, "introduce heaven upon earth; and Christ has taught us that we must allow the tares to grow up with the wheat."¹

Grebel having failed in his efforts with the Reformer, would fain have appealed to the people. "The whole community of Zurich," he would say, "ought to have the supreme decision in matters of faith." But Zwingli dreaded the influence that enthusiastic radicals might have over a numerous assembly. He thought that with the exception of extraordinary cases, in which the people might be called to give their adhesion, it was better to entrust religious interests to a college which might be considered as a select representation of the Church. Consequently, the council of two hundred, which exercised the political supremacy, was charged also in Zurich with the ecclesiastical authority, under the express condition of conforming itself in every point with the rule of holy Scripture. No doubt, it would have been much better to have constituted the Church, and called upon it to name its representatives, charging these with the religious interests alone of the people; for the man who is capable of administering the affairs of the state, may be very unfit to administer those of the Church, as the converse is also true. Nevertheless, the inconveniences resulting from the arrangement were not of so serious a kind as they might be at present, since the members of the grand council had at that time frankly coalesced with the religious movement. Be that as it may, while he appealed to the Church, Zwingli avoided putting it too prominently forward, and preferred the representative system to the active sovereignty of the people. This is what the states of Europe, after the lapse of three centuries, have been doing in the political sphere for the last fifty years.

Repulsed by Zwingli, Grebel turned to another quarter. He received a warm reception from Roubli, formerly pastor at Basel, from Brödtlein, pastor at Zollikon, and from Louis Herzer; together these resolved to form an independent community in the midst of the great community—a church in the bosom of the Church. It was by means of a new baptism that they were to form their congregation, which was to be composed exclusively

¹ Zw. Opp. iii. p. 362.

of true believers. "The baptism of infants," said they, "is a horrible abomination, a piece of manifest impiety, invented by the evil spirit, and by Nicolas II., pope of Rome."¹

Alarmed at this, the council of Zurich appointed a public discussion; and as the anabaptists persisted in their errors, some of them who belonged to Zurich were imprisoned; some being foreigners, were banished. But persecution only augmented their fervour: "It is not with words alone," they exclaimed, "it is with our blood that we are ready to render testimony to the truth of our cause." Some of them, girding themselves with cords or willow-withs, ran about the streets, shouting: "Yet some days and Zurich will be destroyed! Woe to thee, Zurich! woe! woe!" Some of them uttered blasphemies: "Baptism," they would say, "is no better than bathing a dog; you may as well baptize a cat as an infant."² Simple and godly people were agitated and terrified. Fourteen men, among whom was Felix Mantz, and seven women, were, notwithstanding Zwingli's intercession, seized and committed to the prison set apart for heretics, there to be fed on bread and water. After remaining in it a fortnight, by raising some planks in the night, and by helping each other, they contrived to escape. "An angel," they said, "had opened the prison to them, and let them out."³

George James, a friar, escaped from his monastery, and who was surnamed Blaurock (Bluecoat), it would seem because he always wore a blue dress, joined them, and on account of his eloquence, was called the *second St. Paul*. This bold monk went about from place to place, constraining people by his imposing fervour, to receive baptism. One Lord's day, at Zollikon, while the deacon was preaching, the impetuous anabaptist interrupting him, shouted with a voice like thunder: "It is written, *My house is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.*" Then, raising a stick which he had in his hands, he struck four violent blows with it.

"I am a door," he exclaimed; "he that entereth in by me

¹ Inpietatem manifestissimam, a cacodæmone, a Nicolao II. esse. (Hottinger, iii. p. 219.)

² Nützete eben so viel als wenn man eine Katze taufet. (Füssl. Beytr. i. p. 243.)

³ Wie die Apostel von dem Engel Gottes gelediget. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 261.)

shall find pasture. I am a good shepherd. My body I give to imprisonment; my life I give to the sword, the fire, or the rack. I am the commencement of the baptism and of the bread of the Lord."¹

While Zwingli, however, was giving the most decided opposition to the torrent of anabaptism in Zurich, St. Gall was not long of being inundated with it. Grebel went there and was received by the brethren with shouts of welcome; and on Palm Sunday, repairing with a great many of his followers to the banks of the Sitter, he baptized them there.

The news of this instantly spread into the adjoining cantons; and thereupon a great concourse of people crowded to "the little Jerusalem," from Appenzell and various other places.

Zwingli was crushed to the heart when he beheld all this commotion. He saw a storm ready to burst over those countries where the seed of the Gospel was but just beginning to pierce the ground.² Resolving to oppose these disorders he drew up a treatise "On Baptism,"³ which the council of St. Gall, to whom it was addressed, directed should be read before all the people.

"Dearest brethren in God," said Zwingli, "the waters of the torrent that bursts from our rocks, hurriedly sweep along with them whatever comes in their way. Those obstacles are at first mere pebbles, but these come to be violently dashed against larger stones, until the torrent gathers so much force as to carry away everything that it meets, leaving nothing but cries of distress, and vain regrets that fertile meadows have been turned into barrenness. Such is the spirit of disputation and self-righteousness: it stirs up strifes, it destroys charity, and where beautiful and flourishing churches existed, it leaves after it nothing but flocks plunged in grief and desolation."

Thus spoke Zwingli, the child of the Tockenburg mountains. "Give us the Word of God," cried an anabaptist who happened to be in church, "and not the words of Zwingli." Forthwith a confused din of voices was heard: "Away with the book!

¹ Ich bin ein Anfänger der Taufe und des Herrn brodes. (Fussl. Beytr. i. p. 264.)

² Mich beduret seer das ungewitter. . . . (Zw. to the council of St. Gall, ii. p. 230.)

³ Vom Touf, vom Widertouf, und vom Kindertouf. (Zw. Opp. ii. p. 230.)

away with the book!" cried the anabaptists. Whereupon they rose and left the church, shouting: "Beware of the doctrine of Zwingli; as for us, we will have the Word of God."¹

Fanaticism then manifested itself in the saddest disorders. Under the pretext that our Lord exhorts us to become like little children, these wretched persons began to leap about the streets clapping their hands, to dance together on their haunches, to squat on the ground, and to tumble one another over on the sand. Some burnt the New Testament, saying: "The letter killeth, the Spirit maketh alive;" and several of them, falling into convulsions, pretended to have revelations from the Spirit.

In a house that stood apart, situate near St. Gall on the Müllegg, lived John Schucker, an octagenarian farmer, with his five sons. All of them, together with their household servants, had received the new baptism; and two of the sons, Thomas and Leonard, made themselves remarked for their fanaticism. On the 7th of February, 1526, being Shrove Tuesday, they invited a great many anabaptists to meet at their house, and the father killed a calf for the feast. What with feasting, wine, and the crowd, the imaginations of the party became heated; they passed the whole night in talking and fanatical gesticulations; in convulsions, visions, and revelations.²

In the morning, while still under the exciting effects of a night of such disorder, and having, it would appear, even quite lost his reason, Thomas took the calf's bladder, filled it with the gall of the animal, wishing to imitate the symbolical language of the prophets, and approaching his brother Leonard, said to him in a sombre tone: "Thus bitter must be the death that awaits thee!" He then added: "Brother Leonard, kneel down!" Leonard fell upon his knees; soon after: "Brother Leonard! rise;" Leonard rose. The father, the brothers, and the other anabaptists, looked on in amazement, each asking what could be God's design in this. Ere long Thomas resumed: "Leonard! kneel again." Leonard did so. The bye-standers now became alarmed at the wretched man's moody expression, and said: "Think well what thou wouldst be about, and take care that no

¹ So wollen wir Gottes Wort haben. (Zw. Opp. ii. p. 237.)

² Mit wunderbaren geperden und gesprächen, verzucken, gesichten und offenbarungen. (Bulling. Chron. i. p. 324.)

mischief happens.”—“Dont be afraid,” answered Thomas, “nothing will happen but the Father’s will.” . . . At the same moment he hastily seized a sword, and striking his brother, as he knelt before him like a criminal before the executioner, he cut off his head and exclaimed: “Now is the will of the Father done!” All the bystanders were horror-struck and fled. The farm resounded with shouts and lamentations. Thomas, whose only clothes were a shirt and trousers, went out of the house with bare head and feet, ran with frantic gesticulations towards St. Gall, entered the house of the burgomaster, Joachim Vadian, and said to him with a haggard look, and in a violent tone: “I come to tell you that the day of the Lord is come!” The frightful news spread through St. Gall. “Like Cain,” it was said, “he has slain his brother Abel!”¹ The felon was apprehended. “It is true, I did it,” he unceasingly repeated, “but God did it by me.” On the 16th of February, the wretched man had his head cut off by the public executioner. Fanaticism had made its last effort. All men’s eyes were opened and, as an old historian remarks, the head of Thomas Schucker, and that of anabaptism in St. Gall, were struck off at the same blow.

Still, however, it bore sway at Zurich. On the 6th of November of the preceding year, a public disputation had been held with the view of giving satisfaction to the anabaptists, who never ceased exclaiming, that the innocent were condemned without being heard. The three following theses were proposed on that occasion by Zwingli and his friends, as the subjects of conference, and triumphantly sustained by them in the council-hall:

“Children born of believing parents are God’s children, as those were who were born under the Old Testament; consequently, they ought to receive baptism.

“Baptism under the New Testament is what circumcision was under the Old; consequently, we ought to administer baptism to infants now, as circumcision was administered to them formerly.

“It cannot be proved that it was ever usual to re-baptize,

¹ Glych wie Kain den Abel sinen bruder ermort hat! (Bullinger, Chron. i. p. 324.)

either by instances of the thing being done, or by passages found in Scripture, or by inferences that can reasonably be deduced therefrom; and they who cause themselves to be re-baptized crucify Jesus Christ."

But the anabaptists did not confine themselves to religious questions; they called for the abolition of tithes, inasmuch, said they, as they are not of divine institution. Zwingli's answer was, that upon tithes depended the keeping up of the churches and the schools. He wanted a complete religious reformation; but he was decidedly of opinion that no disturbance to public order or political institutions, should be permitted. That was the limit where, to his eyes, it was written by the finger of God: "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther."¹ Men had to halt somewhere, and there did Zwingli and the Reformers come to a halt, in spite of the impetuous persons who endeavoured to drag them beyond that point.

Meanwhile, though the Reformers might come to a halt, they could not stop the enthusiasts who seemed to have been placed at their side, to give greater prominence to their wisdom and sobriety. It was not enough for the anabaptists that they had formed a church; that church, in their eyes, was the true state. When summoned to appear before the courts of justice, they stated that they did not acknowledge the civil authority, that it was a mere remnant of paganism, and that the only authority they would obey was that of God. They taught that Christians were not permitted either to exercise public functions, or to carry a sword, and resembling in this respect some religious enthusiasts of our own days, they regarded a community of goods as the perfection of humanity.²

Thus the danger went on increasing. Civil society itself was threatened; whereupon it made an effort to rid itself of these destructive elements. The government, under the impulse of its fears, allowed itself to be hurried into strange measures, and being resolved to make an example, it condemned Mantz to be drowned. On the 5th of January, 1527, he was placed in a boat; his mother, who had been the prebendary's concubine,

¹ Job xxxiii. 11.

² Füssl. Beytr. i. p. 229—258; ii. p. 263.

and his brother, were among the crowd that accompanied him to the water's edge. "Be stedfast to the last!" they shouted to him. Just as the executioner was about to throw Mantz into the lake, his brother burst into tears; but his mother stood looking on at her son's martyrdom, calm and resolute, and with a keen and tearless eye.¹

That same day Blaurock was beaten with cords. While they were taking him out of the town, he shook against it his blue coat and the dust from his feet.² It would appear that this wretched man was burnt alive, two years afterwards, by the Roman Catholics of the Tyrol.

No doubt the anabaptists were possessed with an insurrectionary spirit; no doubt the ecclesiastical laws condemning heretics to capital punishment, were still subsisting; and the Reformation could not reform all that was wrong within the short space of a year or two; further, there can be no doubt, that the Roman catholic would have accused the protestant states of favouring the enthusiastic authors of these disorders, had they not treated them with marked severity; but these considerations, though they explain the rigour of the magistrate, cannot justify it. When the civil constitution is attacked, some measures may be taken against the assailants; but the religious errors impugned by the doctors, ought to find absolute freedom at the hand of the civil courts. Such opinions are not to be flogged out of men; they cannot be drowned by throwing those who profess them into the water; they will rise again from its utmost depths, and fire will but inflame more than ever, the enthusiasm and the thirst for martyrdom that burn within their adherents. Zwingli, whose sentiments we know on these points, took no part in these acts of rigour.^{3 4}

¹ Ohne das er oder die Mutter, sondern nur der Bruder, geweinet. (Hott. Helv. K. Gesch. iii. p. 385.)

² Und schüttlet sinen blauen rock und sine schüh über die Statt Zurich. (Bull. Chr. i. p. 382.)

³ Quod homines seditiosi, reipublicæ turbatores, magistratum hostes, justa senatus sententia, damnati sunt, num id Zwinglio fraudi esse poterit? (Rod. Gualtheri Epist. ad lectorem. Opp. 1544, ii.)

⁴ It is remarkable that the human understanding should so slowly arrive at the true mean. Zwingli was not far removed from it. He owned the influence that Christianity must have upon human society; yet he was afraid to give too much scope to the baptists. These, indeed, went too far, inasmuch as they wished to subvert social order, and allowed themselves to be carried away by

X. Meanwhile baptism was not the only point on which there was to be a disagreement of opinion; still more serious differences were to arise on the subject of the supper.

The human mind, on being loosed from the yoke that had been weighing it down for so many ages, availed itself of the liberty it had thus attained; and if Roman catholicism be apt to run upon the shoals of despotism, protestantism has to dread those of anarchy. It is as characteristic of protestantism to move, as it is of Rome to stand still.

It is true that Roman catholicism, which, in the popedom, possesses the means of perpetually establishing new doctrines, seems at first to embrace a principle eminently favourable to variations. That principle it has in fact largely employed, and, century after century, we see Rome producing, or sanctioning new doctrines. But with its system once complete, Roman catholicism has taken its post as the champion of immobility. Its salvation lies there. It is like one of those easily shaken buildings, which, on a single part being removed, instantly fall to ruins. Restore marriage to the priests of Rome, or attack the doctrine of trans-substantiation, and the whole system is shaken—the entire edifice falls to the ground.

Not thus is it with Gospel Christianity. In its principle it is much less favourable to variations, while it is much more so to movement and to life. In fact, on the one hand, it recognises as the source of truth one Scripture, alone and ever the same, from the commencement of the Church unto the end: how then should it vary as the popedom has done? But, on the other hand, it is every Christian (with it) that ought to go for himself and draw from this source; and hence proceed movement and liberty. Accordingly, the Christianity of the Gospel, while it is in the nineteenth century what it was in the sixteenth, and what it was in the first, is at all times full of spontaneity and activity, and is now filling the world with researches, with labours, with bibles, with missionaries, with light, with salvation, and with life.

mere enthusiasm. We look for the time when all things, even in civil society, shall be regulated according to the law of God, and the lessons of the Gospel. Yet in that case first, according to the word of prophecy, the kingdoms of the earth must become those of God and his Anointed.—L. R.

It is a great error to place in the same line, and almost to confound evangelical Christianity with mysticism and rationalism, and to impute their caprices to it. Movement is in the very nature of Christian protestantism; it has a natural antipathy to immobility and death; but it is the movement of health and life that characterises it, not the aberrations of a man who has lost his senses, or the tossings of the invalid. This character we are about to see displayed in the doctrine of the supper.

This was to be expected. It was a doctrine in regard to which there had been much diversity of sentiment in the early ages of the Church, and this diversity subsisted down to the time that the doctrine of trans-substantiation, and the scholastic theology simultaneously began to reign over the middle ages. But this domination being shaken, the old diversity of sentiment might be expected to re-appear.

Zwingli and Luther, although the character of each had unfolded itself apart, the one in Switzerland, the other in Saxony, could not fail to come into contact at last. They were animated with the same mind, and marked in many respects, by the same character. Both cordially loved truth and detested injustice; both were naturally violent; and that violence was tempered in both by a sincere piety. But there was that in Zwingli's character which might be expected to make him go greater lengths than Luther; he loved liberty, not only as a man, but, also, as a republican, and as a compatriot of Tell. Accustomed to the decision of a free state, he did not allow himself to be checked by considerations before which Luther recoiled. Besides, he had studied scholastic theology less, and hence was less fettered in his modes of procedure. Both ardently attached to their personal convictions, both firm in defending these, and little used to bow to the convictions of another, when they met it was to be like two superb coursers, which, on dashing into the midst of the battle, suddenly come against each other, in the confusion of the fight.

A practical tendency predominated both in Zwingli's own character and in the Reformation of which he was the author; and this tendency led him to aim at those two grand results, simplicity in worship, and sanctification in life. Zwingli's first desire was to make public worship harmonise with the longings

of the soul, when it rejects external pomps and seeks for things invisible. Hence the idea of the corporeal presence of Jesus Christ, the grand source of all the ceremonies and of all the superstitions of the Church, behoved to be abolished. But another of the Swiss Reformer's longings led him to the same results. He considered that the doctrine of Rome upon the supper, and even that of Luther, supposed a certain magical influence, hurtful to sanctification; he dreaded lest the Christian, in fancying that he received the body of Jesus Christ in the consecrated bread, might not with equal zeal endeavour after union with him by a cordial faith. "Faith," he would say, "is not a piece of information, an opinion, a fancy; it is a reality.¹ It involves a real union with things divine." Thus, whatever may have been said by Zwingli's adversaries, it was not a leaning to rationalism, but a profoundly religious view of the subject, that led him to embrace the doctrines by which he was distinguished.

The result of Zwingli's labours coincided with these tendencies. In studying Scripture according to his usual practice, as whole, and not in detached portions only, and in the recourse he had to classical antiquity, for the resolving of difficulties of language, he came to be convinced that the word *is*, employed at the institution of the supper, ought to be taken in the sense of *signifies*, and in 1523, he wrote to a friend, that the bread and the wine are nothing more in the supper than what the water is in baptism. "In vain," he adds, "would we plunge a thousand times in the water a man that does not believe. Faith is the one thing requisite."²

Luther started with principles that bore a considerable resemblance to those of the Zurich doctor. "It is not the sacrament that sanctifies," said he, "it is faith in the sacrament." But the deviations of the anabaptists, who, with their mysticism would spiritualise everything, wrought a great change in his views. When he saw enthusiasts pretending to a particular inspiration, breaking images, rejecting baptism, and denying Christ's presence in the supper, he took alarm; he had a kind

¹ Fidem rem esse, non scientiam, opinionem vel imaginationem. (Comment. de vera relig. Zw. Opp. iii. p. 230.)

² Haud aliter hic panem et vinum esse puto quam aqua est in baptismæ. (Ad Wittembachium Epp. 15 June, 1523.)

of prophetic presentiment of the dangers that threatened the Church, should this tendency to ultra-spiritualism gain the ascendancy, and he threw himself into quite a different course, like the boatman, who, when he sees his skiff heeling over and ready to upset, throws himself to the other side, so as to restore the equilibrium.

From that time forward Luther attached a higher importance to the sacraments. He laid it down that they were not merely signs, by means of which Christians were outwardly recognised as such, as was said by Zwingli, but testimonies of the divine will, calculated to confirm our faith. More than this: Christ, according to him, had wished to communicate to believers a full assurance of their salvation, and that he might seal this promise in the most efficacious manner, he had added his true body in the bread and in the wine. "The same," he would further say, "as iron and fire, which are two distinct substances, confound themselves together in a fierce furnace, so that in each of these two things there are at once iron and fire, and even with the stronger reason, is the glorified body of Christ to be found in all parts of the bread."

Thus might there possibly be at this period on Luther's part, so far a return to the scholastic theology. He had fully divorced himself from it in the doctrine of justification by faith; but in that of the sacrament, he abandoned it in the one article of trans-substantiation only, while he retained the other article of the corporeal presence. He went so far even as to say, that he would rather with the pope, receive nothing but blood, than receive nothing but wine with Zwingli.

Luther's grand principle was not to depart from the Church's doctrine and customs, unless when the words of Scripture made it absolutely necessary. "Where has Christ enjoined the host to be lifted up and exhibited to the people?" had been said by Carlstadt, and Luther had replied: "Where has Christ forbidden it?" Here lie the principles of the two reformations. Ecclesiastical traditions were cherished by the Saxon Reformer; and if he ran counter to them at several points, it was only after terrible conflicts, and because, before all things, it was necessary to obey the Word. But when the letter of the Word of God seemed to harmonize with the tradition and usage of the Church,

to these he attached himself with a firmness that nothing could shake. Now this happened in the question regarding the supper. He did not deny that the Word *is* might bear the meaning pointed out by Zwingli. He acknowledged, for example, that it should so be understood in these words: "*That rock* was Christ;"¹ but he denied that it ought to have that meaning in the institution of the supper.

He found in one of the latest of the schoolmen, and one whom he preferred to all the rest, Occam,² an opinion which he embraced. Like Occam he abandoned the idea of an incessantly repeated miracle, in virtue of which, according to the Romish Church, the body and the blood, after consecration by the priest, every time replace the bread and the wine; and, like that doctor, he substituted for this a universal miracle, wrought once for all, that of the ubiquity or omnipresence of the body of Jesus Christ. "Christ," said he, "is present in the bread and the wine, because he is present everywhere, and especially present where he desires to be so."³

Zwingli had quite a different tendency from that of Luther. He held less by the maintenance of a certain union with the universal church, and the keeping up of a connection with the traditions of past ages. As a theologian, he looked to Scripture alone, and from it desired, freely and immediately, to receive his faith, without disquieting himself about what others had thought before him. As a republican, he looked to the commonwealth of Zurich to which he belonged. It was the idea of the Church then existing, that pre-occupied him; not the idea of the Church of former times. He attached himself chiefly to that word of St. Paul: *For we being many are one bread and one body*, (1 Cor. x. 17.) And in the supper he beheld the sign of spiritual communion between Christ and all Christians. "Whoever," he would say, "conducts himself unworthily, makes himself guilty towards the body of Christ, whereof he is a part." This reflection had a powerful practical influence on men's minds; and the effects which it wrought in the lives of many, made Zwingli cling to it more firmly than ever.

¹ 1 Corinth. x. 4.

² *Diu multumque legit scripta Occam, cujus acumen anteferebat Thomæ et Scoti.* (Melanct. Vita Luth.)

³ Occam und Luther, *Studien und Kritiken* 1839, p. 69.

Thus did Luther and Zwingli insensibly recede from each other. Peace, however, might possibly have subsisted longer between them, had not the turbulent Carlstadt, who went from Germany into Switzerland, and from Switzerland into Germany, come and inflamed these contrary opinions.

A measure undertaken for the sake of peace, enkindled war. In their anxiety to prevent all disputes, the council at Zurich prohibited the sale of Carlstadt's writings, but Zwingli, who disapproved of Carlstadt's violence, and blamed his mystical and obscure modes of expression,¹ thought it was his duty thereupon to defend his doctrine both in the pulpit and before the council, and soon after he wrote a letter to the pastor Albert von Reutlingen, in which he said: "Whether it is of the sacrament, or not, that Christ speaks in the sixth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, it is at all events evident that he there teaches a way of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, in which there is nothing corporeal." He next endeavoured to prove that the supper, as a memorial to believers, according to Christ's intention, of his body broken for us, procured for them that spiritual manducation which alone is truly salutary.²

Meanwhile Zwingli was still anxious to avoid breaking with Luther; he trembled at the thought that grievous disputes might rend asunder the new society, then in course of being formed in the midst of declining Christendom. But Luther felt no such hesitation. He scrupled not to rank Zwingli with the enthusiasts whom he had already so often encountered. He took no time to reflect that if the images had been removed at Zurich, it was done legally and by orders from the public authority. Accustomed to the forms of the German principalities, he had no very clear comprehension of the procedure of the Swiss republics; and he gave his verdict against the grave Helvetic divines, as he had done against men like Münzer and Carlstadt.

Luther having given to the world his treatise *Against the Celestial Prophets*, Zwingli hesitated no longer, and almost at the same time published his *Letter to Albert*, and his *Commentary on*

¹ Quod morosior est (Carlstadius) in cœremoniis non ferendis, non admodum probo. (Zw. Epp. p. 369.)

² A manducatione cibi, qui ventrem implet, transit ad verbi manducationem, quam cibum vocat cœlestem, qui mundum vivificet. (Zw. Opp. iii. p. 573.)

True and False Religion, dedicated to Francis I. He there said: "Since Christ, in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, ascribes to faith the power of communicating everlasting life, and of uniting the faithful to him in the closest manner, what need have we of anything else? Why should he have afterwards attributed this virtue to his flesh, while he himself declares that his flesh profiteth nothing? The flesh of Christ, in so far as it was put to death for us, is of immense utility to us, for it saves us from perdition; but in so far as it is eaten by us, it is of no use to us at all."¹

The struggle now began. Luther's friend, Pomeranus, threw himself into the conflict, and attacked the Zurich evangelist somewhat too disdainfully. Œcolampadius thereupon began to blush at having so long combatted his doubts, and at having preached doctrines which he had already begun to suspect; he therefore took courage and wrote from Basel to Zwingli: "That dogma of the real presence is the fortress and safeguard of their impiety. As long as they shall keep to that idol, none shall be able to vanquish them." He, too, then entered the lists, by publishing a work on the meaning of our Lord's words: *This is my body*.²

The simple fact that Œcolampadius had joined the Zurich Reformer, caused an immense sensation, not only at Basel but in all Germany. Luther was profoundly affected at it. Brenz, Schnepff, and twelve other pastors in Suabia, to whom Œcolampadius had dedicated his book, and who had almost all been his disciples, were greatly distressed at it. "At this very moment when I am, for a good reason, separating from him," said Brenz as he took his pen to reply to him, "I honour and

¹ From these words it would appear that Zwingli's views in regard to this article, were not quite complete, inasmuch as he appears to disown all special eating of the flesh of Jesus, not only corporeal but also spiritual, or rather to limit all to an embracing by faith of the death of Christ. However, there are other passages in his writings, in which he supposes a union by faith with the person of Christ, as forming the ground-work of participation in his life and death, and which Jesus understands by the spiritual eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood. In this respect, therefore, the difference is rather in words than in reality, although he had not quite a clear view of the matter. Calvin has more fully explained the whole subject. That corporeal eating and drinking, upon which the controversy with Luther properly turned, was rightly rejected by Zwingli and Calvin both.—L. R.

² He left to the word *is* its ordinary meaning, but understood by *body*, a sign of the body.

admire him as much as it is possible for me to do. The bond of love that unites us, remains unbroken, although we are no longer of one mind." He then, along with his friends, published the famous *Syngramma of Suabia*, in which he answered Œcolampadius firmly, yet in a charitable and respectful spirit "If an emperor," said the authors of the *Syngramma*, "give the rod of office to a judge, saying: 'Take this, it is the power of administering justice:' the rod, no doubt, is a mere sign, but in consequence of the words accompanying it, the judge has not only the sign of judicial authority; he has, also, that authority itself." The true Reformed can admit this illustration. The *Syngramma* was welcomed with acclamation; its authors were regarded as the champions of truth; many divines, and even some laymen, desiring to share their glory, began to defend the doctrine that had been attacked, and warmly assailed Œcolampadius.

Strasburg then presented itself as mediator between Switzerland and Germany. Capito and Bucer were friends to peace, and the question thus agitated was, according to them, one of secondary importance; they therefore threw themselves betwixt the contending parties, sent Luther one of their colleagues, George Cassel, and conjured him to beware of breaking the bond of brotherhood that united him with the Swiss doctors.

On no occasion have we a more striking display of Luther's character than in this controversy about the supper. Never was there seen so clearly the firmness with which he held by a conviction which he believed to be Christian, or his faithfulness in looking for grounds whereon to rest it no where but in holy Scripture, or his sagacity in defending himself, or his animated, eloquent, and often overwhelming argumentation. But never, likewise, was there such a display of the obstinacy with which he persisted in his own opinions, of the little attention he paid to the arguments of his opponents, and his far from charitable readiness to ascribe their errors to perversity of heart, and to the artifices of the devil: "Either the one or the other," said he to the Strasburg mediator, "either the Swiss or we, must be the ministers of Satan."

Here were what Capito called "the furies of the Saxon Orestes;" and these furies were followed by fainting fits. Luther's

health was affected; he swooned away one day in the arms of his wife and friends, and for a whole week was as if "tossed in death and in hell."¹ "He had," to use his own words, "lost Jesus Christ, and was driven hither and thither by the tempests of despair. . . . The world was giving way, and announced by prodigies that the last day was at hand."

But still more lamentable consequences were to flow from these divisions among the friends of the Reformation. It was matter of triumph to the Romish divines, particularly in Switzerland, that they could thus oppose Luther to Zwingli. Meanwhile, if, now that three centuries have passed away, the remembrance of those divisions, is presenting evangelical Christians with the precious fruits of unity in diversity, and charity in liberty, they shall not have been without their use. Even at that time the Reformers, in setting themselves in opposition to one another, showed that they were not influenced by a blind hatred to Rome, and that truth was the grand object of their investigations. In this, it must be owned, there is something generous; and conduct so disinterested failed not to bear fruits, and to extort feelings of interest and esteem from their very enemies.

More than this, and here, too, we may perceive that the supreme hand which guides all things, permits nothing without a purpose replete with wisdom. Luther, notwithstanding his opposition to the popedom, was eminently and instinctively of a conservative character; Zwingli, on the contrary, was naturally favourable to a radical reformation, and both these opposite tendencies were needed at the time. Had Luther and they who sided with him, stood alone in the day of the Reformation, the work would have stopped too soon; the reforming principle would not have accomplished its task. If, on the contrary, there had been none but Zwingli, the thread would have been snapped too abruptly, and the Reformation would have been found isolated from the ages that preceded it.

These two tendencies which, to a superficial eye, seem to exist only for the purpose of combatting each other, were to be employed, on the contrary, mutually to supplement each other;

¹ In morte et in inferno jactatus. (L. Epp. iii. p. 132.)

and at the close of three centuries, we may say that they have fully served the purpose for which they were intended.¹

XII. Thus had the Reformation struggles to sustain on all sides; and after having combatted the rationalist philosophy of Erasmus, and the fanatical enthusiasm of the anabaptists, it had, in addition to all this, a quarrel with itself; still, however, its grand struggle continued to be with the popedom; and it now followed up, even into the remotest mountains, the attack which had commenced in the plains.

The mountains of the Tockenburg had heard the sound of the Gospel on their heights, and three ecclesiastics there were prosecuted by the bishop's orders, as inclining to heresy. "Let people convince us with the Word of God in their hand," said Miletus, Döring and Farer, "and we will submit, not only to the chapter, but even to the least of the brethren of Jesus Christ; otherwise we will not obey any man, not even the mightiest among men."²

Here, indeed, was the spirit of Zwingli and the Reformation. Erelong a new circumstance enkindled men's minds in those high-lying valleys. An assembly of the people being held there on St. Catherine's day, the citizens had met, and two men belonging to Schwytz, whom some affairs of business had brought to the Tockenburg, were seated at one of the tables; conversation began: "Ulrich Zwingli," shouted one of them, "is a heretic and a thief!" The secretary of state, Steiger, undertook the defence of the Reformer; the noise caused by this discussion attracted the attention of the whole meeting; George Bruggman, Zwingli's uncle, who happened to be at a table that stood near, darted from his place in great wrath, exclaiming: "Surely it is master Ulrich that they are speaking about!" and upon that the whole party rose and followed him, dreading a battle.³

¹ At least so far as it has hitherto been capable of being accomplished. Nor are we far from the time when we shall obtain the final result. The Reformation must be yet more complete and fundamental, before all things in church and state be fully regulated according to God's Word. The struggle has already commenced, although the so-called radicals of our time miss the true standard, and follow only the foolish ideas of a darkened understanding, even with contempt of God's Word; and therefore does the so-called conservative, or preserving (*behoudende*) party present a salutary opposition to them. Yet of this continued hostility and strife shall true order be one day the result.—L. R.

² Ne potentissimo quidem, sed soli Deo, ejusque Verbo. (Zw. Epp. p. 370.)

³ Totumque convivium sequi, grandem conflictum timentes. (Ibid. p. 371.)

As the tumult was increasing, the baillie hastily convened the council on the open street, and Bruggman was besought, for the sake of peace, to be content with saying to the two men: "If you refuse to retract, it is you that are guilty of lying and of theft." "Bear in mind what you have said," replied the men from Schwytz; "we will remember it too," whereupon they mounted their horses, and with the utmost speed pursued their journey homewards.¹

Upon this the government of Schwytz sent to the inhabitants of the Tockenbourg a threatening letter, which spread universal alarm. "Be resolute and fearless,"² wrote Zwingli to the council of his native district. "Don't be disquieted at the lies that are propagated against me! There is not a common brawler that cannot call me heretic; but do you refrain from violent language, from disorderly conduct, from debauch, and from mercenary wars; succour the poor, protect the oppressed, and with whatever insults others may overwhelm you, let your hope most firmly repose in God Almighty."³

Zwingli's encouragements had the desired effect. The council still hesitated; but the people having met by the parishes, unanimously ordained that the mass should be abolished, and that they would abide in the Word of God.⁴

Nor less considerable were the conquests made in Rhætia, where, though Salandronius had been obliged to go away, Commander boldly proclaimed the Gospel. The anabaptists, it is true, by preaching their fanatical doctrines in the Grisons, had, in the first instance, greatly injured the Reformation. The people were found divided into three parties, one consisting of such as had thrown themselves into the arms of those new prophets; another was composed of amazed and confounded persons who regarded that schism with disquietude; finally, there were the partisans of Rome who gave loud expression to their triumph.⁵

¹ Auf solches, ritten sie wieder heim. (Zw. Epp. p. 374.)

² Macte animo este et interriti. (Ibid. p. 351.)

³ Verbis diris abstinete . . . opem ferte egenis . . . spem certissimam in Deo reponatis omnipotente. (Ibid.) One of the dates of the letters 14 and 23 of 1524, must be erroneous, or a letter from Zwingli to his compatriots of the Tockenbourg must be lost.

⁴ Parochiæ uno consensu statuerunt in Verbo Dei manere. (Ibid. p. 423.)

⁵ Pars tertia papistarum est in immensum glorientium de schismate inter nos facto. (Ibid. p. 400.)

A meeting having been convened at Ilantz, in the league of the Grisons, the abettors of the popedom on the one hand, and the friends of the Reformation on the other, mustered their forces. The bishop's vicar first looked about for some method by which the debate might be avoided. "These disputations involve much expense," said he, "to cover which, I am ready to lay down ten thousand florins; but I must see an equal amount deposited by the opposite party." "If the bishop have ten thousand florins at his command," cried some one from the crowd in the rough voice of a peasant, "it is from us that he must have extorted them; and truly it were too much for us a second time to give as much to these poor priests." "We are poor people with empty purses," said Comander, the pastor of Coire; "we have hardly wherewithal to pay for our broth: where should we find ten thousand florins?"¹ There was a general laugh at this expedient of the vicar's, and the business went on.

Among those present were Sebastian Hofmeister and James Amman of Zurich; these held in their hands the holy Scriptures in Hebrew and in Greek. The bishop's vicar called for the exclusion of strangers. Hofmeister, seeing that this was aimed at him, said: "We have come with a Bible in Greek and Hebrew, in order that no violence be done in any wise to Scripture. Notwithstanding, rather than be a hindrance to the colloquy, we are ready to retire." "Ah!" cried the parish priest of Dintzen, casting his eyes on the books of the two Zurichers, "had the Greek and Hebrew tongues never entered our territories, there would be fewer heresies there!"² "Saint Jerome," said another, "has translated the bible; we don't need the books of the Jews!" "If the Zurichers are excluded," said the banneret of Ilantz, "the commune will interfere." "Well then," said they, "let them listen, but let them hold their peace!"³ Thus the Zurichers kept their place, and so did the bible too.

Comander then rose and read aloud the first of his published theses: "The Christian Church," it was there said, "is born of

¹ Sie wären gute arme Gesellen mit lehren Secklen. (Füss. Betr. i. p. 358.)

² Wahre die Griechische und Hebraische Sprache nicht in das Land gekommen. (Ibid., p. 360.)

³ Satzte den Füss wie ein müder Ochs. (Ibid. p. 362.)

the Word of God; by that Word it ought to abide, and ought to listen to no other voice." He next proved all that he had advanced, by numerous passages from the Scriptures. "He went on with a confident step," says an eye-witness, "and planted his foot each time, with the steady tread of an ox." "This is lasting too long," said the vicar. "When he is at the table with his friends, listening to flute players," said Hofmeister, "he never complains that it is too long."⁴

There was then seen to rise and step forward from amid the crowd, a man who swung his arms about, winked and knit his brows, looking as if he had lost his wits. He sprang to Comander, and many thought that he was going to strike him. It was a schoolmaster from Coire. "I have put down for you some questions in writing," said he to Comander; "answer them immediately." "I stand here," said the Grison reformer, "to defend my doctrines; attack them, and I will defend them; if not, return to thy place; I will answer thee when I am done." The schoolmaster stood for a moment in suspense: "Agreed," said he, and returned to his place.

It was suggested that they should proceed to the doctrine of the sacraments. The abbot of St. Luke declared it was not without apprehension that he approached that subject, and the vicar was so frightened that he crossed himself.

The Coire schoolmaster who had once before wanted to attack Comander, set himself to maintain, with much volubility, the doctrine of the sacrament, according to that expression: "This is my body." "Dear Berre," said Comander to him, "how do you understand these words? John is Elias?" "I understand," replied Berre, who saw what Comander would be at, "that he was Elias truly and essentially." "And why then," continued Comander, "did John the Baptist himself say to the Pharisees, that he was not Elias?" The schoolmaster upon this made a pause, and at last rejoined with the admission: "True, it is so!" upon which everybody laughed, including even those who had prompted him to speak.

The abbot of St. Luke discoursed at great length on the supper, and the conference was then brought to a close. Seven

¹ Den Pfeiffern zuzuhören, die...wie den Fürsten hofierten. (Füss. Betr.i.p.362.)

² Blintzete met den Augen, rumfete die Stirne. (Ibid. p. 368.)

priests adopted the evangelical doctrines; full religious liberty was proclaimed, and the Romish worship was abolished in several of the Churches. "Christ," to use the words of Salandronius, "grew up everywhere in those mountains like the tender grass in spring; and the pastors, in life, morals, and doctrine, were like living springs, watering those high-lying valleys."¹

Still more rapid was the progress of the Reformation at Zurich. The Dominicans, Augustinians, and Capuchins, long as they had been enemies, were reduced to the necessity of living all together; which, for those poor monks, was like anticipating hell itself. In the place of corrupted institutions, there arose schools, an hospital, and a theological seminary; learning and charity, in short, everywhere superseded sloth and selfishness.

XIII. Such victories on the part of the Reformation, could not remain unnoticed. Monks, priests, and prelates, beside themselves with vexation, everywhere felt the ground slipping from under them, and saw the Church ready to give way under the pressure of dangers never heard of till then. The oligarchs of the cantons, the men of pensions and foreign capitulations, perceived that if they would save their privileges, no time was to be lost; and just as the Church tottered and began to sink, they held out to her their iron-cased arms. A von Stein and a John Hug of Lucerne united with a John Faber; and the civil authority, in its turn, hastened to the assistance of that hierarchical power which speaks great things and makes war with the saints.²

Public opinion had long been calling for a disputation, nor did there remain any other resource for calming the people's minds.³ "Convince us by holy Scripture," had been said by the Zurich councils to the diet, "and we will then yield to your solicitations." "The people of Zurich," it was everywhere said, "have given you their promise, if you can convince them by the bible; why then, not do so? And if you cannot, why then do you not act in conformity with the bible?"

¹ Vita, moribus et doctrina herbescenti Christo apud Rhætos fons irrigans. (Zw. Epp. p. 485.)

This beautiful idea is here expressed in Latin with an exquisite conciseness, which it were vain to attempt to imitate in French or English.—Tr.

² Revelation of St. John, chap. xiii.

³ Das der gemein man, one eine offne disputation, nitt zü stillen was. (Bullinger, Chron. i. p. 331.)

The colloquies held at Zurich, had exercised an immense influence; to oppose which, it was thought indispensable that a conference should be held in a Romish town; every precaution, of course, being first taken to secure the victory beforehand to the party of the pope.

It is true that those disputations had been declared unlawful; but means were found for getting rid of this obstacle: "Our only object," it was said, "is to check and to condemn the doctrines taught by Zwingli."¹ This being agreed upon, a powerful wrestler was looked out for, and Dr. Eck offered himself. He had no fears. "Zwingli, no doubt, has milked more cows than he has read books" . . . said he, according to Hofmeister.²

The grand council of Zurich sent a safe-conduct to Dr. Eck, in order that he might come to Zurich itself; but Eck sent back word that he would wait for a reply from the confederation. Zwingli then offered to dispute at St. Gall or Schaffhausen; but, proceeding upon an article in the federal compact, bearing "that every accused person shall be judged at the place where he resides," the council ordained Zwingli to withdraw his offer.

The diet at length passed an order that a conference should be held at Baden, and fixed it for the 16th of May, 1526. This conference could not fail to have important consequences; it was the result and the seal of the league just concluded between the ecclesiastical authority and the oligarchs of the confederation. "See," said Zwingli to Vadian, "what the oligarchs and Faber now venture upon."³

Nor could this very decision on the part of the diet, fail to make a deep impression in Switzerland. Not a doubt was entertained that a conference, held under such auspices, would be unfavourable to the Reformation. "Don't the five cantons most devoted to the pope," it was said at Zurich, "exercise an overwhelming influence at Baden? Have they not already declared the doctrines of Zwingli to be heretical, and attacked them with fire and sword? Has not Zwingli's effigy been burnt at Lucerne, after being subjected to every kind of insult? Have

¹ Diet of Lucerne, of 13th March, 1526.

² Er habe wohl mehr Kühe gemolken als Bücher gelesen. (Zw. Opp. ii. p. 405.)

³ Vide nunc quid audeant oligarchi atque Faber. (Zw. Epp. p. 484.)

not his printed works been committed to the flames at Friburg? Is not his death everywhere wished for? Has it not been declared by those cantons whose influence predominates in Baden, that wherever Zwingli shall venture to show his face within their territories, they will make him their prisoner?¹ Has not Uberlinger, one of their leading men, said, that the one thing that he chiefly desired was to hang Zwingli, even were it under the condition of his being made a hangman to his dying day.² And has not Dr. Eck himself been continually exclaiming for years past, that fire and sword are the only fit weapons to be used against heretics? What, then, will this disputation be, and how can it end but in the death of the Reformer?"

Such were the apprehensions of the commission appointed at Zurich to examine this affair. Zwingli, perceiving their perplexity, rose and spoke as follows: "You know what happened at Baden to the brave men of Stammheim, and how the blood of the Wirths was shed upon the scaffold there . . . and now it is to the very place where they were executed, that we are asked to go. . . . Let there be selected as the place for the conference, Zurich, Berne, St. Gall, or even Basel, Constance, or Schaffhausen; let it be agreed that none but essential points shall be discussed, making use of the Word of God only; let no judge be set above it; and then I am ready to present myself."³

Meanwhile fanaticism was already abroad and striking down its victims. A consistory, headed by the same Faber who challenged Zwingli, condemned to the flames, as a heretic, on the 10th of May, 1526, that is, about eight days before the disputation at Baden, an evangelical minister called John Hügler, pastor of Lindau,⁴ who walked to the place of execution, singing the *Te Deum*. At the same time, Peter Spengler, another minister, was drowned at Friburg, by order of the bishop of Constance.

¹ Zwingli in ihrem Gebiet, wo er betreten werde, gefangen zu nehmen. (Zw. Opp. ii. p. 422.)

² Da wollte er gern all sein Lebtage ein Henker genannt werden. (Ibid. p. 454.)

³ Wellend wir ganz geneigt syn ze erschynen. (Ibid.)

⁴ Hunc hominem hæreticum damnamus, projecimus et conculcamus. (Hotting. Helv. K. Gesch. iii. p. 300.)

Zwingli had unfavourable advices sent him from all quarters. His brother-in-law, Leonard Tremp, wrote to him from Berne : "I conjure you by your life not to go to Baden. I know that they will not observe the safe-conduct."¹ He was assured that there was a project on foot to carry him off, put a gag into his mouth, throw him into a boat, and convey him to some secret place.² These threatening intimations induced the council at Zurich to resolve that Zwingli should not go to Baden.³

The day for the disputation being fixed for the 19th of May, the combatants and the representatives of the cantons and the bishops, were seen to drop in successively. On the side of the Roman catholics, the chief personage was the warlike and vain-glorious Dr. Eck; on that of the protestants, the meek and modest Œcolampadius. The latter fully comprehended the perils attending such a discussion. "Like a timid deer," says an historian, "harrassed by furious hounds, he had long hesitated, but decided at last upon going to Baden; not however until he had made this solemn protestation before hand: 'I recognise the Word of God as my only rule of judgment.'" He had expressed a warm desire at first, that Zwingli should come and take part in his perils;⁴ but soon saw no room to doubt, that had the dauntless doctor appeared in that fanatical town, the Roman catholics would have taken fire at the sight, and put them both to death.

The business began with settling the rules to be observed in the discussion. Dr. Eck proposed that the Waldstetten deputies should be appointed to pronounce the final verdict; which was just to decide beforehand that the Reformation should be condemned. Thomas Plater, who had come from Zurich to Baden, to be present at the colloquy, was dispatched to Zwingli by Œcolampadius, for his advice. Having arrived in the course of the night, he experienced much difficulty in finding admission at the Reformer's house: "Unhappy disturber," said Zwingli as he rubbed his eyes; "here have six weeks past, thanks to this

¹ Caveatis per caput vestrum...(Zw. Epp. p. 483.)

² Navigio captum, ore mox obturato, clam fuisse deportandum. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.)

³ Zwinglium Senatus Tigurinus Badenam dimittere recusavit. (Ibid.)

⁴ Si periclitaberis, periclitabimur omnes tecum. (Zw. Epp. p. 312.)

disputation, without my having gone to bed.¹ What message do you bring?" Plater explained the pretensions of Dr. Eck. "And who," rejoined Zwingli, "could put these rustics into a condition to comprehend such things? They would, no doubt, understand the milking of cows much better."²

The conference was opened on the 21st of May. Eck and Faber, accompanied by the prelates, magistrates, and doctors, arrayed in silk and damask, and adorned with rings, chains, and crosses,³ repaired to the Church. Eck haughtily went up to a magnificently ornamented pulpit, while the humble *Æcolampadius*, in a mean dress, had to confront his towering opponent, on a rudely worked tressle. "During the whole conference," says the chronicler Bullinger, "Eck and his people were lodged in the parsonage at Baden, living there in a jovial manner, leading a gay and scandalous life, and drinking much wine, which was furnished them by the Abbot of Wettingen.⁴ Eck bathes at Baden (the Baths) it was said, but . . . in wine." The Gospellers, on the contrary, had a mean appearance and were ridiculed, as if no better than a band of beggars. Their manner of life strongly contrasted with that of the champions of the popedom. The landlord of the Pike inn, where *Æcolampadius* lodged, wishing to know how the latter occupied himself in his room, reported that each time he had looked in, he saw him either reading or praying. "It must be owned," said he, "that he is a very godly heretic."

The disputation lasted eighteen days, and during the whole of that time the Baden clergy had a daily procession, with the chanting of litanies, for the purpose of securing the victory. Eck was the only one that spoke for the Romish doctrines. It was the champion of the Leipsick disputation over again, with his German voice, large shoulders, and strong withers, an excellent public crier, and in his outward man, more of the butcher than the divine. He disputed, as usual, with much violence, endeavouring to wound his opponent by pungent expressions, and even

¹ Ich bin in 6 Wochen nie in das Beth kommen. (Plater's Leben. p. 263.)

² Sie verstünden sich bas auf Kuhmalken. (Zw. Epp. p. 312.)

³ Mit Syden, Damast und Sammet bekleydet. (Bull. Chron. i. p. 351.)

⁴ Verbruchten vil wyn. (Ibid. p. 351.)

allowing an oath to escape from him at times.¹ But the president never called him to order.

Eck stamps, and thumps, and storms, and swears,
And what the pope and cardinals
Pronounce as doctrine to their thralls,
His creed he evermore declares.²

Æcolampadius, on the contrary, with his placid countenance, and noble and patriarchal expression, spoke so calmly, but, at the same time, with so much courage and ability, that his very opponents, affected and interested, remarked to one another: "Oh! that the long sallow man were but on our side!"³ . . . At times, however, he was somewhat discomposed when he saw the hatred and the violence of the auditors: "Oh!" he would say, "with what impatience do they listen to me; but God does not abandon his own glory, and we seek that alone."⁴

After Æcolampadius had impugned Dr. Eck's first thesis, which turned upon the real presence, Haller, who arrived at Baden after the disputation had commenced, entered the lists against the second. Little accustomed to such conferences, naturally timid, fettered by orders from his government, and embarrassed by the looks of his avoyer, Gaspard von Mullinen, a great enemy of the Reformation, Haller, with none of the towering confidence of his antagonist, had more true force. When Haller was done, Æcolampadius re-entered the lists, and pressed Dr. Eck so closely that he was reduced to the necessity of appealing to the mere usage of the Church. "Usage," replied Æcolampadius, "depends entirely for its force in our Switzerland, on its consistency with the constitution; now, in matters of faith, the Bible is the constitution."

The third thesis, on the invocation of saints; the fourth, on images; and the fifth, on purgatory, were successively debated. Nobody rose to contest the truth of the two last, which turned on original sin and baptism.

¹ So entwuscht imm ettwan ein Schwür. (Bull. Chr. i. p. 351.)

² Egg zablet mit fussen und henden
Fingan schelken und schenden, etc.

(Contemporaneous poems by Nicolas Manuel, of Berne.)

³ O were der lange gel man uff unser syten. (Bull. Chr. i. p. 353.)

⁴ Domino suam gloriam, quam salvam cupimus ne utiquam deserturo. (Zw. Epp. p. 511.)

Zwingli took an active part in the whole of the disputation. The Roman catholic party, which had appointed four secretaries, had upon pain of death prohibited all other persons from writing a word.¹ But a student from the Valais, Jerome Walsch, who had an uncommonly strong memory, carefully treasured up all that he heard, then went home, and lost no time in writing it down. Thomas Plater, and Zimmermann of Winterthour, daily conveyed these notes, and the letters of *Æcolampadius*, to Zwingli, and returned with answers from the Reformer. All the gates of Baden were guarded with soldiers armed with halberds, and the two couriers escaped only by meeting the inquiries of the soldiers with various excuses, as they could not imagine how these two youths should be incessantly repeating their visits to the town.² Thus was Zwingli present in spirit at Baden, although absent in body.

He counselled and confirmed his friends, and he refuted his enemies. "Zwingli," says Oswald Myconius, "toiled more in his meditations, his watchings, and his advices sent to Baden, than he would have done had he himself disputed in the midst of his enemies."³

During the whole time of the colloquy, the Roman catholics bestirred themselves, wrote to all quarters, and raised their songs of victory. "*Æcolampadius*," they exclaimed, "overcome by Dr. Eck, and made to measure his length on the lists, has sung his palinode;⁴ the kingdom of the pope is to be re-established everywhere."⁵ These exclamations were re-echoed through all the cantons, and the people, ready to believe whatever they hear, gave credit to these idle vaunts of the partisans of Rome.

The disputation being concluded, the monk Murner of Lucerne, who was nick-named "the tom-cat," stepped forward and read

¹ Man sollte einem ohne aller weiter Urtheilen, den Kopf abhauen. (Mom. Plateri Lebens Beschreib. p. 262.)

² When I was asked: "What business brings you here?" I replied, "I bring chickens to sell for the gentlemen at the baths;" for they gave me chickens at Zurich, and the sentinels could not comprehend how I never failed in getting new ones and so quickly. (Life of Plater, written by himself, p. 262.)

³ Quam laborasset disputando vel inter medios hostes. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.) See the various writings of Zwingli, relating to the Baden disputation, Opp. ii. p. 398—520.

⁴ *Æcolampadius victus jacet in arena prostratus ab Eccio, herbam porrexit.* (Zw. Epp. p. 514.)

⁵ Spem concipiunt lætam fore ut regnum ipsorum restitatur. (Ibid. p. 513.)

out forty charges against Zwingli. "I thought," said he, "that the coward would have come to reply; he has not appeared. Well then, by all the laws that regulate things human and divine, I declare forty times over that the Zurich tyrant, and all his partisans, are faithless persons, liars, perjured, adulterers, infidels, robbers, sacrilegious, real gallows-birds, and that every honest man ought to blush at the thought of having any thing to do with them." Such were the revilings which, even at this early period, certain doctors whom the Roman catholic church itself ought to disown, decorated with the title of "Christian polemics."

Great was the agitation that followed at Baden; it was the general opinion there that the Romish champions had spoken loudest, but had not reasoned best.¹ Œcolampadius, and ten of his friends, alone signed the rejection of Dr. Eck's thesis; whereas they were adopted by eighty persons, and among these the presidents at the disputation, and all the monks of Wittlingen. Haller had left Baden before the close of the colloquy.

It was formally resolved then by a majority of the diet, that Zwingli, the leader of this pernicious party, having refused to appear, and the ministers who had come to Baden, not having been willing to allow themselves to be convinced, both the one and the other were excluded from the universal Church.²

XIV. But this famous conference, after having originated in the zeal of the oligarchs and the clergy, was destined to be disastrous to both. Those who had contended at it in behalf of the Gospel, on returning to their homes, naturally inspired their fellow-citizens with enthusiasm for the cause which they had been defending; and two of the most important cantons of the Helvetic league from that time commenced a movement that was to detach them from the popedom.

Œcolampadius, being a foreigner in Switzerland, might expect to be the first object of attack, and it was not without apprehension that he returned to Basel. But his feelings of uneasiness were soon dissipated. Impartial witnesses had been more impressed by his mild eloquence than by the clamours of

¹ Die Evangelische weren wol *überschryen*, nicht aber *überdisputiert* worden (Hotting. Helv. K. Gesch. iii. p. 320.)

² Von gemeiner Kylchen ussgestossen. (Bull. Chr. p. 355.)

Dr. Eck, and he was greeted with the acclamations of all godly men. The adversaries of the cause, it is true, did their utmost to have all the pulpits closed against him, but in vain; he taught and preached more powerfully than ever, and never did the people show such a thirst for the Word.¹

Much the same was the state of things at Berne. The Baden conference which was to have utterly suppressed the Reformation, infused new life into it in that canton—the most powerful of the whole Swiss league. Hardly had Haller arrived in the capital when the little council summoned him to appear before it, and ordained him to celebrate mass, whereupon Haller craved leave to appeal to the great council, and the people, thinking themselves bound to defend their pastor, assembled in haste. Haller, in alarm, declared that he would rather leave the town than be the occasion of any disturbance there. This calmed the tumult. “If I am to be compelled to celebrate this ceremony,” said the Reformer, “I resign my office; I have the honour due to God and the truth of his holy Word more at heart, than any anxiety I may come to have as to what I shall eat or where-withal I shall be clothed.” Haller pronounced these words in a feeling manner; they affected the members of the council; some of the adversaries even were melted into tears.² Moderation was found for once to be more forcible than force itself. That Rome might be so far humoured, Haller was deprived of his functions as prebendary; but he was regularly appointed preacher. His most violent enemies, Louis and Anthony von Diesbach, and Anthony von Erlach, were so indignant at this, as immediately to leave both the council and the town, and to renounce their civic privileges. “Berne fell,” said Haller, “but only to rise again with more energy than ever.” This firmness on the part of the Bernese made a great impression in Switzerland.³

But the consequences of the Baden conference were not confined to Basel and Berne; for at the very time that such was the course of events in those two powerful cities, a movement

¹ Plebe Verbi Domini admodum sitiente. (Zw. Epp. p. 518.)

² Tillier, *Gesch. v. Bern*, iii. p. 242.

³ Profuit hic nobis Bernates tam dextre in servando Berchtoldo suo egisse. (Æcol. ad Zw. p. 518.)

more or less of a like kind, took place in several states of the confederation. Thus the preachers from St. Gall on their return thither, resumed the preaching of the Gospel;¹ a conference held there, was followed by the removal of the images from the parish church of St. Lawrence; and the inhabitants sold their rich dresses, jewels, rings, and chains of gold, in order that with the money thus obtained they might found charitable institutions. The Reformation was guilty of spoliage, but it was in providing clothes for the poor; and the spoils were those of the reformed themselves.^{2 3}

At Mulhausen the Gospel was preached with fresh courage; Thurgovia and the Rheinthal were ever coalescing more and more with Zurich. Immediately after the disputation, Zurzach removed the images from its churches, and nearly the whole district of Baden received the Gospel.

Nothing could better prove than did such facts as these, which party was the real victor; and Zwingli, accordingly, looking around him on every side, gave glory to God. "We are assailed in many different ways," he would say; "but the Lord is mightier not only than threats, but even than wars. Throughout the city and canton of Zurich, there prevails a wonderful accord in favour of the Gospel. We overcome all things by prayers offered up in faith."⁴ Shortly after, addressing himself to Haller, Zwingli said: "Everything here below follows its destiny. The rude north-wind is succeeded by a milder breeze. After the scorching heats of summer, autumn lavishes its treasures upon us. And now, after severe contests, the Creator of all things, in whose service we are, opens up a way for us, by which to penetrate into the camp of our adversaries. We now at last can welcome amongst us Christ's doctrine, that dove which we have so long driven from us, and which has never

¹ San. Gallenses officiis suis restitutos. (Zw. Epp. p. 518.)

² Kostbare Kleider, Kleinodien, Ring, Ketten, etc, frey willig verkauft. (Hott. iii. p. 338.)

³ Therefore it is a false charge against the Reformation, at least in Switzerland, that the state enriched itself with the possessions of the Church. In consequence of the change in their religious views, the ecclesiastics who in general embraced the Reformation, by no means lost the right they had to their property; they retained the same and applied it to better religious and benevolent uses.—L. R.

⁴ Fidei enim oratione omnia superabimus. (Zw. Epp. p. 519.)

ceased to watch for an opportunity to return. Be you the Noah that receives and saves it.”

This very year Zurich made an important acquisition. Conrad Pellican, guardian of the monastery of Franciscans at Basel, and professor of theology from the time of his being four and twenty, was, at Zwingli's zealous instance, called to be Hebrew professor at Zurich. “It is long,” said he on his arrival, “since I have renounced the pope and desired to live for Jesus Christ.”¹ Pellican's exegetical talents, made him become one of the most useful persons of all who took part in the labours of the Reformation.

Zurich lay still under the sentence of exclusion from the diet, pronounced against her by the Romish cantons, and wishing to take advantage of the better feelings now manifested by some of the confederates, about the commencement of 1527, convoked a diet at Zurich itself. This call was answered by deputies appearing from Berne, Basel, Schaffhausen, Appenzel, and St. Gall. “We desire,” said the Zurich deputies, “that the Word of God, which leads us solely to Jesus Christ crucified, be alone preached, alone taught, alone magnified. We abandon all human doctrines, whatever may have been the ancient usage of our fathers; being assured that had they had this light of the divine Word which we enjoy, they would have received it with a higher appreciation of its worth and with more thankfulness, than it finds in us their weak successors.”² The deputies present promised to take into their consideration what had been submitted to them by Zurich.

Thus was there a daily widening of the breach against Rome. The Baden disputation was to have repaired everything; yet no sooner was it over, than those cantons that had been wavering, seemed inclined, on the contrary, to follow in the steps of Zurich. Already did the inhabitants of the plains lean to the side of the Reformation; already was it pressing upon the mountains; nay, it was making encroachments upon them and the primitive cantons which originally might be called the cradle, and are still, as it were, the citadel of Switzerland, pent up within their tower-

¹ Jam dudum papæ renuntiavi et Christo vivere concupivi. (Zw. Epp. p. 455.)

² Mit höheren Werth und mehr Dankbarkeit dann wir angenommen. (Zurich Archiv. Sonntag nach Lichtmesse.)

ing Alps, seemed alone to hold out firmly for the doctrines of their sires. Continually exposed to whirlwinds, avalanches, and the overflowings of torrents and rivers, these highlanders have to struggle all their lives against such formidable enemies, and must hold themselves prepared to sacrifice everything for the preservation of the meadows where they pasture their herds, and of the cabins that shelter them from the blast, and may be swept away by the first inundation. Hence the instinct of conservatism is strongly developed in them, and has been transmitted from generation to generation, through a succession of ages. In preserving what has been bequeathed to them by their forefathers, consists the entire wisdom of those mountains. The rude Helvetians, accordingly, struggled against the Reformation which would have changed their creed and worship, as they struggle to this hour against the torrents that come roaring from their snow-clad mountain peaks, or against the new political ideas which have established themselves at their very doors, in the cantons by which they are surrounded. They will be the last to lay down their arms before the double power which is already displaying its signals from all the surrounding heights, and pressing these conservative tribes more and more closely with threats of change.

These cantons, accordingly, at the time of which I now speak, being still more angry with Berne than with Zurich, and trembling as they beheld that powerful state escaping from them, summoned their deputies to meet at Berne itself, about a week after the conference at Zurich. They besought the council to depose the new doctors, to proscribe their doctrines, and to uphold the true and ancient Christian faith as it had been confirmed by past ages, and confessed by martyrs. "Call together all the bailliages of the canton," they added; "if you refuse, we shall undertake to do so." Irritated at this, the Bernese replied, "We have sufficient authority over those who are subject to our jurisdiction, for us to speak to them ourselves."

This answer on the part of Berne, served only still farther to incense the Waldstetten; and those cantons which had been the cradle of the political liberty of Switzerland, now began to look even to foreigners for allies, to assist them in destroying it. In combatting the foes of capitulations, they might well expect to find

assistance in the capitulations themselves; and if the oligarchs of Switzerland should be found inadequate auxiliaries, was it not natural that they should have recourse to princes in alliance with them? Austria, in fact, unable as she was to maintain her own authority in the confederation, was ready to offer her intervention for the purpose of confirming that of Rome. Berne learnt with consternation that Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., was making preparations for an attack upon Zurich and all the adherents of the Reformation.¹

Circumstances now became more critical. A series of more or less untoward events, the excesses of the anabaptists, disputes with Luther on the subject of the supper, and others besides, seemed to go far to compromise the Reformation in Switzerland. The disputation at Baden had baulked the expectations of the friends of the popedom, and the sword which they had brandished against their opponents, had snapt in their own hands; still, spite and resentment were only aggravated, and preparations were in progress for a new effort. Already had the imperial government begun to put itself in motion; and the Austrian bands that had been obliged to fly from the defiles of Morgarten and the heights of the Sempach, were on the eve of re-entering Switzerland with banners unfurled, there to stay up the tottering authority of Rome. The moment was decisive; it was impossible to halt any longer betwixt two opinions, and to be neither "clear nor muddy." Berne and other cantons that had long been hesitating, were required to come to a resolution; they behoved either promptly to return to the popedom, or to range themselves with fresh courage beneath the standard of Christ.

A person named William Farel, who came out of France from the mountains of Dauphiny, communicated at this period a powerful impulse to Switzerland, decided the Reformation of Burgundian Helvetia,² which then lay in a profound slumber,

¹ Berne to Zurich, Monday after *Misericordia*. (Kirchhoff. B. Haller, p. 85.)

² By Burgundian Helvetia, the author, no doubt, means those parts of Switzerland which, along with Burgundy proper, now forming part of France, were invaded and conquered at a very early period, by a northern tribe, called the Burguignons, who adopted the spurious Latin gradually refined into French. The territory alluded to, comprises Geneva, Neuchâtel, and the canton Vaud.
—Tr.

and thus made the balance throughout the whole confederation turn in favour of the new doctrines. Farel arrived on the field of battle, like those fresh troops which, just as the tide of conflict is uncertain, rush into the midst of the combat, and decide the victory. He prepared the way in Switzerland for another Frenchman, whose austere faith and powerful genius were to put the last hand to the Reformation and render it complete. France, likewise, took part in the great movement then agitating Christian society, and to that quarter it is now time that we should direct our regard.

BOOK TWELFTH.

THE FRENCH.

1500—1526.

I. ONE of the essential characteristics of the Christian religion, is its universality. This is not the case with human religions. These adapt themselves, each to some particular people and to the degree of culture which it has reached; they keep nations in a kind of immobility, or should these, by any extraordinary circumstance outrun that state, religion is then left behind, and on that very account, becomes useless.

The world has seen an Egyptian, a Greek, a Latin, and even a Jewish religion; but the Christian alone belongs to mankind at large.

Its starting point in man, is sin; and here we have a characteristic confined to no particular race, but the apanage of humanity in general. Hence, satisfying the most universal and the highest longings of our nature, the Gospel is received as coming from God, alike by the most barbarous tribes and the most civilized nations. It does not put the stamp of divinity on national peculiarities, as was done by the religions of antiquity; but neither does it destroy those peculiarities as a modern cosmopolitism would do. It does better; it sanctifies them, it ennobles them, and elevates them all to a holy unity, by the new and living principle which it communicates to them.

The coming of Christianity into the world has effected a great revolution in history. Until its appearance, there was nothing to be found but the history of different races and nations; we have now the history of mankind; and the idea of a universal education of the human race, accomplished by Jesus Christ, has

become the compass of the historian, the key of history, and the hope of every people upon the earth.

But it is not only upon all nations that Christianity exerts its influence; it influences, likewise, every period of their history.

At the time of its first appearance, the world was like an expiring torch, which Christianity made to blaze anew with flame derived from heaven.

At a later period, the barbarians of the north having rushed headlong on the Roman empire, shattered and dissolved it; and Christianity opposing this devastating torrent with the cross, subdued by it the savage child of the north, and formed a new humanity.

Meanwhile, a corrupting element already lay hid in the religion which courageous missionaries introduced among those rude tribes. Their creed came almost as much from Rome as it did from the bible. Ere long that element acquired force; man everywhere put himself in the place of God: an essential characteristic of the Romish Church; and a renovation of religion became necessary. This is what was done by Christianity, at the period which is now about to occupy us.

The history of the Reformation in the countries which we have been going over till now, has shown us the new doctrine rejecting the eccentricities of the anabaptists and the new prophets; but it is the sunken rock of infidelity which it has chiefly to encounter in the country to which we have now to direct our attention. No where were bolder reclamations ever raised against the superstitions and the abuses of the Church. No where do we see a certain love of literature, independent of Christianity, and often leading to irreligion, more powerfully developed. France found herself pregnant with two reformations at one and the same time; the one proceeding from man, the other from God. "Two nations were in her womb, and two manner of people were to be separated from her bowels."¹

In France, the Reformation had not only to combat unbelief as well as superstition; it found a third enemy there which it had not encountered, at least had not found so powerful, among the nations of Germanic descent, and that was immorality.²

¹ Genesis, xxv. 23.

² This may be set down by Romanists as a calumny against the morals that

Great were the disorders in the Church; debauchery sat enthroned with Francis I. and Catherine of Medicis, and these "Sardanapaluses"¹ were irritated by the austere virtues of the Reformers. Everywhere, no doubt, but especially in France,

preceded the Reformation in France. Let us turn, then, to French authorities, which cannot be suspected of the author's Calvinistic prepossessions. The President Hainault, speaking in his *Remarques Particulières* of the Crusades, says: "Since the eleventh century, the Christian religion had become a cover for all sorts of abuses and crimes, and Christians a kind of idolaters who honoured the true God, as false deities used of old to be honoured. The correction of morals and the sacrifices of the passions, went for nothing in the worship that was rendered, and, as in paganism, people thought they had done enough when they had discharged all the outward exercises of religion. . . . Whole nations could not be persuaded at the present day, that the sign of the cross placed on the sleeve, and travels and wars undertaken for visiting or conquering the Holy Land, entitled a man to satisfy all his passions.

"This was thought to be the case at the commencement of the crusades. (Consult Fleury, sixth discourse on Ecclesiastical History.) Monks, tired of their cells, forsook them; women tired of their husbands, followed their lovers; noblemen burdened with debts, sold estates mortgaged to pay them, and all went off to the Holy Land, in the full persuasion that there they were to find the pardon of their sins. It must have been a singular enough spectacle, to see crowds of men and women ruined by their crimes, among whom true Christianity was equally rare with virtue, honestly believing that they were fighting for God, and who, on their march, committed the greatest excesses, left along the roads they took, scandalous traces of their dissolutions and robberies, or who carried along with them in their hearts the criminal recollection of the mistresses they had left behind in their own country."

The president then relates from a contemporary poet (Fauchet,) that the lord of the manor, de Couci, "went to the crusades passionately attached to the wife of a neighbouring gentleman, that is, with adultery in his heart, and dying on the way, charged one of his friends to embalm his heart and carry it to his lady, which he did: most worthy fruits of repentance these?" He adds, as a further illustration, the following anecdote of the famous French knight La Hire: "La Hire, on his way to raise the siege of Montargis, found a chaplain whom he asked to give him absolution in all haste; the chaplain said he must confess his sins; La Hire replied that he had no time for that, for the enemy had to be attacked without delay, and that he had done what soldiers usually did, whereupon the chaplain granted him absolution such as it was; and then La Hire prayed to God as follows, in his Gascon dialect, and with clasped hands: 'God, I pray thee, do this day for La Hire, as much as thou wouldest that La Hire should do for thee, were he God and thou La Hire!' and he thought, adds the historian, (Hainault's authority,) that he had very well prayed and spoken."

Whatever improvement there might be in point of intelligence, there was evidently none in morals, in France, up to the time of the Reformation. Hainault notices the change introduced at court by the appearance, for the first time, of women there, in the reign of Francis I., and the consequent devotion of the nobility to "the ambition of favour and gallantry," an evil that went on increasing until Henry II.'s reign, of which he says, that "*never was there more dissoluteness of morals than in that reign.*" See *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, 3me Partie, pp. 978-9 and 972.

Gaillard seems to have paid little attention to the morals of France in his history of Francis I. But Lacroix in the lively and graphic introduction to his history of France during the wars of religion, though far too indulgent a censor, mentions a decline in the purity of French morals, even under Francis I., the commencement of unblushing adultery at court, and that of the rarely interrupted reign of king's mistresses."—Tr.

¹ Sardanapalus Henry II. inter scorta. (Calvini Epp. M.S.C.)

the Reformation behoved to have to do not only with the dogmas of theology, and the worship and discipline of the Church, but, in addition to these, with the morals of society at large.¹

These foes, brimful of violence, which the Reformation encountered simultaneously among the French, stamped it with quite a peculiar character there. No where was it more familiar with a life spent in dungeons, or did it resemble primitive Christianity more in faith, in charity, and in the number of its martyrs. If, in the countries of which we have spoken hitherto, the Reformation has had most renown in respect of its triumphs, in those of which we are about to speak, it was still more glorious in respect of its defeats. If it had elsewhere more thrones and sovereign councils to show, here it could point to more scaffolds and more meetings in the wilderness. Whoever knows what it is that forms the true glory of Christianity on the earth, and the marks by which it acquires a resemblance to its head, will study, then, with warm feelings of respect and love, the history, often a bloody history, which we now proceed to relate.

The majority of persons who have greatly distinguished themselves in the world, have been born in the provinces, and in these have found the scenes in which their minds were first expanded. Paris is like a tree which meets the eye, indeed, with an exuberance of flowers and fruit, yet whose roots run far into the bowels of the earth, for the nutritive sap which they throw out in new forms. This general fact we have to remark in the history of the Reformation.

The Alps, which witnessed in Switzerland the rise of men of Christian courage in every canton, and almost in every glen, in France, also, were destined to mantle with their mighty shadows the infancy of some of the first Reformers. For ages they had preserved the treasure, more or less pure, in their high-lying valleys, among the inhabitants of the mountain-foot districts of Luzern, Angrogne, and the Peyrouse, and truth, which Rome had never been able utterly to extinguish, had spread from

¹ What is here said exclusively of France at the time of the Reformation, is much more generally applicable at the present day. As an ecclesiastical distinction, people may still bear the name of the *Reformed*; yet the falling away is everywhere so great, that there is required a new, and especially a *moral* Reformation.—L. R.

those valleys to the other side of the mountains and along their base, in Provence and in Dauphiny.¹

In 1484, Charles VIII., son of Louis XI., a sickly and timid child, ascended the throne of France, and that same year Innocent VIII. bound the papal tiara upon his brow. Innocent had seven or eight sons by different mothers; accordingly, a contemporary epigram tells us that all Rome was agreed on calling him *Father*.²

There might be observed at that time on all the slopes of the Alps of Dauphiny, and along all the banks of the Durance, a return among the inhabitants to the old Vaudois principles.³ "The roots," says an ancient chronicler, "sent forth new stems incessantly and everywhere."⁴ Men were found daring enough to call the church of Rome the church of the wicked, and to maintain that prayers said in a stable equally availed with those said in a church.

The priests, bishops, and Roman legates sounded the alarm, and on the 5th of the Kalends of May, 1487, Innocent VIII., the father of the Romans, sent forth a bull against those humble Christians. "To arms," said the pontiff, "forward! and trample those heretics under foot, like venomous asps."⁵

On the approach of the legate, with an army of eighteen thousand men, augmented by a multitude of volunteers who wished to share the spoils of the Vaudois, these forsook their dwellings, and like birds that flee to shelter at the first mutterings of a storm, withdrew to the mountains, and into caves and clefts in the rocks. Not a glen, not a wood, not a rock, escaped the persecutors; everywhere in that part of the Alps, and particularly

¹ The whole of the territories here mentioned seem at this time to have belonged to France. In 1574, when Henry III. succeeded to Charles IX., he passed through Savoy on his way from Poland, and in return for the civilities received on that occasion from the duke and duchess of Savoy, restored Pignerol, Savillan, and the Peyrouse, being the only fortified places France then retained beyond the mountains. Tr.

² Octo nocens pueros genuit totidemque puellas.

Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma Patrem.

³ I have kept to the author's term *vaudois*, but British readers would better understand *Waldensian*, which is that of the author's Latin authority in the next note. Tr.

⁴ In Ebredunensi archiepiscopatu veteres Waldensium hæreticorum fibræ repullularunt. (Raynald. Annales ecclesiast. ad ann. 1487.)

⁵ Armis insurgant, eosque velut aspides venenosos . . . conculcent. (Bull of Innocent VIII. preserved at Cambridge. Leger. ii. p. 8.)

on the Italian side of them, those poor disciples of Christ were hunted down like wild beasts. The pope's satellites were wearied out at last; their strength was quite spent, their feet could not scale the steep lurking-places of the "heretics," and their arms refused to strike them when found.

In those Alpine districts, then so much harrassed by Rome, at three leagues from the ancient city of Gap,¹ on the side towards Grenoble, not far from the flowery swards that carpet the table-land of mount Bayard, at the base of mount de l'Aiguille and near the mountain ridge of Glaize, towards the source of the Buzen, once stood, and stands to this day, a cluster of houses, half hid by the surrounding trees, and bearing the name of Farel, or, in the dialect of the district, Fareau.² On a vast terrace rising above the neighbouring cottages, there was then to be seen a house, belonging to the class called manor-houses. It was surrounded by an orchard connecting it with the village. In that house, during those troubled times, there lived a family of pristine piety, noble it would seem, and bearing the name of Farel.³ In 1489, the year in which the popedom put forth its utmost rigours in Dauphiny, that modest country-seat witnessed the birth of a son, called William. With this William three brothers, Daniel, Walter, and Claud, and one sister, grew up in years, and were his playmates on the banks of Buzen water, and at the foot of mount Bayard.

There it was that William spent his childhood and early youth. His father and mother ranked among the most devoted servants of the popedom. "My parents, believed everything," is what he says himself.⁴ Accordingly, they brought up their children in all the practices of the Romish devotion.

¹ Chief town of the Higher Alps.

² Dauphiny Review, July 1837, p. 35. In passing from Grenoble to Gap, a quarter of an hour after last changing horses, about a sling's throw from the highway, appears the village of the Farels. To this day you are shown the site of the house that belonged to Farel's father. It is occupied now, it is true, by a cottage only, but it may be perceived from its size that it could not be that of an ordinary house. The occupant of the cottage bears the name of Farel. This information I owe to M. Blanc, pastor of Mens.

³ Gulielmum Farellum, Delphinatē, nobili familia ortum. (Bezæ Icones.) Calvin writing to cardinal Sadolet, in speaking of Farel's remarkable disinterestedness, says, *he that was come of so noble a house.* (*Opuscula*, p. 148.)

⁴ Du vrai usage de la croix (of the true use of the cross), par Guillaume Farel, p. 237.

God had endowed William Farel with rare qualities, fitted to give him a decided ascendancy over other men. Possessing a keen and piercing intellect, a lively imagination, a sincere and honest heart whose convictions his greatness of soul would at no price whatever permit him to betray, he was still more distinguished by an ardent temperament, an indomitable courage, and a hardihood that never recoiled from any obstacle however great. But at the same time he had the failings that accompany these qualities, and his parents had often to restrain his violence.

William threw himself with his whole soul into the superstitious courses of the credulous family to which he belonged. "I am horrified," says he, "at the thought of the hours, the prayers, and the divine services which I went through, or made others go through, before the cross or some other such things."¹

Four leagues to the south of Gap, near Tallard, on a hill which rises above the impetuous billows of the Durance, there was a spot held in much repute, called Holy Rood. William was only about seven or eight years old when his parents resolved to take him there on a pilgrimage.² It was said that the rood or cross, that stood there, was made of the actual cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified.

Setting out on their journey the family reached at last the so much venerated cross, and before it threw themselves upon the ground. After having solemnly contemplated the sacred wood and the copper of the cross, made, said the priest, out of the basin in which our Lord washed the feet of his apostles, the eyes of the pilgrims were directed to a small crucifix attached to a cross. "When the devils," continued the priest, "bring hail and lightning, that crucifix moves in such a manner that it seems to detach itself from the cross, as if it fain would run against the devil, and throws out sparks of fire against the bad weather; if this were not the case, nothing would be left remaining on the earth."³

The pious pilgrims were quite overcome as they listened to

¹ Ibid. p. 233.

² J'estoye fort petit et à peine je savoye lire. (Ibid. p. 237.) Le premier pelerinage auquel j'aye esté à la saincte croix. (Ibid. p. 233.)

³ Ibid. p. 235—239.

the recital of such prodigies. "No one," continued the priest, "knows or sees anything of all this, but I myself and that man there." . . . The pilgrims turned round and beheld a man of strange outward appearance. "To look at him," says Farel, "you would have been frightened."¹ White specks covered both pupils of his eyes; whether that they were really there or that Satan made him appear thus! This extraordinary person, who was called by the incredulous, "the priest's sorcerer," upon being appealed to by him, immediately replied that the prodigy was true.²

A new episode completes the picture, and calls us to contemplate, not superstitions only, but scandalous breaches of morality also. "Behold a young woman, actuated by a very different devotion from that shown to the cross, and who carries her baby wrapt in a piece of cloth. And then behold the priest who steps forth, takes the woman with her child, and conducts them into the chapel. I make bold to say that never dancer took a woman and led her along more gallantly than the priest did that woman. But such is the force of infatuation that we were scandalised by the looks of neither, and even had they conducted themselves improperly in our presence, all would have been good and holy in our eyes. We were carried away with the thought, that the woman and her gallant of a priest, were well acquainted with the miracle, and had a good pretext for their visit."³

Such is a faithful picture of religion and morals in France, when the Reformation began. Morality and doctrine being alike poisoned, a powerful regeneration was required for both. The greater the importance attached to external observances, the farther were people removed from sanctification of the heart; dead ordinances had everywhere been substituted in the place of Christian life, and the strange, yet not unnatural union, was to be seen, of the most scandalous debaucheries with the most superstitious devotional practices. Acts of theft were committed before the very altar, the confessional was used as a means of seduction, poison was administered in the mass, adulteries were com-

¹ Ibid. p. 237.

² Ibid. p. 238.

³ Du vray usage de la croix, par Guillaume Farel, p. 235. Some of the expressions in the original have been softened.

mitted at the foot of a cross. . . . In destroying sound doctrine, superstition had destroyed morality.

Yet to all this there were many exceptions in the Christianity of the middle ages. Faith, even when superstitious, may be sincere, and such was that of William Farel. The same zeal that led him, at a later period, through so many various places, for the purpose of diffusing in them the knowledge of Jesus Christ, led him at that time wherever the Church was making a display of some miracle, or calling for some act of adoration. Dauphiny had its seven wonders, that had long possessed the power of striking the popular fancy.¹ But the beauties of nature by which he was encircled, had also a charm that raised his soul to the Creator.

The magnificent chain of the Alps, those mountain tops covered with everlasting snows, those vast masses of rock, here shooting up in sharp peaks to heaven, there extending their immense curvilinear backs above the clouds, presenting the appearance of an island standing out alone from the sky; all those grand exhibitions of creation which were then filling the soul of Ulrich Zwingli in the Tockenbourg with high thoughts, spoke powerfully to the heart of William Farel also, amid the mountains of Dauphiny. He thirsted for a life of activity, for information, for light; he panted after something great . . . he asked to be allowed to study.

This was a grievous blow to a father who thought that a young nobleman ought to know nothing but his chaplet and his sword. Much was said at that time in praise of a young compatriot of William Farel, by birth a child of Dauphiny like himself, called Du Terrail, but better known by the name of Bayard, who had displayed amazing courage at the battle of the Tar, on the other side of the Alps. "Such sons," it was said, "are like arrows in the hand of a mighty man. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them!"² Farel's father, accordingly, opposed his son's predilection for letters. But the young man showed an unalterable determination of purpose. God had designed him for nobler conquests than those of men like Bayard.

¹ The burning spring, the tubs of Sassenage, the manna of Briangon, etc.

² Psalm. cxxvii. 4, 5.

He constantly renewed his importunities, and the old gentleman yielded at last.¹

Forthwith Farel devoted himself to work with astonishing ardour. Little assisted as he was by such masters as he found in Dauphiny, and although he had to fight his way against the incapacity of his instructors, and the bad methods they pursued,² instead of being disheartened, he was excited to greater exertion by these difficulties, and soon surmounted them all. His brothers followed his example. Daniel subsequently entered into the career of politics, and was employed in important negotiations connected with religion.³ Walter gained the full confidence of the Count von Furstemberg.

Farel, in his eagerness to extend his reading, after having made all the acquisitions that his province could supply, turned his thoughts to some other quarter. The whole Christian world had at that time long resounded with the praises of the university of Paris, and he wished to see "that mother of all the sciences, that true light of the Church which never suffers an eclipse, that pure and polished mirror of the faith, unobscured by any cloud, unsullied by any touch."⁴ Having obtained permission from his parents, he set off for the capital of France.

II. The young Dauphinese arrived in Paris on one of the days of the year 1510, or shortly after. The province had made him an ardent follower of the popedom; the capital was to make him quite the reverse. In France it was not from some small town that the Reformation derived its origin, as was the case with Germany, for from its metropolis proceed all those powerful impulsions which unsettle the whole people. A concurrence of providential circumstances made Paris, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, a focus from which a spark of life might easily escape; and this spark the youth who had just arrived, a humble and unknown stranger from the neigh-

¹ Cum a parentibus vix impetrassem ad litteras concessum. (Farel, Natali Galeoto. 1527. MS. letters of the Neuchâtel conclave.)

² A præceptoribus præcipue in latina lingua ineptissimis institutus. (Farelli Epistolæ.)

³ Life of Farel, in Geneva, manuscript.

⁴ Universitatem Parisiensem, matrem omnium scientiarum . . . speculum fidei, torsum et politum. . . . (Prima Appellat. Universit. an. 1396, Bulæus, iv. p. 806.)

bourhood of Gap, was destined to receive into his heart, and several others along with him.

Louis XII., the father of the people, had convoked the representatives of the clergy of France at Tours. That prince seems to have outrun the times of the Reformation; so that had that great revolution taken place during his reign, the whole of France possibly would have become protestant. The assembly of Tours had declared that the king might lawfully make war upon the pope and execute the decrees of the council of Basel. These measures were everywhere made the subject of conversation in the colleges, as well as in the city and at the court, and could not fail to make a deep impression on the mind of young Farel.

Two young persons were then outgrowing their childhood at the court of Louis XII. The one was a young prince, tall in stature and of a remarkable countenance, showing little moderation in his character and throwing himself blindly into whatever course his passions might suggest; so that the king used to say: "This big boy will spoil all."¹ This youth was Francis of Angoulême, duke of Valois, and cousin to the king. Boissy, his governor, taught him, however, to honour literature.

Along with Francis grew up his sister Margaret, older than him by two years, "a princess of great wit and exceedingly clever," says Brantôme, "in point both of natural and acquired endowments."² Louis XII. accordingly, had spared nothing in providing her with instruction; and the most learned men in the kingdom were not slow in calling Margaret their Mæcenas.³

¹ Mezeray, vol. iv. p. 127.

² Brantôme, *Dames illustres*, p. 331.

³ The "*Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême*," &c., have now been published by the History of France Society, at Paris, with a long biographical "Notice" by the editor, Professor Genin of Strasburg. Speaking of the princess's early life, M. Genin says, "Margaret was severely brought up by 'a most exquisite and venerable lady, in whom all the virtues were met in rivalry of each other,' but of whose name Charles de St. Martha, from whom I borrow these words, leaves us ignorant. Every thing suggests the belief that she was Mme. de Châtillon, whose deceased husband had been governor of King Charles VIII. Mme. de Châtillon was beautiful and virtuous, even according to the confession of Brantôme, who assures us, at the same time, that she had married the Cardinal du Bellay as her second husband. But Brantôme was the trumpet of every slander. To believe him, the Cardinal de Châtillon* must also have been secretly married; these, it would seem, are idle reports. Be that as it may, Mme. de Châtillon's pupil reflected credit on her governess. Nature had given Margaret external beauty; there needed only to be expanded in her soul the germs of wisdom and virtue, and this was done so successfully, that from the age

* Admiral de Colligny's elder brother.—TR.

In fact, these two members of the Valois family, were even then surrounded with a whole train of illustrious persons. William Budé,¹ who, at the age of three and twenty, while devoted to his passions and particularly to hunting, living only with hawks, horses, and dogs, made a sudden change in his pursuits, sold his equipage, and set himself to study with the same ardour that he had shown in following the hounds through field and forest;² the physician Cop; Francis Vatable, whose Hebrew acquirements drew the admiration of the very Jewish doctors; James Tusan, a celebrated Greek scholar; and others besides, encouraged by Stephen Poncher, bishop of Paris, by the civil lieutenant Louis Ruzé, and by Francis de Luynes, and even then enjoying the protection of the two young Valois, held out against the violent attacks of the Sorbonne, which looked upon Greek and Hebrew as the deadliest heresy. At Paris, as in Germany and in Switzerland, the re-establishment of sound doctrine, was to be preceded by the restoration of letters. But in France, the same hands that thus prepared the materials, were not destined to erect the building.

Among the doctors who were then throwing a lustre over the capital, there was remarked a man of very diminutive stature, of a mean appearance, and low origin,³ yet, whose talents, learning, and powerful eloquence, had an inexpressible charm for all who heard him. His name was Lefèvre, he was born about the

of fifteen, 'the spirit of God began to be manifested and to appear in her eyes, her face, her gait, her words, and generally in all her actions.'" (STE. MARTHE, *Oraison Funèbre*, p. 37.) See "Notice," p. 3.

This Mme. de Châtillon, according to Prof. Genin, was the wife of Gaspard de Châtillon, who died a marshal in 1522, and mother of Gaspard de Châtillon, so well known as the Admiral de Colligny. She was by birth Louisa of Montmorency, sister of Anne, constable of France, and is thus noticed in the *Memoirs of de Colligny*, quoted in a former note: "She had acquired a high character both as a wife and a mother, and was reckoned a singularly saintly person. This character she maintained even at court, dying while lady of honour to Eleanor, queen of Francis I., and giving testimony on her death-bed to the true and pure religion which she had professed. Having that passage of the psalms ever in her mouth, *and his mercy is from generation to generation on them that fear him*, she exhorted her son Odet, who, notwithstanding his youth had been made a cardinal, and expressly forbade his sending for a priest to attend her, telling him that, by a singular favour, God had revealed to her how she should fear and serve him in all godliness, and escape from the bonds of the body to her celestial abode.' Only two of Margaret's published letters are addressed to Mme. de Châtillon. She calls that lady her cousin, and the tenor of both letters indicates respect and affection for a religious friend.—Tr.

¹ Better known by his Latin name Budæus.—Tr.

² His wife and children came to Geneva in 1540, after his death.

³ *Homunculi unius neque generis insignis.* (Bezæ Icones.)

year 1455, at Etaples, an inconsiderable place in Picardy. He had received but a rude, nay, even a barbarous education, says Theodore Beza; but his genius had stood him in stead of all masters; and his piety, his learning, and the nobleness of his soul, became thereby only the more conspicuous. He had travelled a great deal, and it would even appear, that his thirst for knowledge had led him to extend his excursions into Asia and Africa.¹ From the year 1493, Lefèvre taught at the university of Paris, as a doctor in theology. He soon occupied an eminent place there, and, in the eyes of Erasmus, held the highest.²

Lefèvre saw that he had a special task to accomplish. Though attached to the practices of Rome, he made it his object to combat the barbarism that prevailed at the university;³ he set himself to teach in the various departments of philosophy, with a clearness, until then unknown; and while he earnestly endeavoured to revive the study of the languages, and the learning of ancient times, under the conviction that more than philosophy and literature was required, when a work of regeneration was in hand, he went beyond this. Departing from those scholastic methods which for so many ages had exclusively occupied the school, he went back to the Bible, and re-established in Christendom, the study of the holy Scriptures and the different departments of evangelical learning. Nor did he devote himself to dry research; he went to the very heart of the Bible; attached to him the affections of others by his eloquence, his frankness, and his amiability, and while full of gravity and unction in the pulpit, his intercourse with his pupils was marked by a mild familiarity. "He loves me extremely," wrote Glarean, who was one of them, to his friend Zwingli. "Full of candour and kindness, he sings, he plays, he disputes with me, and often smiles at the folly of the world."⁴ Can we be surprised that many

¹ In his Commentary on the 2d epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. ii, there is to be found a singular story about Mecca and its temple, which he relates as from a traveller.

Professor Genin, in a Note upon Lefèvre, p. 279 of *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême*, makes no doubt of his having visited Africa and Asia.—TR.

² Fabro, viro quo vix in multis millibus reperias vel integriorem vel humaniorem, says Erasmus. (*Er. Epp.* p. 174.)

³ Barbariem nobilissimæ academæ . . . incumbentem detrudi. (*Bezae Icones.*)

⁴ Supra modum me amat totus integer et candidus, mecum cantillat, ludit, disputat, ridet mecum. (*Zw. Epp.* p. 26.)

disciples of all nations, used to assemble around him, to be taught at his feet.

Learned as he was, Lefèvre submitted, with childlike simplicity, to all the ordinances of the Church, and as he spent as much time in places of public worship as in his closet, a strong tie seemed likely to unite the old Picard doctor with the young scholar from Dauphiny. When two such persons meet, even although it should be within the wide compass of a capital, they tend to coalesce. In the course of his pious pilgrimages, young Farel soon remarked a man advanced in life, who impressed him by the devotion with which he would prostrate himself before the images, and, continuing long upon his knees, would pray and repeat his hours with great fervour. "Never," says Farel, "did I see any one chaunt mass with greater reverence."¹ It was Lefèvre; Farel forthwith wished to become acquainted with him, and could hardly restrain his delight when he found this celebrated person disposed to treat him with the utmost kindness. William had now found what he came in search of to the capital. From that time forth it was his greatest happiness to converse with the doctor from Etaples, to listen to his discourses, to follow his admirable instructions, and devoutly to kneel along with him before the same images. Often were the old Lefèvre and his young disciple to be seen carefully ornamenting with flowers a statue of the Virgin, and the two by themselves, far from Paris, far from doctors and scholars, might often be heard murmuring their fervent prayers to Mary.²

Farel's attachment to Lefèvre came to be generally remarked; and the respect felt for the old doctor, was naturally so far extended to his young disciple, so that this illustrious friendship drew the Dauphinese scholar out of his obscurity. His zeal soon acquired for him a name, so that several wealthy and devout people in Paris, entrusted him with sundry sums of money designed for the support of poor students.³

Some time elapsed before Lefèvre and his disciple came to have clear views of the truth. It was not with the view of

¹ Farel Ep. to all lords, peoples, and pastors.

² Floribus jubebat Marianum idolum, dum una soli murmuraremus præcos Marianas ad idolum, ornari. (Farellus Pellicano, an. 1556.)

³ Geneva manuscript.

obtaining a rich living, or from any liking for a dissolute life that Farel was attached to the pope; such ties were never for a soul like his. The pope he regarded as the visible head of the Church, a sort of god, whose commandments saved men's souls. Hence, if he chanced to hear anything spoken to the prejudice of this so much revered pontiff, he would gnash his teeth like a furious wolf, and would have wished the lightning to strike the person who could be guilty of such an offence, so as to be "smitten to the ground and shattered by it." "I believed," he would say, "in the cross, in pilgrimages, in images, vows, and bones. That which the priest holds in his hands, puts into a box, shuts in, eats, and gives to be eaten, was my only true God, and for me there was no other, neither in heaven nor in earth."¹ "Satan," he further said, "had lodged the pope, the popedom, and everything belonging to it in my heart, so that the pope himself had not so much of it in him."

Accordingly, the more Farel seemed to search after God, the more did piety languish and superstition gather strength, all going on from bad to worse in his soul.² This state of things he has himself described very energetically. "Oh! what horror do I feel for myself and my short-comings, when I think of them," said he, "and what a great and wondrous work of God, that a man should have been able to come out of such gulphs!"

But it was by degrees only that he did so. He had first read the profane authors; as his piety found nothing to nourish it there, he began to meditate on the lives of the saints; and silly man as he was before, those lives now made him a downright fool.³ He next attached himself to several of the doctors of that age, but as he went to them miserable, so he returned more miserable still. He finally applied himself to the study of the ancient philosophers, and would fain have learnt from Aristotle how to be a Christian; but his expectations continued to be baulked. Books, images, relics, Aristotle, Mary and the saints, all availed not. That glowing soul passed from human wisdom

¹ Farel's epistle to all lords, peoples, and pastors.

² Quo plus pergere et promovere adnitebar, eo amplius retrocedebam. (Far. Galeoto, Neuchâtel Manuscript letters.)

³ Quæ de sanctis conscripta offendebar, verum ex stulto insanum faciebant. (Ibid.)

in one form to human wisdom in another form, but still found nothing to quench the thirst that was consuming him.

Meanwhile, as the pope suffered the title of *Holy Bible* to be given to the writings of the Old and New Testament, Farel applied himself to the perusal of them, as Luther did in the monastery at Erfurt; and much was he amazed¹ on perceiving that all things were very different on this earth, from what was enjoined by holy Scripture.² Possibly he was on his way to truth; but all at once a deeper shade of darkness came on and threw him into a new abyss. "Satan suddenly beset me," said he, "resolved not to lose his hold of me, and wrought his own ends in me as usual."³ A terrible struggle then arose in my heart, between the Word of God and the word of the Church. On meeting with passages of Scripture opposed to the practices of Rome, he hung down his head, blushed and durst not believe what he read.⁴ "Ah," he would say, dreading to fix his eyes on the Bible, "I do not very well understand these things; I ought to understand the Scriptures otherwise from what they appear to mean; I ought to hold by the interpretation of the Church, and especially of the pope."

One day as he happened to be reading the Bible, a doctor coming in, sharply reproved him: "No one," he told him, "ought to read holy Scripture until he had first made himself master of philosophy, and completed his course in the arts." This was a preparation which the apostles never required; but Farel believed him. "I was," says he, "the most wretched of men, I turned my eyes away from the light."⁵

In the young Dauphinese this incident produced a return of his Romish fervour. His imagination was excited by the legends of the saints, and in proportion to the severity of the monastic

¹ Farel. A tous seigneurs.

² Thus with Farel, still more than with Luther, it was not the doctrines only, but the morals likewise, it was the general order of the whole ecclesiastical and civil state, that fixed his meditations, and struck him as not conformed to the Bible. This must still be the case with all who durst believe their eyes, and who are not blinded with prejudices, or influenced by the dread of loss. This last, meanwhile, is often the cause why, though a man may have sufficient justness of view to see what is right, still there is wanting the courage that Farel possessed, and which is required for the regulating of all things according to the light he has attained.—L. R.

³ Farel. A tous seigneurs.

⁴ Oculos demittens, visis non credebam. (Farel Natali Galeoto.)

⁵ Oculos a luce avertēbam. (Farel Natali Galeoto.)

life, the more he felt inclined to embrace it. The Chartreux monks dwelt in gloomy cells, in the midst of a wood; he visited them with feelings of respect, and took part in their acts of abstinence. "I was wholly employed, night and day, in serving the devil," says he, "according to the man of sin, the pope. I had a Pantheon of my own in my heart, and so many intercessors, saviours, and gods, that I might have been taken for a popish register."

Denser darkness there could not be; the morning star was soon to rise, and was to appear as if at the summons of the words of Lefèvre. Even at that time some rays of light had found their way into the Etaples doctor; he had a profound conviction that the Church was not to remain in the state in which it stood; and at the moment of his return from chaunting mass, or of rising from before some stone image, often would the old man turn to his young disciple, and grasping his hand, say to him in a serious tone: "My dear William, the world behoves to be changed, and you shall see!"¹ Farel did not clearly see the drift of these words. Lefèvre, however, did not confine himself to the utterance of mysterious sayings; a great change was then taking place in his own heart, and could hardly fail to produce a like change in his disciple.

The old doctor was engaged in a work of great labour; this was a careful selection of the legends of saints and martyrs, and the arrangement of them in the order in which their names occur in the calendar. Two months had passed through the press, when one of those gleams which come from on high, threw light at once into his soul. He could no longer suppress those risings of disgust which every christian heart must feel for childish superstitions. The grandeur of God's Word made him sensible that these fables were wretched indeed. They now seemed to him no better than "brimstone fitted to kindle the fire of idolatry."² He abandoned his design, and throwing aside those legends, he betook himself affectionately to holy Scripture. That moment in which Lefèvre, relinquishing the marvellous stories

¹ Letter to all lords. See also the letter to Pellican. Ante annos plus minus quadraginta, me manu apprehensum ita alloquebatur: "Gulielme, oportet orbem immutari et tu videbis!"

² A tous seigneurs, peuples, et pasteurs.

of the saints, placed his hand on the Word of God, was the commencement of a new era in France, and originated the Reformation.

Lefèvre, in fact, on relinquishing the fables of the breviary, applied himself to the study of the epistles of St. Paul; light rapidly increased in his heart, and he straightway communicated to his disciples that knowledge of the truth which we find in his commentaries.¹ Strange doctrines, indeed, alike to the school and to that age, were those which were then heard in Paris, and which the press disseminated throughout the Christian world. One may imagine how the young disciples that heard him, must have been struck, affected, and changed; and that thus, even previous to 1512, the dawn of a new day was bursting upon France.

The doctrine of justification by faith, which subverted both the subtilties of the schoolmen and the practices of the popedom at one blow, was now openly announced in the heart of the Sorbonne. "It is God alone," said the doctor, and the vaulted roofs of the university might well be astonished at having to re-echo words so strange, "it is God alone, who by his grace, through faith, justifies for everlasting life."² There is a justification by works; there is a justification by grace; the one proceeding from man, the other from God; the one is earthly and passes away, the other is divine and everlasting; the one is the shadow and the sign, the other is the light and the truth; the one gives the knowledge of sin to make men flee from death, the other gives the knowledge of grace that they may have life."³

"What then!" it was said on hearing instructions that contradicted those of four whole centuries, "was there ever a single man justified without works?" "A single man!" replied Lefèvre: "there have been innumerable such. How many have there been among persons of immoral lives, who have ardently desired the grace of baptism, without anything but faith in Christ, and who, if they happened to die immediately afterwards,

¹ The first edition of his Commentary on St. Paul's epistles, is, I believe, dated 1512; it is to be found in the Royal library at Paris. The edition I quote is the second. The learned Simon says, (in his *Observations on the N. T.*) that "James Lefèvre ought to be placed among the ablest commentators of his age." We would say even more than that.

² Solus enim Deus est qui hanc justitiam per fidem tradit, qui sola gratia ad vitam justificat æternam. Fabri Comm. in Epp. Pauli, p. 70.

³ Illâ umbratile vestigium atque signum, hâc lux et veritas est. (Ibid.)

have entered into the life of the blessed without works!" "If then we be not justified by works, it is vain to do them?" was the answer of some. The Paris doctor replied, and the other reformers would not perhaps have quite approved of the answer. "Certainly not; it is not in vain. If I turn a mirror to the sun's rays, it receives them on its surface; and the more it is polished and the cleaner it is kept, the brighter appears the sun's radiance as reflected from it, but if it be allowed to become tarnished, that radiance of the sun is lost. Just so with justification in those who lead an impure life." Lefèvre, in this passage, like St. Augustine in several, may not clearly enough distinguish between justification and sanctification. The Etaples doctor here reminds us sufficiently of the bishop of Hippo. They who lead an impure life have never had justification, and consequently they cannot lose it. But Lefèvre may have intended to say that the Christian, should he fall into some breach of duty, loses the sense of his salvation, not his salvation itself. In that case there is nothing objectionable in his doctrine.

Thus did a new life and new lessons make their way into the university of Paris. There did the doctrine of faith, preached in early times in the Gauls by such as Pothinus and Irenæus, make itself heard anew, and thenceforth that great school of Christendom was divided into two parties, and two different races. The prelections of Lefèvre, and the zeal of his disciples, presented the most striking contrast to the scholastic instruction of the greater number of the doctors, and to the thoughtless and foolish lives of the greater number of students. Much more attention was given in the colleges, to learning to repeat the parts in a comedy, to the inventing of fantastic dresses, and to acting farces on raised stages, than to the study of the oracles of God. The point of those farces would often be aimed at the honour of the great, of the princes, nay, even of the king himself. The parliament interfered about the time of which we speak; it called the heads of several colleges before it, and prohibited those too indulgent masters from allowing such comedies to be acted within their college buildings.^{1 2}

¹ Crévier. *Hist. de l'université*, v. p. 95.

² A piece of insolence of this kind is described by M. Genin, as having taken place posterior to the princess Margaret's marriage to the king of Navarre, and

But these disorders were corrected at once in consequence of the minds of the students being led off by a more powerful diversion than orders from the parliament. On Jesus Christ being made the subject of academical instructions, great was the whispering on the university benches, and the doctrines of the Gospel began to engage almost as much attention as the subtilties of the school, or the acting of comedies. Many, however, of those whose lives were most irreproachable, held for works, and perceiving that their lives were condemned by the doctrine of faith, they pretended that St. James opposed St. Paul. Being resolved to defend the treasure he had discovered, Lefèvre showed the consistency of the two apostles with each other: "Has not St. James said," chapter 1st, "that every excellent grace and every perfect gift is *from above*? Now who denies that justification is the perfect gift, the excellent grace? . . . If you see a man move, the breathing that we observe in him is to us a sign that he is alive. Thus works are necessary, but only as

to their retirement to their own principality of Bearn, in 1530, in consequence of the ungrateful and tyrannical conduct of Francis I. to his sister and her second husband. Nothing could have given less real cause of offence than their conduct in Bearn. "They applied themselves," says M. Genin, "to promote the happiness of their subjects, and the prosperity of commerce and agriculture; they soon changed the face of the country by sending for labourers from Berry, Saintonge, and Sologne. While her husband was fortifying Navarreins, Margaret was employed in building the palace of Pau, and surrounding it with magnificent gardens. She had taken upon herself the title and the office of minister of the poor, and it does not appear that she made any sinecure of it; she visited the indigent sick, sent them physicians, and distributed abundance of secret alms. She endowed the hospitals of Alençon and Mortagne; founded a *hospice* (house of refuge for pious travellers and strangers) at Pau, and another at Paris, that for orphans, called from their uniform, the *red-children*.

"But she gave a welcome to doctors who smacked of heresy; she allowed Gerard Roussel to preach at her court in a lay dress; she employed her credit in getting him appointed bishop of Oleron. The rage of her enemies was augmented by their impotency and by the cool disdain which Margaret opposed to their attempts. Their audacity was emboldened by her patience. One day a fanatical monk, at a meeting for concerting what measures should be taken against the queen of Navarre, proposed that she should be put into a sack and thrown into the Seine. The principal of the college of Navarre, no doubt from a desire to restore the credit of the name of his house, which seemed to be compromised, *dared to have a wretched farce acted by the professors and students, in which Margaret was represented as a hell-fiend* (*furie d'enfer*): not having the power to drown her, they damned her. Indignant at this insolence, the king would have had those who had been guilty of it, apprehended; the principal, in his robe, at the head of his gang, received the king's messengers with a shower of stones. But this fine comedy ended rather unpleasantly for the actors. The queen of Navarre, happening to be in Paris at the time, went and threw herself at her brother's feet, and obtained forgiveness for the pedants." See notice, p. 55, 56. She used to be denounced also from the pulpits. TR.

the signs of a living faith which is followed by justification.¹ Is it eye-salves, or washes that illuminate the eye? . . . No, it is the virtue of the sun. Well now, those salves and washes are our works. The ray alone which the sun darts from above, is justification itself."²

Farel eagerly listened to these instructions; soon these tidings of grace had an inexpressible charm for him. All objections vanished; every conflict ceased. Hardly had Lefèvre announced this doctrine, when Farel embraced it with all his natural ardour. He had sustained enough of toil and struggle in acquiring the lesson that he could not save himself; and he needed but to see it laid down in the Word, that God saves freely, to believe that it was so. "Lefèvre," says he, "drew me out of the false opinion of merit, and taught that all proceeded from grace; and this I believed as soon as it was told me."³ Thus did a prompt and decisive conversion, like that of St. Paul, lead to the embracing of the faith that Farel, who, to use the words of Theodore Beza, daunted neither by threats, nor insults, nor blows, gained over to Jesus Christ Montbeliard, Neuchâtel, Lausanne, Aigle, and, finally, Geneva.⁴

Lefèvre, meanwhile, persevering in his instructions, and like Luther, fond of employing contrasts and paradoxes, in which great verities were involved, extolled the grand peculiarities of the mystery of redemption. "Ineffable change," he would exclaim, "innocence is condemned and the guilty is absolved; blessing is cursed, and he who was cursed is blessed; life dies and death receives life; glory is covered with confusion, and he who was confounded is covered with glory."⁵ The pious doctor penetrated even beyond this, and acknowledged that all salvation proceeds from the sovereignty of God's love. "They who are saved," he would say, "are so by election, by grace, by the will of God, and not by their own. Our election, our will, our works, are inefficacious; the election of God alone is omnipotent.

¹ Opera signa vivæ fidei, quam justificatio sequitur. (Fabri Comm. Epp. Pauli, p. 73.)

² Sed radius desuper a sole vibratus, justificatio est. (Ibid. p. 73.)

³ Farel. A tous seigneurs.

⁴ Nullis difficultatibus fractus, nullis minis, convitiis, verberibus denique inflic-
tis territus. (Bezae Icones.)

⁵ O ineffabile commercium! . . . (Fabri Comm. 145 verso.)

When we are converted, it is not our conversion which makes us chosen of God, but it is by God's grace, will, and choice, that we are converted."

But Lefevre did not confine himself to doctrines alone; if he gave God the glory, he required from man obedience, and urged the obligations that flow from the great privileges of the Christian.² "If thou art of the Church of Christ, thou art of Christ's body," he would say; "and if thou art of the body of Christ, thou art filled with the Godhead; for the fulness of the Godhead dwells in him bodily. Oh! if men could but comprehend this privilege, how would they not keep themselves pure, chaste, and holy, and how would they not account all this world's glory to be but shame, in comparison of that inward glory which is hidden from the carnal eye?"³

Lefevre could perceive that the office of doctor of the Word involves a high magisterial function, and this he discharged with an immovable fidelity. The corruption of the times⁴ and that of the ecclesiastics in particular, moved his indignation, and called forth severe reproofs: "How shameful," he would say,

¹ Inefficax est ad hoc ipsum nostra voluntas, nostra electio; Dei autem electio efficacissima et potentissima, etc. (Fabri. Comm. p. 89, verso.)

² Thus Farel contemplated the doctrine of election by grace, which has been already mentioned, not as a mere speculative point of doctrine, as has been done by many in later times, but with a heart filled with a sense of God's free unmerited love. Contemplated in the former manner, it enfeebles the mind and makes the Gospel lose its power, but contemplated in the latter, it enhances that power; and is fruitful in stimulating to all good.—L. R.

³ Si de corpore Christi, divinitate repletus es. (Fabri Comm. p. 176, verso.)

⁴ The enemies of the Reformation, Romanist and philosophical, have exhibited all the inconsistencies of Mainbourg, in their charges against its professors in France. Thus *le Laboureur* tells us that most of the learned men patronised by Francis I., and his sister Margaret, had *hardly any religion*, and choose the *most libertine* and the *most convenient*, which did not prevent them, however, from "speaking uncharitably of the ignorance and ill lives of some of the clergy." Professor Genin, on the contrary, labours to make it appear that the princess never was a Protestant beyond co-operating with other good Roman catholics, to effect a reformation in "the scandalous abuses" of the clergy at that time. See *Notice sur Marguerite d'Angoulême*, p. 17. Such Reformers M. Genin considers all honest people and religious minds must have wished success to. Lacrosette, so far from associating the Reformation with a libertine and convenient religion, represents Francis I. as opposing it chiefly on the ground of "the malignant passions and lugubrious gravity that accompany a taste for theological controversies." See *Hist. de France, pendant les Guerres de Religion, Introd.* p. xlviii.

The truth is, the Reformation, like the Gospel, opposed alike scandalous living in all parties, and the really lugubrious asceticism by which the Romish church seeks to atone for sin; and thus has it been with it, as with our Lord and John the Baptist. Its Christian liberty has been called licentious; its stern morality diabolical. Tr.

“is it for a bishop to solicit people to drink with him, to devote himself to nothing but gambling, to be ever handling the dice box and the horn, to be taken up with nothing but hawks and hounds, to be ever out hunting, shouting after feathered and other game, to enter houses of debauch.¹ . . . O but these are men that deserve worse punishment than Sardanapalus himself!”²

¹ Et virgunculas gremio tenentem, cum suaviis sermones miscentem. (Fabri Comm. p. 208.)

² Speaking of the prospects of the Reformation in France, at this period, Galliard says: “The general dispositions of Europe when Luther appeared, dispositions so much opposed to the court of Rome and so favourable to the Reformation, seemed likely to be found stronger in France than elsewhere. That state had suffered more than any other from the perfidious acts of pope Alexander VI., and the furious proceedings of Julius II. The mild and moderate Louis XII. had found himself constrained to break out against Julius, and to call a council at Pisa for the purpose of deposing him; he struck a medal with this inscription, adopted by Luther, *Perdam Babylonis nomen*. Under Francis I., the affair of the Concordat had embittered the minds of the clergy, the parliament, the university, of all those bodies, in fact, whose sentiments direct the feelings of the public. Francis I., notwithstanding the condescension he had shown in that affair to the popes, had almost always enemies in Leo X. and Adrian VI. Possibly had Luther lived in France, such a conjuncture of circumstances, might have procured for him the same success in that kingdom that he had in Germany, but the focus of the Reformation was lighted up at too great a distance from France.” &c. The historian then enters into a long detail showing how many things, both in the religious and the political sphere, concurred to make France repel the Lutheran Reformation.

This was wisely ordered by Divine Providence. An *imported* Reformation would to this day have armed against its reception in France, the susceptibilities of a people excessively jealous of their nationality. It was well that the Reformation which they had, erected as it was on the same foundation of Scripture and primitive Christianity, should have been raised from the first by Frenchmen.

Looking at the pre-ordained peculiarities of French society, an acute observer might perhaps have predicted from the first, what afterwards happened, that the mass of the French people, descended from Gauls who had become thoroughly imbued with the Roman paganism which Roman catholicism has in so many points closely imitated, would, along with the priesthood, a body united with the people by common tastes and traditions, as well as by community of blood, have continued as much opposed to the simplicity of Gospel worship, as the same class was in other countries favourable to it; and that its friends in France would mainly be found in the Gothic and Teutonic noblesse of that country, and in the middle classes whose rising wealth and intelligence made them so far superior to the tyranny of ancient superstition. Court, priesthood, and populace, succeeded, by the wars and massacres of the 16th, and the persecutions of the 17th century, to suppress the Reformation in France. But in surviving it, these parties survived also, nearly the whole of, according to La Noue, the most numerous and generous aristocracy in Europe, a large and thriving middle class, and a considerable body of learned pastors and teachers. France from that moment declined in every element of national greatness, and continued to sink as long as the nation was composed of those three papal elements, that is, from 1685 to 1792. The revolution destroyed for a time the court and priesthood, while philosophy and military ambition did much to make the populace less religious in any sense. The Reformation is again pushing its conquests in France under a singularly altered condition of things, and many expect in the nineteenth century, a repetition of the experience of the sixteenth. Such an

III. Thus spoke Lefèvre. Farel listened to him with feelings of high delight, received all that he said, and threw himself into the new course now suddenly opened before him. Still there was one article of his old creed which he could not as yet entirely relinquish; this was the saints and the invocation of them. The finest minds often have such remains of darkness, which cling to them after they have received the light. Farel heard with astonishment the illustrious doctor assert, that Christ alone should be addressed in prayer. "Religion has but one foundation," said Lefèvre, "but one aim, but one chief, Jesus Christ, blessed for evermore; he alone hath trodden the winepress. Let us not then call ourselves by the name of St. Paul, or of Apollos, or of St. Peter. Christ's cross alone opens heaven, and it alone shuts the gate of hell." On hearing these words, Farel's soul became the scene of a terrible conflict. On the one hand, he beheld the whole multitude of the saints ranged on the side of the Church; on the other, Jesus Christ alone with his master. Sometimes he inclined to the one side, sometimes to the other; here was his last error and his last combat; he hesitated, he continued to attach himself to those venerable personages before whom Rome bows down and worships. At length the decisive stroke descended from on high. The scales fell from his eyes. Jesus alone appeared to him the proper object of adoration. "Then," says he, "the popedom was utterly subverted; I began to detest it as diabolical, and the holy Word of God had the first place in my heart."¹

Public events hastened the progress made by Farel and his friends. The same Thomas de Vio who afterwards encountered Luther at Augsburg, having advanced in a work of his that the pope was absolute monarch of the Church, Louis XII. brought the book under the notice of the university in the month of February, 1512; and it was then that James Allmain, one of the youngest doctors, and a man of profound genius and indefatigable industry, read, at a full meeting of the theological faculty, a refutation of the cardinal's assertions, which was loaded with applause.²

historical comparison enhances the interest of both periods, and to assist the reader in making it, I throw out these remarks.—Tr.

¹ Farel, a tous seigneurs.

² Crévier's History of the university of Paris, vol. v. p. 81.

Now, what an impression was not such a discourse fitted to produce on the young disciples of Lefèvre! Should they hesitate when the university seemed impatient of the yoke of the popedom? If the main body of the army itself waver, was it not for them to push on in front and clear the way? "The popedom," says Farel, "could not fail gradually to come to the ground in my heart; for it did not yield at the first concussion."¹ He contemplated the abyss of superstition in which he had been plunged. Once more, as he halted on its edge, he viewed all its depths with a restless eye, and recoiled from the sight with a feeling of terror. "Oh! what horror do I entertain for myself and my sins when I think of them!" he exclaimed.² "O Lord!" he continues, "had my soul but served thee in lively faith, as thy faithful servants have done; had it but prayed to thee and honoured thee as much as I devoted my heart to the mass and to serving that charmed morsel, rendering all honour to it!" Thus did this youth from Dauphiny deplore his past life, and would repeat with tears as Saint Augustine of old used to do: "I have been too long of knowing thee; I have been too long of loving thee!"

Farel had found Jesus Christ; having reached the port, he felt happy in being able to rest himself there, after the long tempests he had encountered.³ "Now," he would say, "every thing presents itself to me under a new aspect.⁴ Scripture is made clear; the prophets are opened; the apostles send a flood of light into my soul.⁵ A voice, until now unknown, the voice of Christ, my shepherd, my master, my doctor, powerfully addresses me. . . ."⁶ So changed was he, that "instead of the murderous heart of the furious wolf," he returned, he would say, "tranquilly, like a mild and affectionate lamb, with a heart entirely withdrawn from the pope and given up to Jesus Christ."⁷

Escaped from such a calamity, he turned to the Bible,⁸ and

¹ Farel. *A tous seigneurs.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Animus per varia jactatus, verum nactus portum, soli hæsit.* (Farel Galeoto.)

⁴ *Jam rerum nova facies.* (*Ibid.*)

⁵ *Notior scriptura, apertiores prophetæ, lucidiores apostoli.* (*Ibid.*)

⁶ *Agnita pastoris, magistri et præceptoris Christi vox.* (*Ibid.*)

⁷ Farel. *A tous seigneurs.*

⁸ *Lego sacra ut causam inveniam.* (Farel Galeoto.)

zealously applied himself to the study of Greek and Hebrew.¹ He read the holy Scriptures constantly with an ever warmer regard for them, and God enlightened him from day to day. He still continued his attendance at the churches of the old worship, but what did he find there? Loud voices and singing without end, and words uttered without their being understood.

. . . .² Accordingly, often amid the multitude that was pressing round an image or an altar, he would exclaim: "Thou alone, thou art God; thou alone, thou art wise; thou alone, thou art good!"³ Nothing ought to be diminished from thy holy law, nothing ought to be added thereto; for thou art the only Lord, and thou alone hast the will and the power to command!"

Thus did all men, and all doctors, descend, in his apprehension, from the elevation in which his imagination had placed them, and his whole regards became engrossed by God and his Word. Already had the persecutions to which Lefèvre had been subjected by the other doctors in Paris, make those men lose all favour in his eyes; but, ere long, Lefèvre himself, his much-loved guide, was no more to him than a man, a man, indeed, whom he should ever love and venerate, but God alone became his master.

Farel and Luther, of all the reformers, are those, perhaps, with whose early spiritual experience we are best acquainted, and who had to pass through the severest struggles. Both keen and ardent; both born for assault and battle; they had both to sustain the toughest conflicts before they came to enjoy peace. In Farel we see the pioneer of the Reformation in Switzerland and in France; he throws himself into the copse; he applies his axe to forests that have stood for ages. Calvin, like Melancthon, from whom he differs, indeed, in character, but with whom he shares the part of theologian and organiser of the Churches, comes later. These two, reminding us so far, the one in the bland, the other in the severe tone of character, of the legislators of antiquity, build up, arrange in settled order, and legislate, in the countries that were conquered by the two first reformers.

¹ Life of Farel, Geneva Manuscript and that of Choupard.

² Clamores multi, cationes innumeræ. (Farel Galeoto, Neuchatel manuscripts.)

³ Vere tu solus Deus! (Ibid.)

Meanwhile, if there be a resemblance in some points betwixt Luther and Farel, we must admit, that in the latter we see but one side of the Saxon Reformer. Besides the superiority of his genius, Luther, in what concerned the Church, had a moderation, a wisdom, a range of view, as respected both past times and present, and even a capacity for organizing social bodies, which we do not find to the same degree in the Reformer from Dauphiny.

Nor was Farel the only young Frenchman into whose mind a new light was poured. The doctrines caught from the lips of the illustrious Etaples doctor, fermented in the crowd that attended his lectures; and in his school were formed those courageous soldiers who were one day to maintain the conflict, at the very stake. What he said called forth attention, comparison, and discussion; much vivacity being displayed in speaking for or against his positions. There is some ground to believe that among the few students who defended the truth, was the young Peter Robert Olivetan, born at Noyon towards the close of the fifteenth century, who afterwards translated the Bible into French, upon the basis of Lefèvre's translation, and who seems to have been the first to recommend the doctrines of the Gospel to the attention of a young man of his family, also a native of Noyon, and who lived to be the most illustrious of all the leaders of the Reformation.¹

Thus, previous to 1512, when as yet Luther had made no kind of figure in the world, and had gone to Rome on some monkish business; when Zwingli had not even begun any zealous application to sacred literature, and was passing the Alps with the confederates, to fight the battles of the pope, Paris and France were hearing those vital truths from which the Reformation was to come forth, taught from a professor's chair; and souls fitted to propagate them, were imbibing them with a holy avidity. Theodore de Beza, accordingly, in speaking of Lefèvre of Etaples, hails him as the person "who had the courage to commence the renovation of the pure religion of Jesus Christ;"² and he remarks that "just as the school of Isocrates was observed

¹ Biogr. univ., art. *Olivetan*. Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, p. 53 of the French edition.

² Et purioris religionis instaurationem fortiter aggressus. (Bezæ Icones.)

of old to furnish the best orators, from the class-room of the doctor of Etaples were seen to come forth the greatest worthies of their times and of the Church."¹

In France, then, the Reformation was no foreign importation. It was born on French soil; it shot its first germs in Paris; it struck its first roots in the very university, that second power in Romish Christendom. God put the principles of that work into the honest hearts of men of Picardy and Dauphiny, before it had commenced in any other country of the world. The Swiss reformation, as we have seen,² was independent of the German reformation; and that of France, in its turn, was independent of those of Switzerland and Germany both. The work commenced at once in those different countries, without any communication betwixt them; as in a battle, all the divisions of an army put themselves in motion at the same instant, not because the one has told the other to march, but because one and the same order, coming from a higher quarter, has been heard by all. The times were fulfilled, the nations were made ready, and God began the renovation of the Church everywhere at once. Such facts demonstrate that the grand revolution of the sixteenth century, was the work of God.

Looking only to dates, we must acknowledge then, that neither to Switzerland, nor to Germany, belongs the glory of having commenced this work, although these two countries are the only ones up to this time that have disputed it between them. That glory properly belongs to France, and this is a truth in point of fact which we hold ourselves bound to establish, as one that up to the present time, may perhaps have been disowned. Without stopping to inquire what influence Lefèvre exercised directly or indirectly on several men, and possibly on Calvin in particular, let us consider that which he exercised on one alone of his disciples, namely, Farel, and on the energetic activity which that servant of God displayed from that time forward. After this, can we resist the conviction that even although Zwingli and Luther had never appeared, still there would have been a reforming movement in France? No doubt, we cannot calculate

¹ Sic ex Stapulensis auditorio præstantissimi viri plurimi prodierint. (Beza Icones.)

² See p. 11. of this volume.

how far it would have gone; we must even admit that one remote effect of what took place beyond the Rhine and the Jura, was to invigorate and quicken the march of the French Reformers at a later period. But they were the first to be roused by the trumpet that sounded from heaven in the sixteenth century, and they, too, were first up and armed, on the field of battle.

Luther, nevertheless, was God's grand instrument in the sixteenth century, and, in the largest meaning of the word, he was the first Reformer. Lefèvre was not the finished man that Calvin, Farel, and Luther were; although he holds of Wittemberg and Geneva, he has some slight remains of the Sorbonne cleaving to him; he is the first catholic in the movement of the Reformation, and the last reformed in the catholic movement. He remains to the last as a go-between, a somewhat mysterious mediating personage, destined to remind us that there is some connection between those old, and these new things, which a great gulph seems eternally to separate. Though Rome repels and persecutes him, still he remains attached to Rome by a slender thread which he is unwilling to break. Lefèvre of Etaples has a place apart in the theology of the sixteenth century; he is the link that connects modern with ancient times, and the man in whom we see the passage effected between the theology of the middle ages, and that of the Reformation.¹

IV. Thus, all was ferment in the university. But it was not the learned alone that were to be employed in the Reformation in France; it was to gain a footing among the great, nay, in the very court of the king.

¹ One remark is strikingly applicable to these three reformations, as well as to those of other parts of Europe, by no means excepting Italy and Spain, although in these last countries the religious awakening was soon crushed by the inquisition, namely, that they had their origin not in political causes, but in deep religious feelings, overwhelming convictions of truth, and a strenuous application to the study of Holy Scripture. Political aims may have mingled afterwards with the reforming movement, mere politicians may often have ranged themselves with men of much loftier views; but, originally and essentially, the revolution turned upon profound religious convictions. This fact, together with the unquestionably Scriptural and moral character of those convictions, has grievously annoyed both Romanist and infidel historians; and every effort, accordingly, has been made to conceal, obscure, and misrepresent it. But here, as in other cases, passion and prejudice have hurt their own cause by their precipitation and inconsistency. If the movement was political, and the author of the *Esprit de la Ligue* insists that in all instances but Switzerland it was so, why so many prosecutions and capital punishments for *heresy*? And why such pains to fix the charges of *religious fanaticism* on men, who at the same time are held out as the prime movers in great political changes, having pure self-interest for their end? Tr.

Louis XII. was succeeded by his cousin-german, and son-in-law, young Francis d'Angoulême, a prince whose handsome figure, address, courage, and love of pleasure, made him the first knight of his time. But he had a higher aim than that; he desired to be a great and even a good king, provided all things gave way before his sovereign pleasure. Valour, love of letters, and gallantry, went to form the character of Francis and the spirit of his times. Two other illustrious kings, Henry IV., and Louis XIV., presented the same points of character, at two subsequent periods. All three were wanting in what the Gospel bestows; and although the elements of holiness and Christian elevation, have ever been found in the (French) nation, it may be said that those three great monarchs of modern France, have in some measure stamped with the impress of their own characters, the people whom they governed, or rather that they imaged forth that people to the very life. Had the Gospel entered France in the person of the most illustrious of the Valois, he might have introduced into the nation, a spiritual tendency, a Christian sanctity, and a comprehension of divine things, which it certainly does not possess, and he might thus have supplied a desideratum which, more than anything else, goes to render a nation powerful and great.

It was in the reign of Francis I. that France and Europe underwent the transition from the middle ages to modern times. The new world, as yet but in embryo when that prince ascended the throne, then entered upon its majority and into possession. The new social system was influenced by two classes of persons. On the one hand, we can trace the rise of men of faith, who were at the same time men of wisdom and holiness; on the other, we see courtly scribblers, the friends of worldliness and disorder, who by the libertinism of their principles, contributed almost as much to corruption of morals, as the first did to their reformation.

Had not Europe, in the days of Francis I., beheld the rise of the Reformers; had it been delivered over, by a severe judgment of Providence, to infidel innovators, it would have been all over both with it, and with Christianity. Great, indeed, was the danger. These two classes of combatants, the adversaries of the pope, and those of Jesus Christ, were for a time confounded

with each other, and as both called for freedom, both seemed to employ the same weapons against the same enemies. An inexperienced eye could not distinguish them from each other, amid the dust of the battle-field. Had the former allowed themselves to be hurried along with the latter, all would have been lost. The foes of the hierarchy passed rapidly to the extremes of ungodliness, and were driving Christian society into a frightful abyss; the popedom itself aided this horrible catastrophe, and by its ambition and disorders, hastened the destruction of all that was left of truth and life in the Church. But God raised up the Reformation, and Christianity was saved. The Reformers who had been shouting for liberty, soon made obedience their watch-word. The same men that had been subverting the throne from which the Roman pontiff delivered his oracles, prostrated themselves before the Word of God. A clear and decisive separation then took place; hostilities even commenced between the two divisions of the army. The one had wanted liberty only for themselves; the others claimed it in the interest of the Word of God. The Reformation became the most formidable foe to that infidelity which Rome contrived so often to treat with mildness. After having restored liberty to the Church, the Reformers restored religion to the world, and of these two benefits, the latter was then the most necessary.

The abettors of infidelity trusted for a time that they might reckon among their adherents Margaret de Valois, duchess of Alençon, whom Francis loved with a devoted affection, and used always to call his darling, says Brantôme.¹ Brother and sister were distinguished by the same tastes and the same mental accomplishments. Possessing, like Francis, a handsome person, Margaret united to those strong qualities which constitute greatness of character, the softer charms that captivate the heart. In general society, at festive entertainments, at the court of the king as well as at that of the emperor, she shone like a queen, she fascinated, she astonished, she made conquests of the hearts of others. Passionately devoted to literature, and endowed with a rare measure of genius, she would retire to her closet and give herself up to the enjoyment she derived from her

¹ *Vie des Dames illustres*, p. 333. edit. de la Haye. 1740.



own thoughts, from study, and from increasing her stores of knowledge. But the greatest of all her desires was that of doing good and preventing ill. Ambassadors, after they had been received by the king, used to pay their homage to Margaret. "They were greatly ravished with her," says Brantôme, "and went back with much to say about her to their fellow-countrymen." And the king would often hand over to her matters of great importance, leaving "the total resolution thereof to her."¹

This celebrated princess was always distinguished by great severity of morals; but while many persons confine severity to words and in their manners are free, Margaret did the contrary. Irreproachable as she was in her conduct, she was not altogether so as respected her writings; but so far from being surprised at this, we ought rather perhaps to be astonished that so corrupt a woman as Louisa of Savoy, should have had so pure a daughter as Margaret. While she was traversing the country as a member of the court, she set herself to paint the manners of that age, and, in particular, the corruption of the priests and the monks. "I have heard her," says Brantôme, "relate this to my grandmother who always accompanied her in her litter, as her maid of honour, and held her ink-stand."² Such, according to some, was the origin of the *Heptameron*; but modern critics, held in just esteem, are convinced that Margaret was a stranger to that, at times, more than frivolous collection, and that it was the work of Desperiers, *valet de chambre* to the queen.^{3 4}

¹ Vie des Dames illustres, p. 337. Hague Edition, 1740.

² Ibid. p. 346. Hague edition of 1740.

³ This has been established by one of the most distinguished literary men of our day, M. Ch. Nodier, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, tom. xx, where, among other things, he says, p. 350: "Desperiers is the true and almost the sole author of the *Heptameron*. I have no hesitation in saying that I have no doubt of this, and that I quite agree with de Bouistan, who seems to have had no other motive for *concealing* or *omitting* the name of the queen of Navarre." If, as I believe, Margaret composed some tales, (no doubt the most decent of those composing the *Heptameron*), it must have been in her early youth, immediately after her marriage with the duke d'Alençon (1509). The circumstance mentioned by Brantôme (p. 346), that the king's mother and madame de Savoie, "being young," wished to "imitate" Margaret, proves this. To this testimony we may add that of de Thou, who says: "*Si tempora et juvenilem ætatem in qua scriptum est respicias, non prorsus dammandum, certe gravitate tantæ heroinæ et extremâ vitâ minus dignum.*" (Thuan. Hist. vi. p. 117). "If you consider the times and the youthful age at which it was written, it is not altogether to be condemned, though it is certainly beneath the gravity of so great a heroine, and unworthy of her old age." (De Thou's History, Book. vi. p. 117.) Brantôme and de Thou are both unexceptionable authorities.

⁴ Professor Genin ridicules the idea of Desperiers being the author of the "*Tales of the Queen of Navarre*" to which M. Nodier has improperly given the

This Margaret, so lovely, so clever, and living in so corrupt an atmosphere, was destined to be among the first to be drawn into the religious movement then beginning to be felt in France. But how, in so impure a court, and amid the licentious tales supplied for its amusement, could the duchess of Alençon come within reach of the Reformation? Her lofty soul felt longings which nothing but the Gospel could satisfy; grace is confined to no particular place; Christianity which even before an apostle was seen in Rome, had its partisans in the house of Narcissus and at the court of Nero,¹ upon its appearing again, soon found an entrance into the court of Francis I. Lords and ladies spoke to the princess in the language of faith, and the first beams of the sun that was then rising over France, fell upon an illustrious head, from which they were immediately reflected upon the duchess of Alençon.

Among the most distinguished noblemen at court was count William de Montbrun, son of cardinal Brignonnet of St. Malo, who, on becoming a widower, had entered the Church. Count William was fond of study, and having taken orders himself,

title of "the Heptameron." I could wish to embrace in a Note all that the editor of the princess's letters says on the subject, but it occupies nine 8vo. pages. The main facts are these. Though very little is known about Desperiers, it is certain that the tales that pass under his name cannot be his, as circumstances are introduced in them which took place after his death, and his irreligious character forbids the idea of his being the author of any of the "queen of Navarre's tales," all of which, says professor Genin, *without exception*, are stamped with a *spirit of devotion*. The princess is supposed to have begun them in 1521, the year in which there appeared the first French translation of Boccaccio's Decameron, and to have ended about the close of 1548, as the 66th tale introduces an adventure that happened posterior to July of that year. "It is known," says M. Genin, "that during the last year of her life, she was affected with a profound disgust for all earthly things, not excepting literature and the arts." She died in October, 1549. The first authentic edition of the "Tales" appeared ten years after, in 1559, and even then they were announced as *retouched*, and this retouching extends to the whole work. The original text is no where to be found. "The result of all this," says professor Genin, "is that, properly speaking, the tales of the queen of Navarre are still unpublished."

It is difficult to form a conclusion as to their alleged indecency. Professor Genin admits that they are of an opposite character from the princess's avowed productions, yet says they are all stamped with a devotional spirit, and that those who charge them with being licentiously immoral, only echo Voltaire, who was mistaken (*qui se trompait*). With every wish to ridicule so religious a person, Voltaire might easily found such a charge on very weak grounds. In our own day we have seen the most licentious immorality veiled in fine phrases and studiously adapted to the most fastidious taste, while we know, also, that old writers of high moral character, in the delineation of manners especially, employ language offensive to modern refinement, and which it is easy to denounce as immoral. I shall recur to Professor Genin's opinions in a future Note. Ta.

¹ Rom. xvi. 11; Phil. iv. 22.

became successively bishop of Lodève and of Meaux. Twice sent to Rome as ambassador, he returned to Paris without having been seduced by the fascinations and pomps of Leo X.

On his re-appearing in France, a general ferment had begun. Farel, now a master of arts, was teaching in the celebrated college of cardinal Lemoine, one of the four chief institutions of the faculty of theology in Paris, and equal in point of rank to the Sorbonne. Two fellow-countrymen of Lefèvre, Arnold and Gerard Roussel, and some others besides, extended the circle of liberal and generous minds. Brignonnet, just arrived from the festive entertainments of Rome, was amazed at what had been done in Paris during his absence. Thirsting for the truth, he renewed his old connection with Lefèvre, and ere long began to spend whole precious hours with the Sorbonne doctor, Farel, both Roussels, and their other friends.¹ Such was the humility of this illustrious prelate that he desired to be instructed by the humblest instruments, but, above all, by the Lord himself. "I am in darkness," he would say, "waiting for the grace of the divine benignity, from which my undeservings have banished me." His mind was dazzled, so to speak, with the brightness of the Gospel. His eyelids dropped in presence of that transcendent splendour. "All eyes put together," he adds, "would not suffice for the entire light of that sun."²

Lefèvre had sent the bishop to the Bible—had pointed to it as the guiding thread which ever leads us back to the original truth of Christianity, to what it was anterior to all schools, sects, ordinances, and traditions, and as the mighty means of renovating the religion of Jesus Christ. Brignonnet read the Scriptures. "Such is the sweetness of heavenly food," he would say, "that it makes a man's mind insatiable; the more it is tasted, the more it is desired."³ He was ravished by the simple and powerful truth of salvation; he found Christ; he found God himself. "What vessel," he would say, "is capable of receiving such

¹ Hist. de la revocation de l'edit de Nantes, vol. i. p. 7. Maimbourg, Hist. du Calv. p. 12.

² These words of Brignonnet are extracted from the manuscript of the royal library, having this title: "Lettres de Marguerite, reine de Navarre (Letters of Margaret, queen of Navarre), and marked S. F. 337. I shall have more than one occasion for quoting this manuscript, which I have often found it difficult to decypher. In my quotations I retain the language of the time.

³ Ibid.

amplitude of inexhaustible sweetness? But in proportion to the desire felt for receiving the good guest, the tenement expands for his reception. Faith is the billet-master who alone can find him lodging, or, to speak more accurately, can make us lodge in him." But, at the same time, the good bishop was afflicted at seeing this doctrine of life which the Reformation was restoring to the world, appreciated so little at the court, in the city, and among the people; and he would exclaim: "O singular renovation, most worthy, and yet little relished by my fellow-men!" . . .

Thus did evangelical sentiments find their way into the frivolous, dissipated, and literary court of Francis I. Some of those who composed that court and who enjoyed the king's full confidence, such as John du Bellay, de Budé (Budæus), Cop the court physician, and even Petit, the king's confessor, seemed to favour the views of Brignonnet and Lefèvre. Francis, a lover of literature, who induced learned men with "Lutheran" leanings, to come and settle in his dominions, and who "thought," says Erasmus, "that he should thus adorn and give a lustre to his reign, more magnificently than he could by trophies, pyramids, and the most pompous constructions," himself felt the influence of his sister, of Brignonnet, and of the literary persons at his court and in his universities. He attended the disputations of his learned men, found gratification at his table in listening as they talked, and called them "his sons." He opened up facilities for the Word of God, by founding schools for the study of Hebrew and Greek. Beza, accordingly, in placing his portrait at the head of those of the Reformers, says: "O pious beholder! shudder not at the sight of this adversary! Ought not this honour to be shared by him who after expelling barbarism from the world, substituted with a firm hand in its place, three languages and good literature, to be, as it were, the door-keepers of the new edifice that was soon to appear."¹ ²

¹ Neque rex potentissime pudeat . . . quasi atrienses hujus ædes futuras. (Bezæ Icones.)—Disputationibus eorum ipse interfuit. (Flor. Ræmundi, Hist. de Ortu hæresum, vii. p. 2.)

² This refers, no doubt, to Francis I.'s design, for which Budæus gives him the sole credit, of founding a college for instruction in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Galliard enters at great length into the subject, in the 2d chapter, book iv. of his History of Francis I. The example had been set by Leo X., and Erasmus, but the French establishment was to be of unrivalled magnificence.

But one soul, in particular, at the court of Francis I., was prepared to come under the influence of the Etaples doctor, and the bishop of Meaux. Margaret, in her insecure and tottering position, surrounded by corrupt society, looked about for support, and found it in the Gospel. She turned to inhale the refreshing breeze then pouring new life into the world, and breathed it with delight as an emanation from heaven. From some of the ladies of her court she learned what was taught by the new doctors; their writings and small books, called in the language of that time "tracts," were communicated to her; she was spoken to on the subject of the "primitive church, of the pure Word of God, of worship in spirit and in truth, of Chris-

There was to be constructed, on the site of the hôtel de Nesle, where the Mazarin college was afterwards built, an edifice capable of containing a great many masters, not only for the languages but for all the sciences, and six hundred young scholars, whose course of study, under the whole of the professors, was to extend in all to fourteen years; the king was to set apart for its support an annual rent of 50,000 crowns, an enormous sum for those days, and proportioned to such a scale of expense; he was to construct a chapel, corresponding in magnificence with the other buildings, and to found four prebends and four chaplainships for its service.

Budæus used his utmost efforts to effect the full execution of this noble enterprise, at the head of which it was proposed, with a singular sacrifice of national feeling, to place Erasmus. But that learned foreigner could not be induced to come; war and, it is suspected, the intrigues of the enemies of learning, noble and ecclesiastical, thwarted the measures for securing a site and funds for building. "Happily for the nobility," says Galliard, "the king was fond of war; happily for the monks, he dreaded heresy; and neither accusations of heresy, nor occasions of war, were wanting during that reign. The king could not be prevented from wishing well to learning; endeavours were made to prevent his favouring it, and these succeeded so far; the college of the *three languages* was not to be erected at the hôtel de Nesle; but the professors were appointed and endowed. Two were nominated for Greek, and two for Hebrew, and the establishment bore from that time the name of the *royal college*. It was formed in the university (from which it was afterwards separated), and placed under the direction of the grand almoner, who seems to have nominated to the chairs until 1661." (Galliard's History of France, I. vol. iv. p. 174.) Though founded as a new ornament to the university, it at first created nothing but jealousy. The new professors were endowed and taught gratuitously. The old, who lived by their labours, naturally dreaded such competition.

The need there was in France, at that time, for such an institution, now appears incredible. Things could hardly be worse when Charlemagne called for the assistance of Alcuin to restore the ruined learning of that age. Galliard (v. iv. p. 159), adduces many testimonies to the fact that several of the professors at Paris hardly knew the names of Homer, Sophocles, Plato, and Thucydides; that the proverb, *it is Greek, we cannot read it*, was universally true. Galand asks if there was a single Frenchman, before Francis I., who had so much as heard it said in France that there was a Hebrew tongue, and challenges the adducing of a single case of a man being able to read Greek, or to write Latin. This Galliard thinks must be exaggeration, but he admits that though a faint gleam shone for a few, the darkness of barbarism covered the rest of France. All this makes Beza's placing Francis at the head of his *Icones* less surprising. TR.

tian liberty that casts away the yoke of men's superstitions and tradition, that it may cleave to God alone."¹ Erelong this princess saw Lefèvre, Farel, and Roussel; she was struck with their zeal, their piety, their morals, in short with everything about them; but the bishop of Meaux, with whom she had long been connected, became, more than any other, her guide into the way of faith.

Thus was there effected, amid the brilliant court of Francis I., and in the dissolute family of Louisa of Savoy, one of those conversions of the heart which, in all ages, are the work of the Word of God. At a subsequent period, Margaret expressed in her poetical effusions, the different emotions of her soul at this important epoch of her life; and in these we can now recover the traces of the path which she then traversed. We see how deep and strong were her convictions of sin, and how she wept over the light manner in which she had treated the scandals of the world. She exclaimed:

Is there a gulph of evil, yawning wide,
That fitting punishment can e'er provide,
For these my sins? . . .

This corruption which she had so long failed to observe, she perceived everywhere, now that her eyes were opened:

Within, I feel I have its bitter root;
Without, I see its branch, flow'r, leaf, and fruit.²

Meanwhile, amid the alarm produced in her by the state of her soul, she owned that a God of peace had drawn near to her:

My God! how low hast thou come down to me,
Worm of the earth, in utmost need that be.³

And soon the love of God in Christ was shed abroad in her heart:

My Father then . . . but as a Father, what
Thine attributes? Unchangeable, unseen,

¹ Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 17.

² *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses* (Lyon 1547). tom. I.^{er} *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, p. 15. (Pearls of the Pearl of Princesses. (Lyons, 1547). 1st vol. *Mirror of the Sinful Soul*, p. 15.) The copy I have made use of seems to have belonged to the queen of Navarre herself, and some Notes to be found in it are positively said to be in her own hand writing. It now belongs to a friend of the author's.

³ *Ibid.* p. 18, 19.

Deathless, eternal, who by grace, mere grace,
Do'st all sin pardon. Lord, I would therefore fall,
A criminal confest, before thy feet.
Oh meek Emmanuel, perfect Father, Oh
Have mercy upon me ; my sin wash out.
Thou art the sacrifice, the altar thou,
Who such a sacrifice for us hast made,
That ev'n thyself, O God ! art satisfied.¹

Margaret had found the faith, and her ravished soul gave
itself up to transports of holy joy:

Hail Word divine, the Saviour, Jesus Christ,
The everlasting Father's only Son,
The first, the last, of all restorer, king
And bishop, mighty conqueror, from death
By thine own death delivering dying men.
Faith makes ev'n man the great Creator's son ;
Faith makes man righteous, holy, full of love ;
Faith gives him back his long lost innocence ;
Faith makes him king in Christ, the sovereign lord ;
By faith I Christ possess, and all in him.²

From that time forth a great change took place in the duchess
of Alençon:

Poor, ignorant, and helpless, she
Is powerful, wise, and rich in thee.³

Meanwhile the power of evil was not yet abolished for her.
She found a jarring in her soul—a conflict that astonished her.

Born of a noble mind and yet a slave,
Earth's vileness, and heav'n's purity have both
Their parts in me. This soul, the seat of God,
Is the receptacle of sin ! And though
Immortal, to corruption yet I tend.
God feeds me, yet my pasture is on earth,
Evil I shun, yet what I shun I love,
And loving reason, fly from equity ;
Thus while my life shall last on earth, I see
Life a perpetual warfare still must be.⁴

¹ Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses. Prayer to J. C. p. 143.

² Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses. Discord de l'esprit et de la chair, p. 73. (Pearls of the Pearl of Princesses. Discord between the Spirit and the Flesh, p. 73.)

³ Ibid. Miroir de l'âme, p. 22. (Ibid. Mirror of the Soul, p. 22.)

⁴ Ibid. Discord de l'esprit et de la chair, p. 71. (Ibid. Discord of the Spirit and the Flesh, p. 71.)

Margaret, searching nature for symbols which might express the longings and affections of her soul, adopted as her emblem, says Brantôme, the flower "which in its rays and leaves has most affinity with the sun, and turns itself from all parts whither he goes."¹ She added to it this motto:

"*Non inferiora secutus :*" "I seek not meaner things ;"

"Intimating," adds that courtly writer, "that she directed all her actions, thoughts, wishes, and affections, to that great Sun, even God; and therefore was she suspected of belonging to Luther's religion."²

In fact, the princess soon lived to experience the truth of those words, that *all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution*. Margaret's novel opinions became the subject of conversation at court, and great was the noise made on the subject. "What! the very sister of the king was one of these folks!" For a short time it might have been thought that Margaret's fate was sealed. She was denounced before Francis I. But the king who fondly loved his sister, affected to think that there was nothing in the charge, and Margaret's own character gradually lessened the virulence with which she was opposed. "Every one loved her, for," says Brantôme, "she was very good-natured, gentle, gracious, charitable, very accessible, a great alms-giver, disdaining nobody, and gaining all hearts in favour of her admirable qualities."^{3 4}

¹ Vies des Femmes illustres, p. 33.

² Ibid p. 33.

³ Ibid. p. 341.

⁴ The disinterested and munificent protection and assistance bestowed on the earliest French reformers by the sister of Francis I., make it the peculiar duty of all who inherit their principles, to vindicate her character from unjust aspersions, and, accordingly, I here introduce a quotation from Professor Genin, omitted at p. 516. from want of room, and proving how much the true character of her tales has been misapprehended.

"The most celebrated, if not the best known of her works, is the collection of the *Queen of Navarre's Tales*. From the manner in which everybody speaks of these, it would seem that nobody has read them. The book, in fact, far from deserves either the detestable reputation given to it in regard to its morals, or that of being a masterpiece in respect of its style; as to which, be the style good or bad, the queen of Navarre is hardly interested, since the true text of her novels has never been published. As for the other point, Voltaire has done most to accredit that ill-founded opinion." M. Genin then shows how Voltaire was led to traduce the morality of the book, and that instead of forming his opinion by reading it, he seems to have merely re-echoed that of the Abbé Goujet, who in the *Bibliothèque Française* says: "I desire not to speak here of the tales attributed (to Margaret) . . . which have appeared unworthy of the course of that queen's life, and of the dignity of the throne." (T. xi. 408.)

Amid the corruption and the frivolity of that age, the mind gladly reposes in the contemplation of this chosen soul which the grace of God had apprehended under so much vanity and human grandeur. But she was stopt in her course by her character as a woman. Had Francis had his sister's convictions, doubtless this would not have been the result. The princess's timid heart trembled at the thought of incurring the wrath of her king. We behold her incessantly fluttering between her brother and her Saviour, and loath to sacrifice either. We recognise in her, not the Christian who has fully attained to the liberty of the children of God; but a perfect type of those lofty souls, often to be found in all ages, and particularly among women, which though strongly attracted towards heaven, nevertheless are wanting in the moral strength necessary for disengaging themselves from the bonds of this earth.

Such as she is, however, Margaret of Valois presents an affecting picture in history, and one that we look for in vain in Germany or England. The star, indeed, is somewhat clouded, but its lustre is incomparably soft and sweet; and even at the time of which I am speaking, its radiance was freely enough manifested. Not until some time after, when the incensed looks of Francis I. gave token of his mortal dislike to the Gospel, did his terrified sister veil her holy faith. But we have now to contemplate her, lifting up her head in the midst of that corrupt court, and appearing in it as the spouse of Jesus Christ. The

"On the contrary," says Professor Genin, "he ought to have spoken of them in order to refute an error too widely disseminated. But to have so spoken of them, he must have read them, and the Abbé Goujet was too devout at *holy Paris* to run the risks incident to such reading. With a little courage he might have assured himself that the queen of Navarre's tales were unworthy neither of that Princess's life, nor of the majesty of the throne, as he says with a somewhat ridiculous pomposity. Instead of the impure stories, the thought of which frightened his pious austerity, he would have found *moral tales*, or at least what deserve that title much more than those of Marmontel." This is not saying much, but let the reader mark what the professor says, after observing that there is little imagination in them, and that Margaret had simply endeavoured in a style of unadorned fluency, to relate adventures and witty sayings, collected right and left, and mostly from her own recollections: "But what neither Boccaccio nor Marmontel, nor their numerous imitators have done, the queen of Navarre never fails to do; she deduces from each tale a moral which it is meant to illustrate, and which often degenerates into nothing better than a sermon, so that each of them, to say the truth, is the preface to a homily. Margaret shows admirable talent in taking advantage of a love adventure, to speak of piety. The infidelities of wives and husbands, the faults or the crimes suggested by passion, all serve her as a text for grave, sometimes for severe reflections. She deduces from human frailty, proofs that we ought ever

respect with which she was regarded, the high opinion entertained alike of her understanding and her heart, pleaded better than any preacher could have done, the cause of the Gospel at the court of France. That mild influence of woman, gave access to the new doctrines, and possibly it is to this period that we may trace the leanings of the French nobility in favour of protestantism. Had Francis, too, followed his sister, had the whole nation opened itself to receive Christianity, the conversion of Margaret might have become the salvation of France. But whilst the Gospel was welcomed by the nobles, the throne and the people remained faithful to Rome; and it was yet to prove a source of great misfortune to the Reformation, that it had the Navarres and the Condés among its followers.

V. Thus early was the Gospel making illustrious conquests in France. Lefèvre, Brignonnet, Farel, and Margaret, were joyfully surrendering themselves in Paris to the movement which had begun to unsettle the world, and even Francis I. seemed at this time more attracted by the lustre of literature, than repelled by the severity of the Gospel. The friends of the Word of God were cherishing the fondest hopes, and expected to see the heavenly doctrine freely diffuse itself in their native country, when, lo! a formidable opposition arose in the Sorbonne and at the court. France, a country which for near three centuries was to signalise itself by its persecutions, rose to oppose the Reformation with relentless rigour. If the seventeenth century was that of bloody triumph, the sixteenth was no less so that of

to distrust our strength, and consequently implore, without ceasing, aid from on high, without which our wisdom here below is but foolishness. 'There is no moral strength,' says she, 'but in God.'

"This habit of bringing everything back to piety, forms the essential character of the book; it is stamped upon every page and every line; one might be amazed at seeing this denied, did we not know how much, in matters of criticism, traditions are vivacious and hackneyed, and what carelessness is often to be found even in judges whom the world most respects."

One obvious reason for these tales being misrepresented and traduced, to a degree of which M. Merle d'Aubigné seems to have been quite unaware, since he makes no attempt to defend them, is that they often relate to the monks, and not very favourably. In this respect even M. Genin fully defends them, and refers to the cordelier Menot, to prove that she was right in "pitilessly attacking their debauchery, their pride, all their vices, to which the costume they dishonour secures impunity." See "Notice," &c., pp. 93—97. From all this it would appear, that besides indulging a taste for composition, Margaret sought to take advantage of the fondness of that age for romantic stories, to direct it to higher objects and to inculcate religious truth. Tr.

cruel conflict; and no where perhaps did reformed Christians find more pitiless enemies on the very spots where they displayed the Gospel standard, than they did in France. As for Germany, it was in other states that its enemies prepared themselves for battle in their wrath; and in Switzerland it was in other cantons; but in France they directly confronted each other. It was now that a dissolute woman, and a greedy minister of state, headed the long list of the Reformation's enemies.¹

Louisa of Savoy, mother of the king and of Margaret, a woman notorious for her gallantries, absolute in her determinations, and surrounded with a court of maids of honour, whose

¹ I remarked, in a former Note, the opposition of feeling and interest between the clergy and commonalty of France on the one hand, and the nobility on the other. Of what ill consequence, in a national point of view, it was that the nobility should, by their leanings in favour of protestantism, create an association in men's minds between them and it, which the papal clergy knew well how to turn to their advantage, will be further seen from the following facts, taken from an old description of the three estates in France. The clergy were the first, the nobility the second, the commonalty the third. From the younger sons and remoter descendants of the feudal barons, bearing the title of *gentils hommes*, i. e. gentlemen, one would at first suppose that these became merged in what are called "the gentry" in Britain, comprising men of the learned professions, and successful traders and their descendants. Had this been so, the prejudice against protestantism because of the favour it had among the nobles, might have been expected to die away, the gentry forming a middle ground on which such prejudices would gradually disappear. But this was far from being the case. The remotest descendant of a baron kept aloof from the *tiers état*. He was born to but one profession—that of arms. It was never forgotten that he was of a distinct race from the third estate—was sprung from foreign invaders who had conquered the country by the sword, and were resolved to monopolise that weapon. This constitution of society goes far to explain, also, how men of letters, notwithstanding the immense obligations of French literature to the Reformation, ultimately ranged themselves on the side of its opponents. "The words *Tiers état* includes more," says my authority, "than that of *Burgesses*; and in the third estate we comprehend generally, all the degrees of men of learning and science, all the greater and lesser officers of justice and finance, and, in fine, all common people in town or country, as well those who live upon their income, as those who live by trade and those who work for their bread."

Here we have the full force of the author's remark that the Reformation, in the inscrutable order of providence, found the early favour of the French nobility to be "a great misfortune" at last. Had that body, as in our own more happily constituted society, been blended with the gentry, and the gentry with the burgesses, down to the honest labourer who toils for his bread, the papal hierarchy could have found few prejudices of caste to inflame against the doctrines of the Gospel. As it was against these, they could array an opposition of feeling and interest on the part of a third estate, that included the learned professions and men of learning, and all the civil officers, high and low, of the crown. These facts must greatly augment our surprise that the Reformation should ever have found favour with so large a proportion of the third estate in France, as had embraced it in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they may well encourage the expectation of still greater triumphs, now that the constitution of society there has undergone so total a change.

licentiousness introduced into the court of France a long course of immorality and scandal, might naturally be expected to range herself among the foes of God's Word, and was so much the more to be dreaded, in that she ever preserved an almost boundless influence over her son. But the Gospel found a still more formidable adversary in Louisa's favourite, Anthony Duprat, whom she had caused to be appointed chancellor of the kingdom. This man, whom a contemporary historian calls the most vicious of all two-legged animals,¹ was still more avaricious than Louisa was dissolute. Having begun with enriching himself at the expense of justice, he would fain have done the same thing afterwards at the expense of religion, and entered into orders with the view of monopolising the richest benefices.

Thus luxury and avarice formed leading features in the characters of those two personages, who being both of them devoted to the pope, sought to conceal the scandals of their lives with the blood of heretics.^{2 3}

One of their first proceedings was to deliver over the kingdom to the ecclesiastical domination of the pope. After the battle of Marignan, the king had a meeting with the pope at Bologna, and there they concluded the famous Concordat, by which the spoils of the Church were to be divided between these two princes. They took the supremacy away from councils to bestow it on the popes, and deprived the Churches of the power of nominating to bishoprics and benefices,⁴ to give it to the king;

¹ Bipedum omnium nequissimus. (Belcarius, xv., p. 435.)

² Sismondi Histoire des Français, xvi. p. 387.

³ It is no recommendation for the popedom that it needs such help, and still less that it makes use of it. It lies in its very nature, and without such help, would long since have been banished from the earth. It flatters princes, the great ones of the earth, and in short, all persons whose consciences are laden with misdeeds, and who, through their subjection to the pope, think by the observance of certain outward performances, to purchase forgiveness of their sins, and freedom to harden themselves therein, besides extending and confirming their often unlawful power.—L. R.

⁴ 'According to the ancient discipline, abbots were elected by the assembled monks; bishops by the clergy united with people, and the election of the bishops was confirmed by the bishops of the province, especially by the metropolitan. The multitude was thought then to be inaccessible to seduction; the voice of the people seemed to be a call from God. The annals of the Church inform us, that this discipline had a happy tendency during the first ages—that the people and the clergy almost always nominated by unanimous acclamation, the person who was most worthy, and that in the Gallican Church in particular, the episcopal see *received saints only, or rendered them such*, (Mezeray. Abr. Chr.) This was a natural effect of the spirit that presided at those elections, and of the precautions taken to make them canonical. No Church was en-

after which Francis I., in ratification of this treaty, appeared in the cathedral Church at Bologna, holding up the train of the pope's robe. He felt the injustice of the concordat, and turning to Duprat, he whispered in his ear: "There is enough of it to damn us both."¹ But what cared he about his salvation? Money, and an alliance with the pope, were what he looked to.

The parliament vigorously opposed the concordat. The king obliged its deputies to wait several weeks at Amboise; and having sent for them one day, just as he was leaving the table, he said: "There is a king in France, and I do not understand that a senate is forming there, as at Venice." He then ordered them to be off before sun-set. From such a prince, evangelical freedom had nothing to hope for. Three days thereafter, la Tremouille, the grand chamberlain, appeared in parliament and ordered the concordat to be registered.

Thereupon the university began to bestir itself. On the 18th of March, 1518, a solemn procession, attended by all the students and bachelors in their copes, proceeded to the Church of Saint Catherine of the scholars, to beseech of God to preserve the liberties of the Church and the kingdom.² "Colleges were to be seen shut up; armed students went about the city in large bands, threatening, sometimes even maltreating, persons of con-

trusted to a strange pastor, those words of the Gospel being observed as a principle: "The sheep follow the pastor for they know his voice; and a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of strangers." "It was not thought, according to the remark of the judicious Abbé Fleury, that a flock could confide in an unknown pastor, or that a strange pastor could properly govern a flock which he did not know. Every Church nominated as its bishop a baptized priest or deacon, instructed, ordained, and exercised in that Church, one who had grown up in the shade of the same altar, who had been prepared for the functions of his new ministry by functions of a similar kind discharged under the eyes of those who elected him. 'All ought to elect him whom all have to obey, and all ought to know him whom they elect.' Such was the maxim of antiquity." (Gaillard, *Hist. de François*, I. v. iii. p. 293.)

Universal corruption of doctrine and manners led to an universal change of constitution in the Church. Happily the Bible, which, had it partaken of the general corruption, might have become no better than the Talmud or Alcoran, was preserved by the secret providence of the Church's head, as the Old Testament Scriptures had been, notwithstanding the corruption of the Old Testament Church. And as the influence of the lively oracles of God prevails, may we hope to see a happy return to the above maxim of antiquity, in the appointment of all who rule and teach in the Church. It may be remarked, that parochial episcopacy alone, and that in the case of moderately sized parishes, admits of its full application, as in that case alone *all can know him whom they elect.*—Tr.

¹ Matthieu, i. p. 16.

² Crevier, v. p. 110.

sideration, who, by commandment from the king, were causing the said concordat to be published and executed.”¹ The university, however, ended at last, by tolerating the execution of this compact, but it never revoked the acts by which it had manifested its opposition; and forthwith, says the Venetian ambassador Correro, “they began to distribute bishoprics liberally at the suit of ladies at court, and to bestow abbacies on soldiers; in such a manner, that a trade in bishoprics and abbacies began to be carried on at the court of France, like that in pepper and cinnamon at Venice.”^{2 3}

While Louisa and Duprat were preparing the destruction of the Gospel, by first destroying the liberties of the Gallican Church itself, a fanatical and powerful party, on the other hand, began to rise against the Bible. Christian truth has at all times had two great adversaries, the dissolute morals of the world, and the fanaticism of priests. The scholastic Sorbonne, and a debauched court, might be expected to lend each other a helping hand in opposing the confessors of Jesus Christ. In the early days of the Church, unbelieving Sadducees and hypocritical Pharisees were the bitterest foes of Christianity, and such they are in all ages. The dark places of the school ere long vomited forth against the Gospel its most remorseless enemies, led on by Noël Bédier, commonly called Beda, a syndic of the Sorbonne, originally from Picardy, and called the greatest bawler, and the most factious spirit of his time. Educated in the dry aphorisms of the scholastic philosophy, having grown into manhood amid the theses and antitheses of the Sorbonne, and venerating the distinctions of the school, much more than he did the Word of God, he was transported with rage against all who had the audacity to give utterance to other doctrines. Restless, and incapable of taking rest, ever hankering after new

¹ Fontaine, *Hist. cathol.* Paris, 1562, p. 16.

² Raumer, *Gesch. Europ.* i. p. 270.

³ Here let us mark the first warning example of such a concordat concluded between the pope and a secular power, which for the Roman catholics themselves is most highly injurious. This concordat superseded the so-called pragmatic sanction, and thus annihilated all the liberties of the Gallican Church guaranteed by it, dividing the command of the Church's wealth between the pope and the king, and depriving the Church thereof. Yet, after all, it made the king the pope's vassal, especially in regard to the oppression of Protestantism. Ever may any such concordat be kept far aloof from the boundaries of our Fatherland!—L. R.

pursuits, he harassed all who came within his reach; he loved to fish in troubled waters, seemed as if made for raising storms, and when adversaries failed him, attacked his very friends. This impetuous mountebank made both the city and the university resound with his illiterate and fierce declamations against literature, against the innovations of that time, and against all who were not so eager to repress these as he could wish. Not a few smiled when they heard him, but others gave heed to the intemperate orator, and the violence of his character secured for him a tyrannical domination in the Sorbonne. As he behoved at all times to have an enemy to combat, and a victim to drag to the scaffold, he contrived to create heretics when otherwise there were none, and demanded that Merlin, vicar-general of Paris, should be burnt for having attempted to justify Origin. But when he saw the new doctors appear, he sprang upon them like a beast of prey at sight of some victim within easy reach. "In Beda alone," said the prudent Erasmus, "there are three thousand monks."¹

But these very excesses were found to injure his cause. "What now!" said the wisest persons of that age, "is it upon such Atlases as this that the Roman church is to repose?² What more likely to cause a conflagration than the mad freaks of Beda?"

In fact, those very words of his that overawed and terrified weak, revolted generous minds. There happened then to be at the court of Francis I. a gentleman from Artois, called Louis de Berquin, about thirty years of age, and who had never married. The purity of his life,³ his profound acquirements, which procured for him the title of "the most learned of noblemen,"⁴ the frankness of his character, his tender assiduities to the poor, his unbounded devotedness to his friends, all marked him from among his equals in rank.⁵ None observed the rites of the Church, its fasts, its feasts, and its masses, more strictly;⁶ and he manifested great horror, in particular, for everything that

¹ In uno Beda sunt tria millia monachorum. (Erasmi, Epp. p. 373.)

² Talibus Atlantibus nititur ecclesia Romana. (Ibid. p. 1113.)

³ Ut ne ramusculus quidem impuditiæ sit unquam in illum exortus. (Ibid. p. 1278.)

⁴ Gaillard, Hist. de François I. er.

⁵ Mirere benignus in egenos et amicos. (Er. Epp. p. 1238.)

⁶ Constitutionum ac rituum ecclesiasticorum observantissimus. . . . (Ibid.)

bore the name of heresy. It was marvellous, indeed, that the court could exhibit such a pattern of devotion.

Nothing whatever seemed likely to make such a man favourable to the Reformation; and yet one or two traits in his character, might be expected to lead him to the Gospel. Thus he abhorred every kind of dissimulation, and as he never meant ill to any one himself, as little could he endure that other people should commit injuries. But the tyranny of Beda and other fanatics, their intrigues and persecutions, roused the indignation of his generous soul; and as he did nothing by halves, he was soon to be seen wherever he went, in the city, at the court, "yea even among the most eminent persons in the kingdom,"¹ throwing fire and flames at the tyranny of those doctors, and "attacking in their very holes," says Theodore Beza, "those detestable hornets which were then the terror of the world."²

Nor was this all. In opposing injustice Berquin was led to inquire after truth; he felt a desire to make himself acquainted with that holy Scripture which was so much loved by the men against whom Beda and his underlings were bestirring themselves; and had hardly begun the perusal of it, when it made a conquest of his heart. Berquin immediately cultivated the society of the princess Margaret, Brignonnet, Lefèvre, of all who loved the Word, and in conversing with them, enjoyed a gratification of the purest kind. He felt that there was more to be done than merely to oppose the Sorbonne, and he could have wished that it were in his power to communicate the convictions of his own soul to the whole of France. He set himself, accordingly, both to write, and to translate into French, several Christian works. It appeared to him that all might be expected to acknowledge and embrace the truth as promptly as himself. In fact the same impetuosity of character that Berquin had shown in the service of human traditions, he now displayed in promoting the cause of God's Word. Although a younger man than the Syndic of the Sorbonne, although less prudent and less able, he had the noble enthusiasm inspired by the truth on his side. The two formed a pair of powerful wrestlers, each ready, by a

¹ *Actes des Martyrs de Crespin*, p. 103.

² *Ut maxime omnium tunc metuendos crabrones in ipsis eorum cavis.* . . . (Bezae Icones.)

vigorous effort, to attempt giving the other a fall. But Berquin had a higher aim than the mere overthrow of Beda. He could have wished to pour forth floods of truth upon his fellow-countrymen; a feature in his character which led Theodore Beza to say that France might possibly have found another Luther in Berquin, had he, in Francis I., found another elector.¹

These efforts were doomed to experience numerous obstacles. Fanaticism is ever sure to have followers; it is a fire that catches one thing after another. Ignorant priests and monks ranged themselves in the train of the Syndic of the Sorbonne, a society in which the spirit of corporation prevailed, and guided by certain intriguing and fanatical persons who could adroitly take advantage of the pusillanimity or the vanity of their colleagues, in order to infect them with their own violent resentments. At every meeting of the society, these factious persons were seen to take the lead in speaking, overawing others by their violence, and silencing the weak and the moderate. No sooner did the latter venture to propose anything, than the others would shout in a threatening tone: "We shall here see who are those that belong to Luther's faction."² Did any one utter an equitable sentiment, Beda, Lecouturier, Duchesne, and their whole crew, would instantly shudder at hearing it, and exclaim: "He is worse than Luther!" . . . This manœuvre was crowned with success; timid persons who preferred a quiet life to engaging in disputations; men ready to serve their private interests by surrendering their own views; men incapable of comprehending even the simplest questions; men, in fine, induced by the clamours of others, to abandon their proper character, were led away by Beda and his acolytes. Some held their peace, others shouted, all showed themselves subject to the power which one haughty and tyrannical spirit is wont to exercise over vulgar souls. Such was the state of that learned society, which, nevertheless, was looked up to with so much veneration, and which at that time was the most impassioned enemy of evangelical Christianity. It often happens that we need only give a look into the most celebrated corporations, in order to estimate at its proper value, the war which they rage against truth.

¹ Gallia fortassis alterum esset Luterum nacta. (Bezæ Icones.)

² Hic, inquiunt, apparebit qui sunt Lutheranae factionis. (Fr. Epp. p. 889.)

Thus did the same university which under Louis XII. had applauded Allmain's desires for independence,¹ at once plunge anew, under Duprat and Louisa of Savoy, into fanaticism and servility. With the exception of the Jansenists and a few other doctors, never do we find a noble and true independence in the Gallican clergy. That body has always oscillated between servility to the court, and servility to the pope. If, under Louis XII. or under Louis XIV., we find it show some appearances of liberty, it is only because its master at Paris happened to be engaged in a struggle with its master at Rome. Thus must we account for the transformation which we have pointed out. The university and the episcopacy ceased to remember their rights and their duties, as soon as the king ceased to command them so to do.

Beda had long entertained a grudge against Lefèvre; the Picard doctor's fame as a teacher irritated his fellow-countryman and wounded his pride; he could have wished, accordingly, to shut his mouth. Beda had once already attacked the Etaples doctor, and being little capable as yet, of knowing what the doctrines of the Gospel really were, he had impugned his colleague upon a point which, strange as it may appear to us, had almost brought Lefèvre to the scaffold.² That doctor had advanced that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, and the woman who was a sinner, spoken of by St. Luke in the seventh chapter of his Gospel, were three different persons. The Greek fathers had distinguished, but the Latin fathers had confounded them. This terrible *heresy* of the three Magdalens set Beda and all his crew agog; Christendom was thrown into commotion about it; Fisher, bishop of Rochester, one of the most distinguished prelates of that age, wrote against Lefèvre, and the whole Church declared itself then against an opinion which is now admitted by all Roman catholics. Condemned by the Sorbonne, Lefèvre

¹ Here, no doubt, the author refers to James Allmain, one of the last of the schoolmen, who taught at Paris at the commencement of the sixteenth century. He belonged to the sect of the Nominalists, was attached to the opinions of Occam on human liberty, and like him, too, opposed the papal supremacy. He was the author of several works on logic, and natural and moral philosophy, as also of one written at the instance of the university of Paris, on the authority of the Church and church councils, defending the same against the papal domination.—L. R.

Mr. Le Roy seems to have forgotten the reference to Allmain at p. 507. Tr.

² Gaillard, Hist. de François I.st iv. p. 228.

was already under persecution by the parliament¹ for heresy, when Francis I., delighted at finding an opportunity of giving a blow to the Sorbonne, and of humbling monkery, rescued him from the hands of his persecutors.²

Indignant at having his victim thus snatched from his grasp, Beda resolved to take better aim another time. Luther's name was now beginning to make a noise in France. The Reformer, after his disputation with doctor Eck at Leipsick, had consented to acknowledge the universities of Erfurt and Paris as his judges. The zeal manifested by the university against the concordat, had led him to hope that he could not fail to find impartial judges there, but times were now changed, and the greater the decision that the faculty had shown in opposing the encroachments of Rome, the more had it the maintenance of (what it considered) orthodoxy at heart. Beda, accordingly, found it quite disposed to enter into his views.

As early as the 20th of January, 1520, the quæstor of the nation of France bought twenty copies of Luther's conference

¹ The parliament here referred to, must not be supposed of the same kind with the British parliament—the great council of the nation, consisting of the nobility and representatives of the commons. The counter part to that in France was the states general, which very rarely met. But the parliaments of Paris, Rouen, Aix, Toulouse, &c., were corporations of lawyers, established at those places for the administration of justice, and the registration of the royal edicts. The weight they possessed led them, in the absence of any more national assemblies, to stand forward repeatedly as a bar to the encroachments of the monarchs of France on the liberties of the people; but having no clear constitutional trust of this kind, they did this very ineffectually. However much they might attempt to restrain civil tyranny, they were for long the grand abettors of spiritual despotism. *Tr.*

² This conduct on the part of Francis was, no doubt, dictated, also, by that monarch's high regard for Lefèvre, as is proved by the following anecdote. Francis had made repeated unsuccessful endeavours to secure the services of Erasmus as head of his projected Trilingual college. "What," says Gaillard, "neither views of fortune and ambition, nor pure love of literature, nor the gratification of his vanity, nor the tenderness of friendship, could make Erasmus do in 1517 and 1518, a very slight cause led him to think of in 1522. Erasmus was of an eager and weak temperament, susceptible of all the whims of an invalid; he thought that he could perceive at Basel, that his stomach was strengthened by the wine of Burgundy, and this was enough to make him think of fixing his residence there." This he hinted to the French ambassador, and application was instantly made to Francis by all the great and learned men at court, for a passport, which he no less eagerly granted. The first time thereafter that the king saw Budaüs: "Very well!" said the former, with an air of triumph and satisfaction, "we shall soon have Lefèvre amongst us!" "Lefèvre," said Budaüs, "we have never been without him." "No, no!" replied the king, "I meant to say Erasmus." De Burigny, from whose *Life of Erasmus Gaillard* takes this, adds: "The mistake was flattering to Lefèvre, whose talents, moreover, were an honour to France, and gave umbrage to the theologians." *Tr.*

with Dr. Eck, for distribution among the members of the company of the Sorbonne who were to give in a report on that affair. More than a year was devoted to the investigation. The German reformation was beginning to produce an immense sensation in France. The universities, institutions marked at that time by a true catholicity, and the resort of persons from all parts of Christendom, maintained a far more prompt and intimate relationship then, as respected theology and philosophy, between Germany, France, Switzerland, and England, than at the present day. The impression made in Paris by Luther's proceedings, fortified the hands of men like Lefèvre, Brignonnet, and Farel. Every victory that he won, gave them fresh courage. Not a few of the Sorbonne doctors were struck with the admirable truths to be found in the written works of the Wittenberg monk, and even already there were frank confessions made on the one hand, but instances of terrible resistance, also, on the other. "All Europe," says Crevier, "was on tiptoe of expectation, waiting for the decision of the university of Paris." The struggle seemed doubtful, but Beda prevailed at last, and in April 1521, the university ordained Luther's writings to be publicly committed to the flames, and that the author should be constrained to retract.

Nor did this suffice. In point of fact, Luther's disciples had preceded his writings in passing the Rhine. "In a short time," says the Jesuit Maimbourg, "the university swarmed with foreigners, who made themselves famous by knowing a little Hebrew and being well enough versed in Greek, insinuated themselves into the houses of persons of quality, and took an insolent liberty in interpreting the Scriptures."¹ The faculty, accordingly, appointed a deputation to make remonstrances to the king.

Francis I., caring little about the quarrels of theologians, continued his career of pleasure, and taking the lords and ladies of his court from château to château, in these he surrendered himself to all sorts of disorders, far from the unwelcome looks of the burgesses of his metropolis. In this manner he traversed Brittany, Anjou, Guyenne, Angoumois, and Poitou, making himself to be served in the villages and forests, as if he had

¹ Hist. du Calvinisme, p. 10.

been at Paris, at the château of the Tournelles. There was nothing but tournaments, combats, masquerades, sumptuous entertainments, and tables covered with good cheer, "such as those of Lucullus," says Brantôme, "never equalled."¹

This course of pleasure, however, was momentarily interrupted by his reception of the grave deputies of the Sorbonne; but in men whom the faculty denounced as guilty of heresy, he could see nothing worse than learning. Could a prince who boasted that he had brought the kings of France *out of leading strings*,² ever stoop to humour some fanatical doctors? "I have no wish," he replied, "that these persons should be put to trouble. To persecute those who instruct us, would be to hinder able men from coming amongst us."^{3 4}

The deputation, on leaving the king, was in great wrath. What might now be expected? The evil was daily growing worse; already were heretical opinions called "the sentiments of men of fine genius;" the devastating flame was finding its way into the most secret corners; soon they might look for a general conflagration, and then, the whole fabric of the faith, throughout all France, would come down with a crash.

Failing to obtain the king's leave to burn people at will, Beda and his friends sought more covert methods of persecution, and subjected the evangelical doctors to every sort of oppression. Fresh reports and fresh denunciations daily followed each other, so that the aged Lefèvre was tormented by these ignorant zealots and sighed for repose. The godly Briçonnet, who never

¹ Vie des Hommes illustres, i. p. 326.

² The French expression *mettre hors de page*, is rendered by Mr. le Roy in Dutch, *bring to majority*. Absolute independence and freedom of action seems to be meant. Tr.

³ Maimbourg, p. 11.

⁴ Thus do the princes and great ones of the earth, when not enlightened by a higher Spirit, contemplate religion from a secular, or perhaps a political point of view. Should they see in men who stand forth in defence of the truth, enlightened and accomplished persons who confer honour upon their country, in that case they may so far favour them; but should they be led by others to think that such men are dangerous to their power, or should they begin of themselves to perceive that the truth stands in the way of the gratification of their sinful propensities, they are speedily converted into persecutors, as may be seen in the case of Francis I. Let his example be a warning to the princes of our time, but let it likewise teach all who maintain the truth, not to trust for safety to any displays of enlightened minds, but rather to make it appear, without delay or disguise, what moral fruits the truth claims from those that profess it. Then every man knows what party to choose, and no man is deceived in his expectations or his hopes.—L. R.

ceased to give tokens of his veneration for the Etaples doctor,¹ offered him an asylum, upon which Lefèvre left Paris and repaired to Meaux. This was a first victory gained at the expense of the Reformation, and thenceforth we see, that though the party (opposed to it) might not succeed in bringing the civil power over to its side, it had a secret and fanatical police by which it contrived to attain its objects with unerring certainty.

VI. Thus did Paris begin to rise against the Reformation, and to trace the first lines of the circle, which, for nearly three centuries, was to remove the reformed worship to a distance from that capital. God had desired that the first gleams of light should appear in Paris itself; but men immediately rose to extinguish them; the spirit of the sixteen² already fermented in the metropolis, and other cities throughout the kingdom were about to be illuminated by the light which she was putting far away from her.

Since returning to his diocese, Briconnet had shown the zeal becoming a Christian and a bishop. He visited all the parishes, and having assembled the deans, parish priests, curates, churchwardens, and chief parishioners, he inquired as to the doctrines and lives of the preachers. At the collection times, he was told, the Franciscans of Meaux put themselves in motion, a single preacher went over four or five parishes in one day, as often repeating the same sermon, not for the spiritual nourishment of believers, but to replenish his belly, purse, and convent.³ On the wallets being well filled, the object was attained, the preachings ceased, and the friars never showed themselves in Church again, until another collection time came round. The only affair with these shepherds was the easing the flocks of their wool.⁴

The greater number of the parish ministers, on their side,

¹ Pro innumeris beneficiis, pro tantis ad studia commodis. (Epist. dedicata Epp. Pauli.)

² This name was given to a faction formed against Henry III. of France, in 1587, and which plotted depriving that monarch of his crown and liberty. One of its objects was to secure the use of Boulogne and other French ports, for the king of Spain's *invincible armada*, when engaged in its attempt to subdue England and English protestantism. TR.

³ Ea solum doceri quæ cænobium illorum ac ventrem explendum pertinerent. (Acta Mart., p. 334.)

⁴ Meaux M.S. I am indebted to M. Ladevèze, pastor of Meaux, for the communication of a copy of this MS., preserved in that city.

consumed their revenues in Paris.¹ "Oh!" said the godly bishop, on finding the parsonage he was visiting empty, "are not those traitors who thus desert Christ's service?"² Such evils Brignonnet resolved to remedy, and with this view he called upon his whole clergy to meet in a synod to be held on the 13th of October 1519. But these worldly priests who gave themselves little uneasiness about the remonstrances of their bishop, and for whom Paris possessed so many charms, took advantage of a custom in virtue of which they could present one or more curates to feed their flocks during their non-residence. Of a hundred and twenty-seven curates, Brignonnet, upon investigation, could approve of only fourteen.

Worldly ministers, imbecile curates, friars who thought only of good cheer, such, at that time, was the condition of the Church. Brignonnet interdicted the Franciscans from entering the pulpits;³ and under the conviction that the only way to provide his diocese with good ministers, was to train them himself, he resolved to establish a theological school at Meaux, to be directed by learned and godly doctors. These he had to look for; it was Beda that supplied them.

In fact, that fanatic and his company gave themselves no rest; and while they bitterly complained of the toleration of the government, they declared that they would carry on war against the new doctrines, with it, without it, or against it. In vain had Lefèvre quitted the capital; Farel and his other friends

¹ In this they were encouraged by the example of their bishops, among whom it became an established custom at length, to spend three months of the year in Paris, professedly as a mark of respect to the king, but in reality, we may presume, because they liked the gaiety of the capital, could pursue their schemes of ambition to most advantage there, and, above all, could watch for, and improve, every opportunity of intriguing against the Reformed, and undermining the privileges they enjoyed under the edict of Nantes. The Reformed, meanwhile, were not allowed to have a single minister nearer the capital than Charenton. Condé, afterwards, when at the head of the protestant interest in France, designed to deprive their enemies of this advantage, by making the court a rallying point for the Reformed nobility. This resolution, La Noue informs us, was relinquished for a reason most worthy of a Christian chief. *He dreaded lest the young protestant lords should be corrupted by the court, and accordingly, established the head quarters of French protestantism, in a fatal moment for its security, in the provinces. Paris long continued to be exclusively Romanist, and the resort of an innumerable host of clergymen of all degrees—how little to the advantage of its orthodoxy and morality, its more recent history demonstrates.* TR.

² Meaux Manuscript.

³ *Frequentissimas de reformandis hominum moribus conciones habuit.* (Lannoi, Navarræ gymnasii Hist. p. 261.)

were still there. Farel, it is true, never entered the pulpit, not being a priest; but at the university, in the city, with the professors, priests, students, and burgesses, he courageously fought the battles of the Reformation; and others, animated by his example, promulgated the Word of God ever more and more openly. Martial Mazurier, a celebrated preacher, and president of the college of St. Michael, spoke without reserve, depicted the disorders of the times in the gloomiest and yet the truest colours, and his eloquence had a force that seemed irresistible. The rage of Beda and of the theologians, his friends, was now raised to its highest pitch. "If we tolerate these innovators," said he, "they will carry the whole of the Sorbonne with them, and all will be over with our prelections, our traditions, our places, and with the respect in which we are held by France and all Christendom!"

The divines of the Sorbonne eventually proved the stronger party, and Farel, Mazurier, Gerard Roussel, and his brother Arnold, soon found their activity thwarted in all quarters. The bishop of Meaux upon this, urged his friends to rejoin Lefèvre; and these excellent men, hunted down by the Sorbonne, and hoping to form, when near Brigonnnet, a holy phalanx in the interests of truth, accepted the bishop's invitation and repaired to Meaux.¹ Thus did the light of the Gospel gradually withdraw from the capital in which Providence had kindled its first embers. *And this is the condemnation that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.*² It is impossible to avoid acknowledging, that Paris then drew down upon her walls the divine judgment indicated in these words of Jesus Christ.

Deprived in succession of Brigonnnet, Lefèvre, and their friends, Margaret of Valois felt uneasy on being left alone in the midst of Paris, and of the licentious court of Francis I. Her mother's sister, the young princess Philibert of Savoy, lived on intimate terms with her. Philibert, whom the king of France, by way of sealing the concordat, had given in marriage to Julian the Magnificent, brother of Leo X., had after this union repaired

¹ It was the persecution raised against them in Paris in 1521, that obliged them to leave that city. (Life of Farel by Chaupard.)

² Gospel according to Saint John, iii. 19.

to Rome, where, in the exuberance of his joy at so illustrious an alliance, he expended 150,000 ducats on the sumptuous festivities prepared for her reception.¹ In 1516, Julian died, leaving his widow eighteen years old. She attached herself to Margaret, whose genius and virtues enabled her to exercise great influence on all around her. Philibert's blighted hopes opened her heart to the voice of religion: Margaret communicated to her all that she read, and the widow of the Church's lieutenant general, began to taste the sweets of the doctrine of salvation. But Philibert was too inexperienced for the task of supporting her friend. Often would Margaret tremble as she reflected on her great weakness. If, on any occasion, her affection for the king and her dread of displeasing him, led her to do something contrary to her conscience, her soul was immediately troubled, and returning mournfully to the Saviour, in him her heart found a master and a brother, more merciful and more tender than was Francis himself. It was then that she said to Jesus Christ:

Meek brother, who wouldst now with thee unite
The foolish sister thou might'st justly smite,
Who murmurs, contumely, great offence,
With grace and love to her do'st recompense;
Too much, too much, my brother, this from thee,
How lavish thus thy goodness upon me?²

Seeing all her friends retire to Meaux, Margaret regarded them with many a sad regret from amid the festivities of the court. All seemed anew to forsake her. Her husband, the duke of Alençon, set off for the army; her young aunt Philibert, repaired to Savoy; the duchess turned to Brignonnet.

"M. de Meaux," she wrote to him, "knowing that one alone is necessary, I address myself to you, to beg of you with respect to him that you would by prayer be the means of his being pleased to guide according to his holy will, M. d'Alençon, who, by the king's orders, goes as his lieutenant-general to his army, which, I doubt, will not be disbanded without war. And inasmuch as peace and victory are in his hand, considering that besides the public good of the kingdom, you wish well to what concerns his weal and mine, I employ you in my affairs, and

¹ Guichemon, *Hist. gen. de Savoie*, ii. p. 180.

² *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, Marguerites de la Marguerite, &c., i. p. 36.

ask of you spiritual service, for I have to mix myself up with many things which may well make me afraid. And, further, to-morrow my aunt Nemours goes to Savoy. Therefore commending her and me to you, and praying of you that, should you know that the time would be proper for Mr. Michael to undertake a journey, it would be a consolation to me which I ask only for God's honour, committing him to your good discretion and his. Wholly yours, MARGARET."¹

Michael d'Arande, whose aid Margaret requested, was a member of the evangelical meeting at Meaux, and afterwards exposed himself to many dangers for the preaching of the Gospel.

This godly princess beheld with alarm the opposition to the truth becoming ever more and more formidable. Duprat and men connected with the government, Beda and others belonging to the Sorbonne, filled her with dreadful apprehension. "It is war," replied Brignonnet to her, with the view of fortifying her, "it is war that the meek Jesus has said in the Gospel, that he came to send upon the earth . . . and fire too . . . the great fire which transforms earthliness into divinity. I desire with my whole heart to aid you, madam; but from my own nothingness you must look for no more than a willing mind. With faith, hope, and love, one has all that is necessary, and needs no aid or succour. . . . God alone is all, and beyond him there is nothing to be sought for. To aid you in the conflict, do you have that mighty giant . . . insuperable love . . . war is directed by love. Jesus calls for the heart to be present: wretched is the soul that goes far from him. He who fights in person, is sure of the victory. He who employs another to fight for him, is often foiled."²

The bishop of Meaux himself began to experience what it is to combat for the Word of God. Divines and monks, indignant at his providing an asylum for the friends of the Reformation, accused him with such violence, that his brother, the bishop of St. Malo, came to Paris, to inquire into the matter.³ Margaret

¹ Lettres de Marguerite, reine de Navarre. Bibl. royale. Manuscrit. S. F. 337. (1521.)*

² Lettres de Marguerite. Manusc. S. F. 12th June, 1521.

³ Manuscrit de Meaux.

* As the author complains of the difficulty of decyphering these manuscripts, and seems to have omitted short passages here and there, from inability to make them out, I have taken advantage of Professor Genin's publication, which is fuller and apparently more correct. The letters, Professor Genin says, are copies and very ill done, *fort mauvaises*. Tr.

was only the more affected with Brignonet's consolations, and replied to these by sending him her offers of assistance.

"If in anything," she wrote to him, "you think that I can gratify you or yours, I should like you to believe that any trouble it may cost, will be to me a consolation. Eternal peace be yours, after these long wars waged by you for the faith, and in which warfare you desire to die. . . .

"Your daughter without reserve,

"MARGARET."¹ 2

It is to be lamented that Brignonet did not die while maintaining the combat. At that time, however, he was full of zeal. Philibert of Nemours, universally respected for her sincere devotion, her liberality to the poor, and her strict moral purity, read with an ever deeper interest the evangelical writings transmitted to her by the bishop of Meaux. "I have all the tracts that you have sent me," wrote Margaret to Brignonet, "of which my aunt of Nemours has had her share, and I shall send her the last also; for she is in Savoy at her brother's marriage, and this is no small loss to me, wherefore I beg you will pity my being so much alone." Unhappily Philibert lived not long enough to admit of her frankly pronouncing herself in favour of the Reformation. She died in 1524, at the château of Virieu-le-Grand, in Bugey, at the age of twenty-six.³ Her death was a grievous affliction to Margaret, for it tore from her a friend, a sister, one who could enter into all her feelings. One other death alone, that of her brother, could possibly have surpassed in intensity of anguish what she then experienced

Such floods of tears mine eyes bedew
That earth and heav'n are hid from view.⁴

Finding how very weak she was in struggling with her grief, and with the seductions of the court, Margaret besought Brignonet to exhort her to the love of God.—"May the meek and

¹ Manuscrit. S. F. 227, de la Bibl. royale.

² This letter is not in M. Genin's collection. The correspondence between the princess and Brignonet, he says, is very voluminous, the letters of the bishop being at times of prodigious length, while those of Margaret are few and short. It is to be regretted that the learned Editor has not published the whole of these last. TR.

³ Guichemon. Hist. de la maison de Savoie, ii. p. 181.

⁴ Chanson spirituelle après la mort du roi. Marguerites, i. 473.

gentle Jesus who wills," replied the humble bishop, "and who alone can do what he strongly wills, in infinite goodness visit your heart, exhorting it to love with all its might. None but he can do this; and you must not look for light to come from darkness, or heat from cold. In drawing you to him, he kindles a flame in you; and thus warming you, he leads you to follow him by expanding your heart. Madam, you write asking me to pity you because you are alone; I do not understand this; who that lives in the world and has a heart there, remains alone; for satiety and evil are her inseparable companions. But she whose heart sleeps to the world and is awake to the gentle and meek Jesus, her true and faithful spouse, is truly alone, for she lives in him who alone is necessary to her, and nevertheless is not alone, not being forsaken by him who replenishes and guards. Compassion I cannot and ought not to have for such solitude, which is more to be esteemed than all the world, from which I am assured the love of God has saved you, and whose child you no longer are. . . . Abide, Madam, alone in your only one . . . who was willing to suffer a painful and ignominious death and passion.

"Madam, in recommending myself to your good favour, I beseech you no longer to employ such expressions as those in your last letter. You are the daughter and the spouse of God alone; no other father must claim you. . . . I exhort and admonish you that you be to him such and as good a daughter, as he is a good Father . . . and since this is what you never can attain to, in as much as that which is finite, cannot correspond to infinitude; I beseech of him that he would be pleased to increase your strength, so that you may entirely love and serve him."¹

Notwithstanding these words of comfort, Margaret remained inconsolable. She bitterly mourned the loss of the spiritual guides that had been taken from her; the new pastors whom people pretended to impose upon her, with the view of reclaiming her, did not possess her confidence, and notwithstanding all that the bishop had said, she felt herself alone amid the court, and all around seemed dark and desolate. "Like as a sheep in

¹ MSC. S.F., 337, de la Bibl. royale, le 10 Juillet.

a strange place," she wrote to Brignonnet, "going astray, not knowing her pasture, through the ignorance of new pastors, naturally lifts her head, to catch the breeze in the quarter where the great shepherd was wont to provide her with sweet food, so am I constrained to crave your charity. . . . Come down from the high mountain and pitifully behold, amid this people which is far from seeing clearly, the blindest of all the sheep.

MARGARET."¹

The bishop of Meaux, in his reply, taking up the idea of a wandering sheep, under which Margaret represented herself, avails himself of it to represent the mysteries of salvation under that of a forest: "On the sheep entering the forest, guided by the Holy Spirit," says he, "it immediately finds itself ravished with the goodness, the beauty, the straightness, the length, the breadth, the height, and depth, the strengthening and odoriferous sweetness of the said forest . . . on looking round in every direction, it sees only *Him in everything and everything in Him*;² and advancing rapidly through its whole length, finds it so pleasant, that the path she treads is life, joy, and consolation."³ The bishop next represents the sheep as vainly endeavouring to reach the end of the forest, (an emblem of the soul that would fain sound the mysteries of God,) as encountering lofty mountains which it makes violent efforts to scale, but finding everywhere "an inaccessible and incomprehensible infinitude." He then teaches her the path by which the soul that seeks after God, overcomes these difficulties; he shows how the sheep in the midst of hirelings, finds the "great shepherd's corner." "She enters," says he, "in a flight of contemplation by faith. All is made smooth, all is made plain; and she begins to sing: 'I have found him whom my soul loveth.'"⁴

¹ MSC. S. F., 337, de la Bibl. royale, le 10 Juillet.

² Tout en Christ.

³ MSC. S. F. 337, Bibl. roy.

⁴ Brignonnet carried his love of allegory to the most extravagant pitch, while he seems to have been altogether wanting in the peculiar talent it requires. He has none of that clearness of conception, and strong graphic power, which makes John Bunyan so interesting, and without which, long-spun allegories become insufferably wearisome. "Never," says M. Genin, speaking of the bishop's letters, "was more inconceivable rhetoric employed in the service of more odd and more incoherent ideas. One might be tempted to consider the bishop's letters as the work of a fool, and yet William Brignonnet passed for one of the most eminent men of talent in his day. He was entrusted with the interests of France at the council of Pisa and the Lateran council. In the

Thus spoke the bishop of Meaux. Burning at that time with zeal, fain would he have seen all France renewed by the Gospel.¹ Often, in particular, would his attention be directed to those three great personages who seemed to preside over the destinies of his fellow-countrymen, the king, and the king's mother and sister. He thought that were the royal family enlightened, the whole people would be so, and that the priests, moved with jealousy, would come out at last from their state of death. "Madam," he wrote to Margaret, "I most humbly beseech God that he would be pleased of his goodness to kindle a fire in the hearts of the king, of our lady, and of you. . . . Such as to make you all three burn with a fire that would flame up and enkindle the rest of the kingdom, and especially the state, through whose coldness all the rest are frozen up."

Margaret did not share in these hopes. She speaks neither of her brother nor of her mother: these were points on which she dared not touch; but replying to the bishop in 1522, with a heart crushed with the indifference and the worldliness that surrounded her, she says to him: "The weather is so cold,

rubbish of his voluminous correspondence with the duchess of Alençon, you might search in vain for a gleam of common sense. It is strange that with this turn for the most extravagant mysticism, Briçonnet allowed himself to be drawn towards the doctrines of the Reformation, which flow from a spirit of inquiry, exerting itself through the medium of a cold and severe reason. This might seem still more strange, did we not see Lutheranism in our own days leading to methodism, in which are renewed, with some modifications, the ideas of quietism and those of Jansenism." This last sentence proves M. Genin to be an incompetent judge of the bishop's meaning, and, indeed, otherwise he would no doubt have paused before pronouncing a correspondence encouraged by such a person as Margaret of Valois to be mere rubbish. She could find, as M. M. d'A. has found, a precious meaning hid beneath the rubbish superinduced by a corrupted taste, and such a meaning as sound protestants, without a tinge of quietism or mysticism, could appreciate. M. Genin attributes to the bishop's influence, Margaret's sympathy for the disciples of Luther, on the ground of which she has so often been accused of heresy. But the school with which she sympathized, was not composed of Luther's disciples, it was the necessary result of a spirit of humble inquiry applied to the Scriptures of truth, in such men as Lefèvre, and that both anterior to the Lutheran Reformation and independent of it. With better reason M. Genin proceeds to say: "If Margaret submitted to the bishop of Meaux's influence in matters of faith and conscience, it was not so in regard to style. We possess but few of her devout letters; they are short, and albeit that Margaret endeavours to imitate her master's eloquence, she does so with little success. . . . Nature must have endowed that mind with great vigour of good sense, and clearness of judgment, thus to rescue her from the double authority of the man of learning and the spiritual guide, and to bring her back from the style of her mystical letters to that of her tales." (See "Notice," p. 7.) TR.

¹ Studio veritatis aliis declarandæ inflammatus. (Acta Martyrum, p. 334.)

the heart so frozen," and she subscribes herself, "your frozen, parched, and famished daughter,¹ MARGARET."

This letter did not discourage Briçonnet, but it made him examine himself; and feeling at the time how much he who would fain encourage others, needed to be cheered himself, he recommended himself to the prayers of Margaret and Madam de Nemours. "Madam," he wrote to her with great simplicity, "I beseech of you to awaken the poor sluggard by your prayers."²

Such, in 1521,³ was the interchange of sentiments at the court of France; strange sentiments, no doubt, and which, after the lapse of three centuries, a manuscript in the royal library has revealed to us. Are we to regard this influence of the Reformation in so high a quarter, as having been beneficial or hurtful to it? The sharp edge of truth penetrated into the court: but there it only served, perhaps, to rouse the savage beast from his lair, to stimulate his wrath, and to make him fall with greater fury on the humblest of the flock.

¹ Thus did this godly princess understand the matter better than the bishop did. This is vainly to be looked for from the great ones of the earth, when not, as in the case of the elector Frederick in Germany, and that of William of Orange in our fatherland (Holland,) fitted by God's particular appointment to be special instruments for the defence of the truth.—L. R.

² MSC. de la Bibl. royale.

³ M. Genin dates the commencement of "the Tales" in 1521, and they bear evidence, that then, or soon after, Margaret appreciated the N. T. Scriptures. The work is founded on the model of the Decameron, but instead of a party driven into solitude by the plague, it introduces a company of travellers who have been compelled by the floods and the breaking of bridges in Bearn, to seek shelter in a monastery. These proceed to entertain each other by telling stories, but the leading person is a widow Oysille, by whom M. Genin has no doubt the princess meant to represent herself, and of her we are told, that "she failed not every morning, to administer to them the salutary pasture which she drew from the reading of the Acts of the holy and glorious apostles of Jesus Christ. She tells them that these *novels* were sufficient to make them wish that they had seen the times of the apostles, and deplore the wretchedness of the present time. After having read and explained the beginning of that excellent book, she begged of them to go to the Church, and in the union with which the apostles prayed, to supplicate God for the grace which he never refuses, to such as ask it by faith." (*Seventh day.*)

From this, it seems very evident that the princess, who, in the prologue to her work, speaks of the immense popularity of the French translation of the Decameron, wished, by a holy guile, to take advantage, as I have said, of the prevailing taste, to recommend the Scriptures, and scriptural doctrine and morality to her readers.

Yet in a letter addressed to Briçonnet, in Jan. 1523, she reminds him of his promise to send her St. Paul's Epistles, and feelingly laments the difficulty she experienced in attempting to understand "the most holy Scriptures." "I beg," says she, "that you will excuse the blind who judges of colours; for I confess that the least word there is too much for me, and the clearest is to me obscure." (*Lettres Inédites de la Reine de Navarre, p. 164.*) Tæ.

VII. The times, in fact, were drawing near, when the storm was about to burst forth against the Reformation; but it was destined first to scatter a few more seeds, and to reap some scattered ears of corn. That city of Meaux, rendered so illustrious afterwards by the sublime defender of the Gallican system against the autocratical pretensions of Rome,¹ was the first city in France in which the renovated Christianity was to fix her empire. It was the field at that time on which the labourers lavished both seed and toil, and where already they were binding their sheaves. Brignonet, less asleep than he had said, animated, inspected, and directed all that was doing. With a

¹ Namely, J. B. Bossuet, in the latter part of the seventeenth century bishop of Meaux, and yet, although a defender of the liberties of the Gallican church, far removed from the sentiments of Brignonet, and at once a zealous and a crafty abettor of the Romish creed.—L. R.

The author has already given a fair general estimate of the vaunted independence of the Gallican church. In the particular instance here alluded to, of Bossuet's four famous resolutions, passed by the General Assembly of the Gallican clergy in 1684, it must be remembered that in these, not only the superiority of councils over popes, but the independence of the monarchical in regard to the papal power, was also strongly laid down—that this was admirably calculated to gain over Louis XIV., who had long resisted the civil oppression of his Protestant subjects, to the policy by which the Gallican clergy sought to effect their utter destruction as a Reformed Church—that it, no doubt, thus greatly contributed to promote that object—and, finally, that even in these days, when all branches of the Romish Church are supposed to be more enlightened and loyal than ever, the French government seems to despair of being able to enforce the law obliging the bishops to see to the teaching of Bossuet's four propositions, in their seminaries for the education of the clergy.

Many authors have written on the franchises of the Gallican church. The Abbé Gregoire particularly recommends the work of the Jesuit Maimbourg, on that subject. It may seem strange that a Jesuit should strenuously take the part that Maimbourg takes against the pope. But the Count de Montlosier gives an easy explanation of all such apparent inconsistencies. Speaking of the apparent changes of principle among the Jesuits, that author well says: "In examining what the Jesuits have been at other times, it is alleged that the question is misplaced. It were much more so, did we look only to what they are at present. First, because from what we know of them during the past, it is a matter of indifference to members of that order, to adopt such or such a doctrine, such or such a line of conduct; all is subordinated, in that respect, to circumstances, and to the position that circumstances command them to take. All is subordinated, likewise, to the will of the pope and to that of their general. Although ultramontaniam" (the doctrine impugned by Maimbourg) "is still much in favour among them, I am convinced that there is a certain number of Gallicans in (their institution at) Montrouge, who are kept in reserve to be produced as occasion may require. We shall obtain from them at will, such professions as may be demanded in favour of the charter and of the equality of all religious creeds in the eye of the law." See *Memoire à consulter*, &c., 7th Edition, p. 127.

Some years ago, a small party in France tried to revive the principles of Bossuet by publishing a religious periodical, conducted on those principles, but the experiment soon failed. In short, the four propositions of 1684, may be said to exist only in laws which are not, and cannot be enforced, the Gallican church having virtually abjured them. TR.

fortune equal to his zeal, never did any man make a nobler use of his means, and never did so noble a devotedness seem likely at first to produce such beautiful fruits. On being transferred to Meaux, the godly Paris doctors thenceforth exerted their energies with new freedom. There was an emancipation of the Word, and thus the Reformation made a great advance, at that time, in France. Lefevre powerfully expounded that Gospel with which it was his desire that the world should be filled. "Jesus Christ," he would say, "ought to become the sole object of the thoughts and aspirations of the kings, princes, great men, and people of all nations.¹ Every priest ought to resemble the angel whom John saw in the apocalypse, flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people. Come ye pontiffs, come ye kings, come ye generous hearts! . . . Ye nations, awake at the light of the Gospel, and breathe the life eternal.² The Word of God is sufficient."³

Such was, in fact, the motto of that school: "THE WORD OF GOD IS SUFFICIENT."⁴ In that expression the whole Reformation is comprised. "To know Christ and his Word," Lefèvre, Rousset, and Farel, would say, "is the only living, the only universal theology. . . . He who knows that, knows all."⁵

The truth produced a great impression in Meaux. Private meetings were first held; these were followed by conferences; and, at last, the Gospel was preached in the churches. But a new effort inflicted a still more terrible blow upon Rome.

Lefèvre wished to put the reading of the holy Scriptures into the power of the Christians of France; accordingly, on the 30th

¹ Reges, principes, magnates omnes et subinde omnium nationum populi, ut nihil aliud cogitent . . . ac Christum . . . (Fabri Comment. in Evang. præfat.)

² Ubivis gentium expergiscimini ad Evangelii lucem . . . (Ibid.)

³ Verbum Dei sufficit. (Ibid.)

⁴ Yes, indeed, *the Word of God is sufficient: the Bible alone*, but, also, *the whole Bible*. Let not this last in particular be forgotten. Thus was this maxim understood in the times of the apostles. It is to be doubted whether it is so now, by all who are continually repeating: *The Bible alone. The Bible alone without human expositions*, therefore, also, without our own arbitrary expositions, or those of the men who give the tone (to public opinion) in our day. The Bible, also, *entire*, with all that is to be found in it, although it may not accord with our own particular views! This is properly the sufficiency of God's Word as contemplated by the school here mentioned.—L. R.

⁵ Hæc est universa et sola vivifica Theologia . . . Christum et verbum ejus esse omnia. (Ibid. in Evan. Johan. p. 271.)

of October, 1522, he published a French translation of the four Gospels; on the 6th of November, that of the other books of the New Testament; on the 12th of October, 1524, all these in one body, at Meaux, at the printing press of Collin, and in 1525, a French version of the Psalms.¹ Thus did there commence in France, much about the same time as in Germany, that printing and that dissemination of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, which three centuries afterwards was to extend throughout the world. In France, as on the other side of the Rhine, the Bible had a decisive influence. Experience had taught many Frenchmen that when they sought to know divine things, doubt and obscurity surrounded them on all sides. During how many moments, nay, perhaps years of their existence, had they been tempted to regard truths the most certain as mere illusions! We must have light from above to enlighten our darkness, was the sigh of many a soul at the epoch of the Reformation. Such were the longings with which many received the holy books from the hand of Lefèvre; they were read in the domestic circle and in retirement; the Bible became more and more a subject of conversation; and to minds that had long been going astray, Christ appeared as the sun and centre of all revelation. There was no more need then of elaborate demonstrations to prove that the Scripture was from the Lord; this they knew, for it had translated them from darkness into light.

Such was the course by which men distinguished for their talents, came at that time to know God. But there were still simpler and, if possible, more vulgar ways, by which many from among the people reached the truth. The city of Meaux was almost exclusively inhabited by artisans and wool-dealers. "There was begotten in many," says a chronicler of the sixteenth century, "such a burning desire to know the way of salvation, that artisans, carders, fullers, and combers, did nothing else, during the time that their hands were busy, but talk to each other about the Word of God, and comfort each other therein. Sundays and holidays especially, were devoted to the reading of the Scriptures, and inquiring for themselves what was the good will of the Lord."²

¹ Le Long. *Biblioth. sacrée* 2d edit. p. 42.

² *Act. des Martyrs*, p. 182.

Brignonnet rejoiced to see godliness thus taking the place of superstition in his diocese. "Lefèvre, aided by his great reputation for learning," says a contemporary historian, "knew so well how to cajole and circumvent William Brignonnet with his plausible speeches, that he led him stupidly astray, in such wise that it has been found impossible, ever since, to clear that city and diocese of that mischievous doctrine; and to this day it has marvellously increased there. The subverting of that good bishop, was a great loss; until then he had been so devoted to God and to the Virgin Mary."¹

All, however, were not stupidly led astray, according to the expression of the Franciscan just quoted. The city was divided into two camps. On the one side were the friars of St. Francis and the friends of the Roman doctrine; on the other Brignonnet, Lefèvre, Farel, and all who loved the new preaching. Among the most slavish adherents of the monks, was a man belonging to the people, called Leclerc; but his wife and two sons, Peter and John, had received the Gospel with avidity; and John, who was a wool-carder, soon distinguished himself among the new Christians. A learned youth from Picardy, James Pavanne, "a person of great sincerity and integrity," whom Brignonnet had induced to settle at Meaux, displayed much warmth in the cause of the Reformation.

Meaux had become quite a focus of light, so that persons who happened to have calls thither, heard the Gospel and returned with it to their homes. Nor was it in the city alone that people searched the Scriptures; "many villages," says a chronicler, "did the like, in such wise that that diocese seemed to be irradiated with an image of the renovated Church."²

As the country about Meaux, is remarkably fertile in corn, when its harvests came to be reaped, a crowd of labourers flocked to it from the adjacent districts. While reposing at mid-day from their fatigues, these would converse with the people of the

¹ *Histoire catholique de notre temps*, par Fontaine, de l'ordre de St. François; Paris, 1562.

² How much is it to be wished, that the Christians of our day, also, would with fresh earnestness and delight search God's Word. Were they to devote to this those social meetings, now given to pastime and idleness, how powerfully might it not promote true intelligence and the good of mankind? Should the perusal of this history, written so closely to the life, stir up many readers to this exercise, then would its true object be attained.—L. R.

place, who spoke to them of other seeds to be sown, and of other harvests. Not a few of the peasants from Thierasche, and, still more, those from Landouzy, after returning home, persevered in maintaining the doctrines they had heard, and in a short time, there was formed there an evangelical Church, now one of the oldest in the kingdom.¹ "The fame of that great blessing was noised throughout France," says a chronicler.² Briçonnet himself preached the Gospel from the pulpit, and strove to disseminate everywhere, "that infinite, mild, kindly, true, and only light," as he expresses it, "which dazzles and illuminates every creature capable of receiving it, and which, while thus illuminating him, dignifies him with the adoption of the sons of God."³ He besought his flock not to give heed to those who wished to turn them away from the Word, telling them that though an angel from heaven were to preach to them another Gospel, they should not listen to him. His mind was oppressed at times with melancholy reflections. He could not depend upon himself; he started with terror at the thought of the dismal results that might attend his unfaithfulness, and as a warning to his people, he would say: "Even were I your bishop, to change in what I say and teach, do you beware of changing like me?"⁴ For the moment there was nothing that could lead one to anticipate such a calamity. "Not only was the Word of God preached," says the chronicle, "but it was practised; all works of love and charity were there in full exercise; morals were reformed, and superstitions annihilated."⁵ ⁶

¹ These facts are taken from some old papers, much spoilt, found in the Church of Landouzy-la-Ville (Aisne), by M. Colany, when he was pastor of that place.

² Act. des Martyrs, p. 182.

³ MSC. de la Bibl. royale. S. F. No. 337.

⁴ Hist. Catholique de Fontaine.

⁵ Actes des Martyrs, p. 182.

⁶ Even Florimond Raemon, whom Professor Genin calls "an historian without authority, a fanatic, pursuing with a blinded zeal wherever he thought he saw it, that heresy which he had first professed and then abjured," admits that Briçonnet was a diligent bishop. His account of the reformation at Meaux is curious. "As the peacock," says he, "is ashamed of itself when deprived of its plumage, and will not go abroad until its tail of many hues has recovered its former splendour, so heresy, that wild and horrid monster, in the consciousness of its own deformity, dared not show itself openly, until it had acquired the adscititious ornament of some fine writers to veil its turpitude, and recommend it to men, otherwise fond of novelty. We certainly saw it at first, in divers parts of France, rising and anon declining, now waning and now waxing, like the moon; like some pestilent snake, it crept from its nest, and again in a

Ever engrossed with the idea of gaining over the king and his mother, the bishop sent to Margaret "the epistles of St. Paul, translated and magnificently illuminated, most humbly begging of her that she would offer them to the king; the which," he adds, "cannot fail to be most gratifying, coming from your hands." "They are a royal mess," the worthy bishop goes on to say, "fattening without corrupting, and healing from all maladies. The more one tastes it, the more does hunger increase, in unappeased and insatiable desires."¹

What more gratifying message could Margaret have received? . . . The moment seemed favourable to her. Michael d'Arande was in Paris, detained there by command of the king's mother, for whom he was translating portions of holy Scripture.² But Margaret could have wished that the offer of St. Paul to her brother, should come from Brignonnet himself. "You would do well to come here," she wrote to him, "for you know the confidence that the king and she have in you."³

Thus was the Word of God placed at that time (in 1522, and 1523), before the eyes of Francis I. and Louisa of Savoy. They came into contact with that Gospel which they were afterwards to persecute. We see not that it made any saving im-

moment slunk back and hid itself; or like lightning at midnight, that flashes and disappears alike instantaneously. At length, however, in the year 1523, it came forth from its lurking places, and began, as it were, to walk about in open day, in the city of Meaux, not very far from Paris. That city was the first to give an open welcome to the Lutheran heresy, to the perpetual infamy of its name; hence afterwards the MEAUX LUTHERANS became a proverb. . . . The bishop of the place, at that time, was William Briçonnet, who, though not wanting in diligence as respected the flock committed to his care, is thought to have first opened the door to the Lutherans, under the influence of a certain curiosity, otherwise praiseworthy, had it been accompanied with prudence. For having contracted acquaintanceship and familiarity with the new professors of literature, who were then flocking from all parts to Paris, and tickling the ears and minds of many by their Græcissations and Hebraizations, he invited some of these Lutherano-Zwinglians to come to him; the four principal, among whom were William Farel from Dauphiny, James Lefèvre, and Arnold and Gerard Rufi (Roussel) from Picardy, very eloquent men, and well versed in the studies of good literature and the tongues, which they had taught in Paris." See *Hist. de Ortu, Progressu et Ruina Hæreseos hujus sæculi*, L. vii. c. 3. The author proceeds to relate how these Lutherano-Zwinglians began to corrupt the people of Meaux, conforming to the Church, yet instilling everywhere objections to the worship of the Virgin and the saints. He attempts, at the same time, to calumniate them as Arians, insisting that God the Father only was truly God, as if this were a necessary consequence, forsooth, of objecting to the idolatrous adoration of the Virgin and the saints. TR.

¹ MSC. de la Bibl. royale. S. F. No. 337.

² Par le commandement de Madame à quy il a lyvré quelque chose de la sainte Escripture qu'elle désire parfaire. (Ibid.)

³ Ibid

pression on them; curiosity alone appears to have led them to open the Bible which had began to be so much talked of, but they soon shut it with no better feeling than that with which they had opened it.¹

Margaret herself was struggling with the worldliness which on all sides surrounded her. The tenderness of her affection for her brother, the obedience she owed her mother, the flatteries with which she was beset by the court, all seemed to conspire against the love she had vowed to Jesus Christ. Christ stood alone against many. Assailed by so many adversaries and stunned by the din of the world, Margaret's soul would at times forsake her master. Then it was that, owning her sin, the princess would shut herself up in her apartments, and in giving vent to her grief, would make them resound with cries of a very different kind from the jovial songs with which Francis, and the young nobles who shared in his dissipation, amid their holiday festivities, would fill the royal houses.

To follow my pleasure, I've left thee ;
 For an evil choice, I have left thee ;
 Have left thee, but whither, alas ! have I gone ? . . .
 To where nought but a curse I can count upon !
 I've left thee, O friend undeceiving !
 Have left thee, and chosen, in leaving,
 Thine opposite, purposing thus to remove
 Still farther, O wretch that I am ! from thy love.²

Then, turning to Meaux, Margaret wrote in her anguish: "I return to you, to M. Fabry, (Lefèvre), and all you gentlemen, beseeching you by your prayers to impetrate from the unutterable mercy, an awakening morning for the poor enfeebled slumberer . . . out of her deep mortal sleep."³

Thus had Meaux become a focus diffusing light all around it, nor can we wonder that it should have encouraged the friends of the Reformation to entertain flattering illusions. Who could

¹ Thus do all human endeavours misgive, however wise they may be thought, and however planned according to the best wisdom of man. No ! it is not fine outward representations, not the appendages that people try to attach to the Bible and to the truth, but the internal contents that must make these to be relished by the hearts of persons, alike of high and low degree ; otherwise everything is confined to mere externals.—L. R.

² Les Marguerites, i. p. 40.

³ MSC. de la Bibl. royale. S. F. No. 337.

be supposed to withstand the Gospel, if Francis I. were to favour its progress? The corrupting influence of the court would then be changed into a holy influence, and France would acquire such a moral force as would make her the benefactress of nations.¹

But the friends of Rome, on their side, had their fears. Among these a Jacobin monk, called de Roma, distinguished himself at Meaux. One day that Lefèvre, Farel, and their friends happened to be conversing with him and some other of the popedom's partisans, Lefèvre could not restrain the expression of his hopes. "Already," said he, "the Gospel is gaining the hearts both of the great and of the common people, and ere-long it will spread through France, and everywhere bring down the inventions of men." . . . The old doctor became animated; his faded eyes flashed with enthusiasm, and his cracked voice became sonorous; one would have said that it was the aged Simeon returning thanks to the Lord, that his eyes had seen his salvation. Lefèvre's friends participated in his emotion, while their adversaries were amazed and held their peace. . . . All at once de Roma rose in a violent manner, and exclaimed, in the tone of a popular orator: "I, then, and all other friars, will preach a crusade; we will raise the people; and if the king permit the preaching of your Gospel, we will see to his being driven out of his kingdom by his own subjects."² 3

¹ Thus were their hopes dependent on man, and these hopes were not to be realised; for what would have been the result, had they been so? A Christianity according to this world, would soon have sprung from it. But now was it purified by persecution, and the Church, thus created, was transformed into a truly Reformed Church.—L. R.

² Farel, Epistle to the Duke of Lorraine, Gen. 1634.

³ We here see what the abettors of the popedom bear upon their ensign! And what reliance can we, what can the princes of the earth place on their representations, that catholicism would promote the security of thrones and the repose of nations? It flatters princes as long as these spontaneously comply with its demands; but should they fall short of these, then it is armed against princes with the murderous dagger itself.—R. L.

In a former Note I pointed to sundry R. C. authorities, establishing what the principles of the popedom are on these heads. Richard Baxter, in his key for Catholics, after proving that it is the doctrine of popery that subjects are absolved from their allegiance to their princes, and that it requireth the deposing of them and the committing the government of their dominions to others, because judged to be heretics by the pope; yea, or if they will not destroy and extirpate such as he calleth heretics, answers some objections with his usual acuteness. "Perhaps some will say," says he, "that this decree was not *de fide* (matter of faith) but a temporary precept. Answer. When a precept requireth duty, it may be a point of duty to believe it. . . . If practicals be not articles of faith, then we have no articles of faith at all, for all our theology or religion is practical. . . . Either it is a duty, or a sin, or indiffer-

Thus did a monk dare to lift himself up against the king-knight. The Franciscans applauded what he said. The realisation of the old doctor's prediction was not to be endured. Already, day after day, the friars were coming in, with smaller and smaller returns from their begging expeditions. The Franciscans took alarm and spread themselves among the surrounding families. "These new doctors are heretics," they exclaimed, "the holiest practices they attack—the most sacred mysteries they deny!" . . . Next, with still further hardihood, the most irritated among them left their cloister, repaired to the bishop's residence, and being admitted to his presence: "Crush this heresy," said they, "else the plague which is now desolating this city of Meaux, will soon spread throughout the kingdom!"

Brigonnnet was annoyed, and for a moment disconcerted by this attack; but he did not give way; he had too little respect for these gross monks and their interested clamours. He ascended the pulpit, justified Lefèvre, and called the monks pharisees and hypocrites. Nevertheless, this opposition was even then causing him vexation and produced internal conflicts in his soul; he sought strength in persuading himself that those spiritual conflicts were necessary. "By this same battle," said he, in his somewhat mystical language, "we arrive at a death

ent. If a *sin*, woe to their pope and council. . . . If it be *indifferent*, what then shall be called sin? If they can swallow such camels, what need they strain at gnats, and stick at private murders? . . . But if these murders and deposing of kings be a duty, how can they know it to be so, but by believing? And, indeed, if a general council and the pope are to be believed, who give it us with a *Decernimus et firmiter statuimus*, then it is doubtless a point of faith; and if they are not to be believed, then popery is all but a mere deceit.

"Object 2d. But may we not be Roman catholics, though we join not with them in this point? Have not many such renounced it? and so may we. *Answer*. If you renounce the decrees of a pope and general council, you renounce your religion in the very foundation of it, and cannot be papists if you know what you do." . . . (A Key for Catholics, chap. v.)

In short, Roman catholics cannot extricate themselves from this dilemma; either their church maintains to this day the principles of its ancient councils, or it confesses to change and fallibility, making that to be sin now, which it enjoined as a duty once. Hence, too, it clearly appears that Roman catholics can offer, at the best, but a suspicious and precarious allegiance to Protestant governments, for granting that modern popes differ from their ancient predecessors, who can answer for their continuing to do so? And yet with manifestly lower claims to political power, they are now placed on an equality in that respect with men whose allegiance is wholly undivided. How many de Romas may there not be among them, ready to avow and act upon their principles as soon as circumstances encourage them, or the signal comes from Rome? TR.

that at once gives life, and mortifies life; in living we die, and in dying we live.”¹ He would have taken a surer road if, hastening to the Saviour, like apostles when tossed by the winds and waves, he had cried: “Lord! save us, we perish.”

Furious at this repulse from the bishop, the monks of Meaux, resolved to carry their complaints to a higher quarter. They had it in their power to appeal to another authority, and should the bishop not yield, might yet compel him to do so. The ring-leaders went to Paris, and there made common cause with Beda and Duchesne. They had recourse to the parliament, and to it they denounced the bishop and heretical doctors. “The city,” they said, “and all places around, are infected with heresy, and it is from the very bishop’s palace that these filthy streams proceed.”

Calls for persecution thus began to be raised in France against the Gospel. The sacerdotal and the civil authority, the Sorbonne and the Parliament, all took up arms against it;² and those arms were ere long to be stained with blood.³ Christianity had taught men that there are duties and rights that take precedence of all civil ties; it had emancipated religious thought,

¹ MSC. Bibl. royale. S. F. No. 337.

² So would it seem in our own days that Rome contemplates such an union of the priestly and princely powers against true Christianity. And may not those Protestants be co-operating to effect this, who though opposing Rome, seek their strength in the rulers of the earth, by placing the power of the Church in their hands. Thereby the way is prepared for Rome, as soon as it has brought the civil powers over to its side, by its fair pretences and flatteries.—L. R.

³ It is no small aggravation of the guilt that attaches to the popedom in France, that this resuscitation of the blood-thirsty spirit that had too often appeared both in the religious and civil history of that country, occurred at a period when, if ever, a milder and happier tone of feeling seemed to prevail. This may be seen from the following passages from Lacretelle. “Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I., were animated with the spirit that constituted at once the pride and the happiness of the nation. The first of those kings had received nothing calculated to please the French beyond a simple, open, and confiding heart; but it was an unlooked-for felicity to the nation, to find good nature in a son of Louis XI. From the time that Charles VIII. could reign by himself, he was a clement prince. The duke of Orleans, from being his enemy, and his prisoner, became his faithful lieutenant. . . . Louis XII. by the benefits of his most paternal administration, made people forget his political mismanagement and restlessness. There was such an expression of benevolence in the lines of his face, so perfect a mingling of sense and goodness in his words, that his reign, notwithstanding transient reverses, was, in some sort, nothing but a long family holiday. It is at this epoch, as in the reign of St. Louis, that we find most of that cordiality which forms the most amiable attribute of the French character. Gaiety was promoted by prosperity, and that again by mutual confidence.” It is remarkable that the transition from a state of things so foreign to persecution and cruelty, was made through a decline in

had laid the foundation of liberty of conscience, and wrought a great revolution in society; for the spirit of antiquity, which saw the citizen everywhere, but man no where, made religion nothing more than a mere affair of state. But scarcely had these notions on the subject of liberty been given to the world, when they were corrupted by the popedom. Substituting the despotism of the priest for the despotism of the prince, it had often even raised both prince and priest against the Christian people. A new emancipation was now required, and the sixteenth century saw it accomplished; for wherever the Reformation gained a firm footing, there the yoke imposed by Rome was broken, and religious thought was anew set free.¹ But so inherent in man's nature is the desire of lording it over the truth,² that among many protestant nations, the Church, on being disengaged from the arbitrary power of the priest, is in our days apt to fall again under the yoke of the civil power, doomed, like its Head, to oscillate incessantly between these two despotisms, and to be ever passing from Caiaphas to Pilate, and from Pilate to Caiaphas!

Brignonet, who enjoyed a high reputation in Paris, easily justified himself.³ But in vain did he attempt to justify his

morals, for immediately after entering upon the next reign, the historian says: "The morals of the French were *less pure, less austere*, under Francis I., than under his predecessor." . . . (See Lacroette, "Histoire de France pendant les Guerres de Religion; Introduction.") Tr.

¹ Not set free, but subjected to the word of God; and Christian morality of course made to apply to the toleration of error within due limits, and to the peaceful promotion of truth. Tr.

² Were the civil despotism affecting so many of the protestant Churches in our day, the pure result of a lust of domination, there were a greater likelihood, perhaps, of seeing it removed. But here we may apply the maxim *corruptio optimi pessima*. The evil springs not from a simple vice, but from the corruption of a good principle. It is right that the public morality of every country should be that of the Gospel, and that it should regulate and pervade every part of its laws and administration. If the education, therefore, of the people ought to be such as to make their morals accord with those of the state, it must be Christian. But the proper teachers of Christian morals, which repose on the one only foundation of Christian doctrine, are the ministers and members of the Church of Christ—those who have received the commission to make disciples of all nations. Hence the natural and legitimate inference, that the state should not teach itself, but assist the Church in teaching the Christian faith. So far from any lust of domination suggesting this, as the principles of the Gospel are opposed to all unrighteousness, ambition and tyranny must naturally dislike such a policy, and would, no doubt, subvert it altogether if they could. But failing in this, they pervert what they cannot destroy, by either establishing a corrupted Church, or enslaving a pure one, should they find it established. Tr.

³ The character of Brignonet stands so high, that Romanist writers seem

friends; the monks were resolved not to return to Meaux empty-handed, and the bishop's escape was to depend on his sacrificing his brethren. Of a naturally timid character, little disposed to part with wealth and rank for the sake of Jesus Christ, while already frightened, shaken, and given up to melancholy, he came to be further led astray by false counsels: if the evangelical doctors leave Meaux, people said to him, they take the Reformation with them elsewhere! An intensely painful conflict now took place in his heart. But worldly prudence at last prevailed; he gave way, and on the 12th of April, 1523, issued an ordinance, recalling the license to preach enjoyed by those godly doctors. This was the first step in Brigonnet's fall.¹

most unwilling to admit that he ever compromised his principles as a bishop of their Church, or favoured the doctrines of the Reformation, to the extent that our author has stated. Professor Genin, in particular, is at great pains to defend him in this respect, and in the following sketch, it will be perceived, would have us understand that the bishop sent for the Reformers, in order that he might keep them within the Church of Rome. "William Brigonnet," says he, "was son of that cardinal Brigonnet, called likewise the cardinal of St. Malo, and who was by turns excommunicated by pope Julius II., and restored by Leo X. William Brigonnet bore at first the name of *count of Montbrun*; then, after he had seen enough of secular life, he followed his father's example, and became a priest. He gained the confidence of Louis XII. and that of Francis I.; was twice extraordinary ambassador at Rome; delivered before the sacred college the apology of Louis XII., in which he ventured to attack the emperor Maximilian. He represented France at the councils of Pisa and Latran. Appointed to the abbacy of St. Germain-des-Près, he reformed the abuses that had found their way there, and made considerable augmentations of the library, for he loved, cultivated, and protected literature. He has left some works on theology; Vatable dedicated to him his translation of Aristotle's *physics*, and Lefèvre that of the same philosopher's *politics*. When the Reformation broke out in France, William Brigonnet, then bishop of Meaux, drew into his diocese the most celebrated men of that party, Farel, Vatable, Gerard Roussel, Lefèvre of Etaples, Calvin himself. *He wished to restrain them, to reconcile them, to the Church.* He failed in his attempt, and people accused him of heresy. He justified himself, sent away the schismatics, and condemned Luther in a synod held for that purpose, in 1523. It was in that very year that he began to correspond with Madame d'Alençon; their correspondence lasted about two years. The bishop of Meaux, it will be seen, was an eminent personage in point of dignities, of learning, and of virtues. He died in 1533, with the reputation of having been a father to the poor, and the protector of learned men." See *Notice sur Marguerite d'Angoulême*, p. 124.

The youth of the bishop ought not to be forgotten, when we deplore his moral weakness as a man, and censure the redundant imagery and bad taste displayed in his letters. He was seven years younger than the princess. Hence, when he condemned Luther he was only four and twenty, and probably that condemnation in a diocese so near Paris, would be but an echo of that previously pronounced by the Sorbonne, which his youth and inexperience, and the circumstance, too, of his late adoption of the ecclesiastical state, could give him no hope of opposing with success. One would fain lift the veil that hides from us the last sentiments entertained by this remarkable person. He must have been only about thirty-four when he died. Like Cranmer, he might have wished to retract his retraction, but he denied the means of doing so openly. Tr.

¹ Thus then fell the man from whose example and steadfastness more might

Lefèvre was the chief object of attack; his commentary on the four Gospels, and especially the epistle "to Christian readers," with which he had prefaced it, having enraged Beda and others of the like stamp. That publication they impeached before the faculty. "Does he not dare," said the irascible syndic, "to recommend in it the reading of holy Scripture to all the faithful? Don't we there read that whosoever loves not the Word of Christ, is no Christian;¹ and that the Word of God suffices for the attainment of everlasting life."

But in this persecution, Francis I. saw nothing but the base intrigue of some theologians. He appointed a commission, having justified himself before which, Lefevre came out from the attack with the honours of war.

With fewer protectors at court, Farel was obliged to quit Meaux. It would seem that he first returned to Paris;² that there he unsparingly attacked the errors of Rome, and had to leave the place and retire into Dauphiny, whither his heart was set on carrying the Gospel.

Here then a first victory was achieved; Lefevre was overawed, Brignonnet had retrograded a step, and Farel was compelled to fly. It was already supposed at the Sorbonne, that the movement had been over-mastered, and doctors and monks mutually congratulated each other on their triumph. And yet they were not satisfied; no blood had as yet been shed. To work again they therefore went; and, since it could not be otherwise, blood was soon to gratify the fanaticism of Rome.

On finding their spiritual guides dispersed, the evangelical Christians of Meaux endeavoured to edify one another. The wool-carder, John Leclerc, who had acquired a knowledge of Christian doctrine from the instructions of the doctors, together with the reading of the Bible and of several tracts,³ distinguished himself by his zeal and facility in expounding Scripture.

have been expected, than from the favour of the king. What remorse must it not have caused him, when he came to be aware of the consequences of his weakness? He fell through a pusillanimous timidity, veiled under false prudence. What a lesson for such as are placed in an eminent place in the Lord's Church!—L. R.

¹ Qui verbum ejus hoc modo non diligunt, quo pacto hi Christiani essent. (Præf. Comm. in Evang.)

² "Farel, after having remained in Paris as long as he could." (Beza's Ecclesiastical History, i. 6.)

³ Aliis pauculis libellis diligenter lectis. (Bezae Icones.)

He was one of those men whom the Spirit of God¹ fills with courage, and places ere long at the head of a religious movement. The Church of Meaux was not long of considering him as its minister.

The idea of an universal priesthood, so warmly cherished among the primitive Christians, was revived in the sixteenth century by Luther.² But at that time it seemed to continue in a mere theoretical state in the Lutheran Church, and became a living reality only among the Reformed Christians. The Lutheran Churches (and in this they were of one mind with the Anglican Church) held, perhaps, a certain medium in this respect, between the Romish and the Reformed Church. Among the Lutherans, all proceeded from the pastor or the priest, nor was there anything good in the Church but what flowed through the organs of its chiefs. But the reformed Churches, while they held withal the divine institution of the ministry which some sects disown, came nearer to the primitive condition of the apostolic communities. From the times of which we now speak, they acknowledged and proclaimed that Christian flocks ought not simply to receive what the priest bestows; that the Church's members, as well as its guides, possess the key of the treasure from which the latter derive their instructions, seeing that the Bible is in the hands of all; that the graces of God, the spirit of faith, of wisdom, of consolation, and of light, are not granted to the pastor alone; that every one is called to make the gift that he has received serviceable to the community; nay, that some particular gift, necessary to the Church's edification, may often be denied to the minister though bestowed on a member of his flock.³ Thus did the passive condition of the Churches pass then into one of general activity; and this revolution was effected chiefly in France. In other countries, we find the Reformers consisting almost exclusively of pastors and doctors;

¹ *Animosæ fidei plenus.* (Bezæ Icones.)

² See Book V. chapter 3.

³ This then forms part of the superiority of the Church, specially called the Reformed, as it was further settled afterwards by Calvin, and established in our own country in particular, though better, perhaps, in Scotland; where each member has his own place for the developement of his particular gifts, and opportunity of being of use to the whole body; still, however, so as that due order continues to be maintained under the pastors and elders of the congregation, in which respect it differs from those enthusiastical sects in which every member thinks himself at liberty to set himself up as a teacher.—L. R.

but in France we find persons from among the people mingled with men of learning; and there God chose as his earliest labourers, a doctor of the Sorbonne and a wool-carder.

This carder, Leclerc, set himself, accordingly, to go from house to house fortifying the disciples. But not confining himself to these ordinary labours, it was his wish to see the edifice of the popedom fall to pieces, and France emerging from the ruins, turn with a shout of joy to the Gospel. His zeal, little restrained by prudence, reminds one of that of Hottinger at Zurich, and of Carlstadt at Wittemberg. Thus he wrote a proclamation against the Roman antichrist, in which he announced that the Lord was about to destroy it with the breath of his mouth, and had the hardihood to post his placards on the very doors of the cathedral.¹ Forthwith there was a general commotion around that ancient edifice. The faithful were amazed; the priests waxed wroth at the very idea of a common wool-carder presuming to assail the pope! . . . The Franciscans, frantic with rage, insisted that this time at least, a terrible example should be made, and Leclerc was thrown into prison.

His trial was concluded in a few days, and under the very eyes of Brignonnet, who had to look on and tolerate all that passed. The carder was sentenced to be beaten through the streets with rods, for three successive days, and thereafter to be branded on the forehead. This sad spectacle soon took place. Leclerc with his hands bound and his back bared, was led through the streets, while the executioners inflicted the blows which he had brought upon himself by opposing the bishop of Rome. The track of these functionaries, which could be distinguished by the blood that flowed from the martyr, was followed by a vast crowd. Some vented their anger in exclamations against the heretic; others by their very silence, gave him no equivocal tokens of their profound sympathy; one woman encouraged the sufferer by her words and looks, and that woman was his mother.

The third day came at last, when this bloody procession was brought to a close at the ordinary place of public executions.

¹ This heretic wrote placards which he fixed to the doors of the great church at Meaux. (Meaux MSC.) See also Bezæ Icones, Crespin, Actes des Martyrs, &c.

There the hangman prepared the fire and heated the iron that was to be applied to the evangelist, and then going up to him, he branded him on the forehead as a heretic. Thereupon a shout arose, but the martyr uttered no cry. His mother, who was present at this mournful spectacle, in the midst of her anguish, felt a violent conflict within her; the enthusiasm of faith and maternal affection strove together in her breast; but faith at last had the mastery, and she exclaimed with a voice that made all her adversaries start; "Jesus Christ and his ensigns for ever."¹ ² Thus did this Frenchwoman of the sixteenth century fulfil the commandment of the Son of God: "Whosoever loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." Such audacity at that particular moment, called for some marked punishment; but that Christian matron had petrified both priests and soldiers with fright; their fury was arrested by a mightier arm than theirs. The crowd respectfully opened a passage for the martyr's mother, and suffered her slowly to regain her humble abode. The monks, nay, the very city officers, gazed at her without stirring from the spot. "Not an enemy dared to lay hands on her," says Theodore de Beza. Set at liberty after enduring this sentence, Leclerc withdrew to Rosay in Brie, a small town six leagues from Meaux, and some time afterwards went to Metz, where we shall find him again.

Now was it a time of triumph to the adversaries. "Repossessing themselves of the pulpit, the cordeliers disseminated as usual their falsehoods and absurdities."³ But the poor manufacturers of the city, on being deprived of the means of hearing the Word of God at regular meetings, "began to meet in secret," says our chronicler, "after the example of the sons of the prophets in the time of Ahab, and of the Christians of the primitive Church, and as opportunities offered, would assemble at times in

¹ Hist. Ecclés. de Th. de Beza, p. 4; Hist. des Martyrs de Crespín, p. 92.

² *Vive Jesus Christ et ses enseignes!* Mr. Le Roy translates it, as if it were *enseignements*. Milner renders it, "Live Jesus Christ, live the Cross!"

I may here remark, that Mosheim, Milner, and Browning, are all extremely meagre in their accounts of the commencement of the Reformation in France. So, also, is Laval, in his "Compendious History of the Reformation in France and of the Reformed Churches in that kingdom." The author, Stephen Abel Laval, wrote his history in English, above a century ago, and was pastor of one of the French congregations in London. He must not be confounded with Father Laval, an historical writer of the sixteenth century.—Tr.

³ Actes des Martyrs, p. 183.

a house, at times in some cave, at times, also, in a wood or vineyard. There the one who was most versed in the Holy Scriptures, exhorted the rest; after which, they joined in prayer with great boldness, encouraging each other with the hope that the Gospel would be received, and the tyranny of antichrist come to an end."¹ There is no power capable of arresting the truth.

Meanwhile one victim was not sufficient; and though the first against whom persecution was let loose, was a worker in wool, the second ranked high at court. Nobles as well as the people required to be frightened; and, besides, the Sorbonne doctors at Paris had no idea of being outrun by the Franciscans of Meaux. "The most learned of the nobility," Berquin, had imbibed more and more courage from the Scriptures, and after attacking "the Sorbonne hornets" in some epigrams, had openly accused them of impiety.²

Beda and Duchesne,³ although they had not dared to reply in

¹ Actes des Martyrs, p. 183.

² Impietatis etiam accusatos, tum voce, tum scriptis. (Bezæ Icones.)

³ II. Raemond says of these: *Beda quidem et Quercæus uterque magni nominis theologus*, yet these theologians of great name he describes as warning the king and parliament of the bad consequences that might follow, should the grammarians, as they contemptuously called men of learning, were "to thrust their sickle into another's harvest, and undertake to treat theological subjects." One would have thought that men who had fitted themselves by their learning to elucidate the grammatical meaning of the Scriptures in the original tongues, would have been welcomed most warmly into France, not by the king-knight and his accomplished sister, but by the divines of the Sorbonne, whom the same historian describes as "the first school of sacred literature, not in France only, but in the whole world." No doubt this would have been so, had their philology been confined to Aristotle and the schoolmen, instead of those Scriptures whose plain grammatical meaning condemned them.

Gaillard gives a striking portrait of Beda. "The Sorbonne," says he, "had at that time for its syndic Noel Bedier, who preferred calling himself Beda, in memory, perhaps, of the venerable Bede. He was one of those disputants who are made for raising and for encountering storms; trouble was his element, and his persecuting pedantry kept his school in perpetual agitation; he could never be without an enemy to combat, or a victim to slaughter; he watched by turns at the gates of error and of truth, ready to devour one or other prey indifferently; for him the rise of heresies in that age was quite a fortune; he hunted out heretics, he created them before they really existed; he ceased not to denounce, and the Sorbonne to censure; it had to reproach him with many decisions which it never would have made but for him, and which tended to compromise its character; he wished doctor Merlin to be burnt for having tried to justify Origen, and James Lefèvre of Etaples for having thought that he could see three Magdalens instead of one in the Gospel. . . .

"The influence of Beda," the same historian informs us, "was happily counteracted for a time by that of the king's confessor, William Petit, first a Dominican, afterwards successively bishop of Troyes and Senlis. More than once the storms excited by the hot-headed Beda, were calmed down by this prudent person. When precipitation and false zeal had decided, William Petit still examined, and the oracles he rendered to his master were those only

their own manner, to sallies of wit coming from one of the king's gentlemen, changed their views as soon as they discovered serious convictions at the bottom of those attacks. Berquin had become a Christian; his ruin, therefore, was inevitable. Laying hold of some of his translations, Beda and Duchesne, found they contained matter enough to justify the burning of more than one heretic. "He maintains," said they, "that it is improper to call upon the Virgin Mary instead of the Holy Ghost, and to call her the source of all grace.¹ He objects to the custom of calling her *our hope, our life*, and says that such titles belong only to the Son of God!" More than this; Berquin's library was like a bookseller's shop, from which books of a corrupting tendency, went forth over the whole kingdom. Melanchthon's *Common Places*, in particular, written with so much elegance, shook the convictions of men of letters in France. Living amid heaps of folios and tracts, this godly nobleman had been induced, from Christian charity, to become translator, corrector, printer, and bookseller. . . . So formidable a torrent required to be arrested at its very source.

One day, accordingly, that Berquin happened to be quietly engaged in his study, in the midst of his much prized books, his mansion was suddenly surrounded by armed officers of police, and a violent knocking was heard at the gate; it was the Sorbonne and its agents with a parliamentary warrant to search his house. The redoubtable syndic, Beda, headed the party, and never did inquisitor better discharge his office; he pushed his way with his satellites into Berquin's library, informed him of their object, gave orders for his being watched, and then began the search; not a book escaped his keen eye, and by his orders an exact inventory was made of the whole of them. Here was a treatise of Melanchthon's; there some small work by Carlstadt; and beyond it, some larger publication of Luther's! Here were heretical books which Berquin had translated from Latin into French; and there were others composed by himself. All that Beda could lay his hands upon, excepting two, were replete with Lutheran errors. He then left the house, carrying his

of indulgence and humanity." Hist. de François I. par Gaillard, t. iii. pp. 533, 535. Tr.

¹ Incongrue beatam Virginem invocari pro Spiritu sancto. (Er. Epp. 1279.)

booty along with him, and glorying in it more than ever did general, loaded with the spoils of vanquished nations.¹

Berquin saw that a terrible storm was about to burst upon him; but his courage failed not: he despised his enemies too much to dread them. No time, however, was lost by Beda. On the 13th of May, 1523, the parliament issued an order that all the books seized at Berquin's house, should be communicated to the faculty of theology. Nor did the company keep people waiting long for its advice; on the 25th of June, it sentenced those works to the flames as heretical, with the exception of the two that we have mentioned, and ordained that Berquin should abjure his errors; which sentence the parliament admitted and approved.

Before that formidable body the nobleman appeared, and knowing as he did, that in the rear of that assembly, preparations might possibly be making for his being burnt,² yet like Luther at Worms, his firmness remained unshaken. In vain did the parliament command him to retract; Berquin was not one of those who *fall away after having been partakers of the Holy Ghost. Whosoever is born of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.*³ Every fall proves that conversion has been partial or apparent only; but Berquin's was a real conversion. He answered with decision to the court at whose bar he stood. The parliament, more severe than the diet at

¹ Gaillard, Hist. de François Ier. iv. 241; Crevier, Univ. de Paris, v. p. 171.

² Berquin had reason to conclude as much from the terms of the famous censure passed on Luther's writings by the Sorbonne, on the 15th April, 1521. "That censure," says Gaillard, "was the first that entered into the discussion of the propositions, and condemned each under proper qualifications. The pope, and the universities of Cologne and Louvain, had condemned them only under general and respective qualifications; catholic divines vaunt the justness with which the particular qualifications are applied in the censure of the university of Paris, but we are much vexed (*bien fâchés*) to find in the preamble of that censure, *that flames rather than reasonings ought to be employed against Luther's arrogance.* . . . We might suppose that the faculty of theology spoke of flames in reference to writings only, did not the word *vinculis* (bonds) precede *ignibus* and *flammis* (fires and flames), and were it not that a long usage, or a long abuse formally justified at that time by the Sorbonne, shows us that heretics were almost always given up to the flames in that same France which piques itself on having such a horror for the inquisition." *Hist. de Fr. I.* vol. iii. p. 527.

Here we see that the Sorbonne doctors had taken the opportunity presented by being called to censure Luther, to make an extraordinary display of their theological talents, and hence the vanity of those men, not the less susceptible because of their being Frenchmen, must have been wounded to the quick by the small respect shown for their labours by the Picard nobleman. Tr.

³ Heb. vi. 4; 1 John v. 18.

Worms, ordered its officers to seize the accused and take him to the lock-up house. This was on the 1st of August, 1523. On the 5th of the month, the parliament handed the heretic over to the bishop of Paris, that that prelate might take cognizance of the affair, and with the assistance of doctors and counsellors, pronounce a fitting penalty. He was transferred, accordingly, to the prisons of the ecclesiastical court.¹

Thus did Berquin pass from one court of justice to another, and from prison to prison. Beda, Duchesne, and their companions, held their victim fast; but the court still bore a grudge against the Sorbonne, and Francis was still more powerful than Beda. The case had by this time produced a general feeling of indignation among the nobility, who thought it intolerable that so little respect should be shown, by monks and priests, to the sword of a *gentilhomme*. "What charge do they bring against him?" it was said to Francis I.: "why, that he blames the custom of invoking the Virgin, instead of the Holy Ghost? But Erasmus and many others do so too. And for such mere nothings do people imprison a king's officer?"² ³ In his person men would

¹ Ductus est in carcerem, reus hæreseos periclitatus. (Er. Epp. 1279; Crevier, Gaillard, loc. cit.)

² Ob hujusmodi nœnias. (Er. Epp. 1279.)

³ Berquin's defenders on this occasion, seem to have missed perceiving the *gravamen* of the learned nobleman's offence, which, no doubt, lay in the indefatigable industry and disinterestedness he had shown in creating and disseminating a Protestant literature. This must have been a heinous crime in the eyes of the Sorbonne, although, at a time when the king was so zealous a patron of literature, and so friendly to the diffusion of new ideas, the scholastic doctors would be too wise to bring it prominently forward. The pains taken by the Romish church to suppress Protestant books, including, of course, translations of the Scriptures made on the principle of a full and impartial rendering of the original meaning, have been almost incredible. Not only does the *Index Expurgatorius* warn all faithful Roman catholics against books pronounced by the papal censorship, to be of a dangerous character as respects religion and the Church, but where they have the power, there never seems wanting the will actually to destroy even the most valuable works, if their theology be at all anti-Roman. "At the epoch of the Reformation," says the last report of the foreign evangelical society of New-York, "the sellers of Bibles printed at Geneva were frequently cast into prison. . . . After the revocation of the edict of Nantes—which occurred in 1685—the order given by the court of Versailles, at the instigation of the Jesuits, was to destroy at all cost these *paper-preachers*, who perpetuated what was termed *heresy*, in the portions of the country where the Protestant religion had most deeply fixed its roots. But the dragoons, the executioners of this wicked court, stopped not at the destruction of these labourers in the work of the Reformation; they raged also with an inflexible severity against the books of the Reformers, published for the edification of the faithful. To give two instances: Dumoulin, a distinguished Protestant writer, published seventy-five different works; but the papists laboured with so much perseverance to destroy them, that there remains at present but a very small number of them. In 1758, the Parliament of Bordeaux caused to

attack literature, true religion, the nobility, chivalry, nay, the crown itself." On this occasion, also, the king wanted to make the whole company of the Sorbonne feel the utmost disappointment and vexation. He granted letters of advocacy to the council of state, and on the 8th of August, an usher presented himself at the prison of the ecclesiastical court, bearing the royal mandate for the prisoner's being set at liberty.

The question now was, whether the monks would yield. Foreseeing that some difficulties might arise, Francis I. had told the agent charged with his orders, that if resistance were offered, he was to force the gates. These words were clear; the monks and the Sorbonne, devouring the affront, yielded, and Berquin, on being set free, appeared before the royal council, where he was absolved from the charges brought against him.¹

Thus did Francis I. humble the Church. Berquin imagined that under his reign, France might emancipate herself from the popedom, and had thoughts of renewing hostilities. With this

he publicly burned, five-thousand nine-hundred and seventy-two copies of religious books, destined for the instruction and edification of the Protestants."

Yet popish France and Belgium are now inundated with infidel, nay, blasphemous and immoral publications, while both countries have been deprived of the inestimable advantage of having their literature enriched by publications from Protestants, designed to confront these, such as we have had so abundantly and cheaply supplied to us in Britain.

Happily the French Protestant press is again active and free, and the French language whose facility has made it so widely diffused, and which has thus given wings, as it were, for false opinions to circulate over the earth, is now becoming a blessed instrument for the diffusion of truth. The report above quoted informs us that "a volume of French sermons, written by an eloquent living author, last year penetrated, some how or another, into a convent in Italy, was read by a monk, and through the blessing of God, led him to abandon his false belief and with it his false hopes. Another excellent book in the same language reached even to Rome itself, and was the instrument, in God's hands, of converting another monk to the Protestant faith. Both have left their country, to find in another that safety which it denies them, although it is the very seat of what claims to be the only Church of Christ!—Our society is well situated by means of its committee at Geneva, for doing something for Italy. And it is a remarkable providence which has sent no less than three Italian priests who have embraced Protestantism, to that city and its vicinity, who are well qualified for the work of translation. Who does not see the hand of God in this?" See Quarterly Paper of the Foreign Evang. Society, vol. ii. No. 1.

Thus, at the distance of more than 300 years from the time of Louis Berquin, there is still a demand for labours such as his, even for France and Italy! So slow has been the progress of truth amid the vaunted progress of human society! So successful has the popedom been in pursuing the identical policy of the Sorbonne, three centuries ago! So like are the facts that bear upon the Reformation in our day, to those recorded in the early history of the sixteenth century! Were Berquin suddenly restored to the world, he would have little else to do but simply to resume his labours. TR.

¹ At judices, ubi viderunt causam esse nullius momenti, absolverunt hominem. (Ibid.)

view he entered into correspondence with Erasmus, who perceived immediately that he was a worthy person;¹ yet, ever timid and temporising: "Bear in mind," said the philosopher, "that we should not irritate the wasps, and peaceably enjoy your studies."² Above all, don't mix me up with your affair: this would do no service either to me or to you."³

These denials did not dishearten Berquin; though the mightiest genius of the age chose to hang back, he would look for help from God, who never does so. The work of God would be done with or without men. "Berquin," says Erasmus himself, "somewhat resembled the palm-tree; he rose again and displayed a proud and towering spirit, against all who sought to frighten him."⁴

Such were not all who had welcomed the doctrines of the Gospel. Martial Mazurier had been one of the most zealous preachers. He was accused of having uttered from the pulpit the most erroneous propositions,⁵ and even of having committed certain acts of violence, during the time of his being at Meaux. "This Martial Mazurier," says a manuscript of that city, which we have already quoted, "on his way to the Church of the reverend cordelier fathers, seeing the statue of St. Francis with the five wounds outside the convent gate, where a St. Roch now stands, threw it down and broke it." Mazurier was seized and placed in the lock-up-house,⁶ where he fell of a sudden into profound reveries and keen fits of anguish. The morality of the Gospel rather than its doctrines, had drawn him into the ranks of the Reformation;⁷ and now morality left him without moral strength. Terrified at the prospect of the fire that awaited him, believing that victory would decidedly remain in France with the Romish party, he easily persuaded himself that he should

¹ Ex epistola visus est mihi vir bonus. (Ibid.)

² Sineret crabrones et suis se studiis oblectaret. (Ibid.)

³ Deinde ne me involveret suæ causæ. (Ibid.)

⁴ Ille, ut habebat quiddam cum palma commune, adversus deterrentem tollebat animos. (Erasm. Epp. 1279.) Alluding probably to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 42.

⁵ Hist. de l'Université, par Crévier, v. p. 203.

⁶ Gaillard, Hist. de François I.^{er} v. p. 334.

⁷ Mazurier was, moreover, wanting in firm and well digested views. He was borne along for the moment by an ebullition of rash enthusiasm. Berquin's warm affection for the Reformation rested on firm and enlightened conviction, and such is what we must stand upon, if we would be zealous for the truth. A hair-brained enthusiasm is soon overcome by fear.—L. R.

find his influence increase and honours flow upon him, were he to return to the popedom. Accordingly, he retracted what he had taught, and preached in his parish church, doctrines opposed to those that he had been accused of teaching;¹ and associating himself afterwards with the most fanatical persons, and particularly with the famous Ignatius Loyola, he thenceforth proved the most ardent abettor of the papal cause.² Ever since the emperor Julian's time, apostates, after their treachery, have been the most remorseless opponents of the doctrines which they for a time professed.

Mazurier soon found an occasion for putting forth his zeal. The youthful James Pavanne had also been thrown into prison, and Martial thought that his own fall might appear less shameful, could he get him to fall also. Pavanne's youth, amiability, learning, and integrity, produced a warm interest in his behalf, and Mazurier imagined that he should be less guilty himself, were he to seduce master James into an equal degree of guilt with his own. Accordingly, he repaired to his cell and commenced his manœuvres. He affected having advanced farther than him in the knowledge of the truth: "You are in the wrong, James," he repeatedly said; "you have not dived to the bottom of the sea; you have only skimmed the surface of the waves and billows."³ What with sophisms, promises, and threats, nothing was spared. Thus wrought upon, agitated, and shaken in his convictions, the unhappy youth yielded at length to these treacherous attacks, and publicly retracted his pretended errors, on the day after Christmas, 1524. But from that time a spirit of depression and melancholy fell from the Lord upon Pavanne. He was consumed with profound grief, and ceased not to groan under the burden of his remorse. "Ah!" he would repeat, "there is nothing for me now but a life of bitterness." Sad wages of unfaithfulness!

Meanwhile among those who had received the Word of God in France, there were men of more intrepidity than Mazurier and Pavanne. Leclerc had retired towards the close of the

¹ "Comme il etait homme adroit, il esquiva la condamnation," says Crévier, v. p. 203.

² Cum Ignatio Loyola init amicitiam. (Launoi, Navarræ gymnasii historia, p. 631.)

³ Actes des Martyrs, p. 99.

year 1523, to Metz in Lorraine,¹ and there, says Theodore Beza, he followed the example of St. Paul at Corinth, who while employed as a tent-maker, persuaded both Jews and Greeks.² Without relinquishing his employment of wool-carder, he enlightened the people of his own condition; and several of these became true converts. Thus did this humble artisan lay the foundations of a church which became afterwards celebrated.

Nor was Leclerc alone at Metz. Among the clergy of that city there was an Augustinian monk from Tournay, a doctor in theology, called John Chatelain, who had been brought to the knowledge of God³ by his communications with the Augustinians of Antwerp. Chatelain had gained the respect of the people by the austerity of his manners,⁴ and the doctrines of Christ when preached by him with cope and stole, seemed less extraordinary to the people of Metz, than when delivered to them by a poor artisan who left the comb with which he carded wool, to explain the Gospel printed in French.

Thanks to the zeal of these two worthy men, the light of the Gospel began to spread through the whole city. A very devout woman, called Toussaint, of burgess rank, had a son, Peter, to whom she would often address serious remarks while engaged at his sports. Everywhere at that time, even in the houses of the townsfolk, something extraordinary was expected to take place. One day that the child amused himself by riding upon a long cane in his mother's room, as she was conversing with her friends about the things of God, she said to them in a tre-

¹ Metz, though it soon passed into the power of France, was at this period in the possession of the duke of Lorraine. It stands on a fertile plain on the banks of the Moselle, was always a place of importance, and now forms one of the strongest frontier fortresses of France. The vale of the Moselle was a favourite resort of Roman colonists, who brought it into a state of high cultivation, and seem to have transmitted to the modern inhabitants, together with their civilization, their taste for the outward shows of pagan worship. The Metzgers are described in the *Delices de la France* as remarkable for manners and civility; Metz itself, as abounding in churches and fine monasteries. The pilgrimage about to be described, proves the paganism of the popular worship. I had an opportunity of witnessing a similar pilgrimage on a smaller scale, some years ago near the confluence of the Moselle with the Rhine, and both the procession and the chapel at which it halted, strongly recalled the peculiarities of the ancient worship of Rome. Tr.

² Acts of the Apostles, chap. xviii. 3, 4.—Apostoli apud Corinthios exemplum secutus. (Bezæ Icones.)

³ Vocatus ad cognitionem Dei. (Act. Mart. 180.)

⁴ Gaillard, Hist. de François, I.^{er} v. p. 232.

mulous voice: "Antichrist will soon come with great power, and will destroy those who shall be converted at the preaching of Elias."¹ These words, often repeated, so impressed the mind of the child that he recollected them long after. Peter Tousseint was no longer a child at the time when the doctor in theology, and the wool-carder, were preaching the Gospel at Metz. His relations and friends were surprised at his youthful genius, and hoped to see him one day occupy an eminent place in the Church. One of his uncles, a brother of his father's, was dean (*primicier*) of Metz; it was the highest dignity in the chapter.² Cardinal John of Lorraine, son of duke René, who kept a large establishment, showed much affection for the dean and his nephew. The latter, notwithstanding his youth, had obtained a prebend at the time that his attention was first awakened to the Gospel. Might not the preaching of Châtelain and Leclerc, possibly be that of Elias? Already, it is true, antichrist is everywhere arming against it. But it matters not. "Let us lift up our heads," says he, "to the Lord, who will come and will not tarry."³

The doctrines of the Gospel found their way into the first families of Metz. A person of great consideration, the chevalier d'Esch, an intimate friend of the dean's, became a convert.⁴ The friends of the Gospel were overjoyed. "The knight, our good master," . . . Peter would say, "if, nevertheless," he would add with a noble candour, "if we are permitted to call any man on earth master."⁵

Thus was Metz about to become a centre of illumination, when the imprudent zeal of Leclerc put a speedy stop to this slow but sure progress, and raised a storm that seemed likely to cause the utter ruin of that rising church. The multitude of common people continued to follow their ancient superstitions,

¹ Cum equitabam in arundine longa, memini sæpe audisse me a matre, venturum antichristum cum potentia magna, perditurumque eos qui essent ad Eliæ predicationem conversi. (Tossanus Farello, 4th September, 1525; one of the manuscripts of the conclave of Neuchâtel.)

² Tossanus Farello, 21st July, 1525; manuscript of the Neuchâtel conclave.

³ Levemus interim capita nostra ad Dominum qui veniet et non tardabit (Ibid. 4th September, 1535.)

⁴ Clarissimum illum equitem . . . cui multum familiaritatis et amicitiae, cum primicerio Metensi, patruo meo. (Ibid. 2d August, 1524.)

⁵ Ibid. 21st July 1525. Neuchâtel manuscript.

and Leclerc's heart was crushed at beholding that city immersed in idolatry. About a league off there stood a chapel, containing images of the Virgin and most celebrated saints of the country; and thither the inhabitants of Metz used to make a pilgrimage, on a certain day of the year, for the purpose of worshipping those images and of obtaining the forgiveness of their sins.

On the evening before this holiday, Leclerc's godly and courageous soul was violently agitated. Had not God said: *Thou shalt not bow down to their gods; but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images?*¹ Leclerc took this command as addressed to himself, and without consulting either Châtelain, or Esch, or any from whom he expected advice to the contrary, he that evening, about nightfall, left the city, and repaired to the neighbourhood of the chapel. There he sat some time in silent meditation, gazing upon the statues. He still had it in his power to fly; but . . . the day following, within a few hours, a whole city whose duty it was to worship none but the true God, would come to bow down before these lumps of stone and wood. A conflict similar to that which we find in the case of so many of the Christians of the first ages of the Church, began to agitate the mind of the wool-carder. What matters it to him that these are the images of saintly men and women, and not of the gods and goddesses of paganism? does not the worship to be given by the people to these images belong to God alone? Like Polyuctes, as he stood by the idols of the temple, his heart shuddered and his courage rose:

No time be lost! The sacrifice is ready,
 Let the true God now find us at his service,
 This foolish thunder, wherewith silly men
 Would arm those rotting blocks, beneath our feet
 Trampling in scorn. O let us now enlighten
 A blinded people, and break down their gods
 Of stone and brass! Our days abandoning
 To zeal so heav'nly, let us now for God
 Secure the triumph that is his alone,
 And, for the rest, commit ourselves to Him.²

Leclerc, in fact, rose, went up to the images, removed them from their places, and breaking them in pieces, indignantly scat-

¹ Exodus xx. 4; xxiv. 24.

² Polyucte by Pierre Corneille—What many admire in verse they condemn in history.

tered the fragments before the altar. He had no doubt that it was the Spirit itself of the Lord that led him to commit this deed, and so thought also Theodore de Beza.^{1 2} After this Leclerc returned to Metz, which he entered at day break, and was perceived by some persons just as he was passing the city gate.³

Meanwhile, a universal movement might be observed in the ancient city; the steeple bells were pealing, the confraternities⁴ were meeting, and preceded by the prebendaries, priests, and monks, the whole inhabitants of Metz went forth in full pomp; prayers were repeated and hymns sung to the saints whom they were about to worship; crosses and banners passed on in succession, and musical instruments or drums responded to the singing of the faithful. At length, after an hour's march, the procession arrived at the resort of the pilgrimage. But what was the astonishment of the priests when on presenting themselves with the censers in their hands, they found the images they had come to worship mutilated, and the ground strewn with their fragments? They started back with horror; announced the sacrilegious deed to the crowd; in a moment the singing ceased, the musical instruments were hushed, the flags lowered, and the multitude became agitated to an inconceivable degree. The prebendaries, parish clergy, and friars, did their utmost to inflame the minds of the people, stimulating them in their eagerness to discover the guilty person, and to insist upon

¹ Divini spiritus afflatu impulsus. (Bezæ Icones.)

² It may seem difficult, on the one hand, to form an impartial judgment on the zeal of Leclerc. We have seen above, in the example of Mazurier, how utterly wanting in firm and well-grounded conviction a hair-brained zeal may be. Not such was Leclerc's, as was proved by his steadfastness to the very last. Yet may it not be asked whether he did not yield too much to the warmth of his feelings, and by his fervour mar much that he might have effected by greater composure, for the benefit of the Reformation? Thus does it at first sight appear; and yet in order to effectual recovery from a deep-rooted evil such decisive measures are at times necessary, and thus we may come to approve of the judgment pronounced by Beza on the conduct of Leclerc. The man, however, who would wish to imitate him, would need narrowly to examine himself. —L. R.

³ Mane apud urbis portam deprehensus.

⁴ These associations (*confréries*) find their counterpart so far in the prayer-meetings, fellowship-meetings, &c., of Protestant communions. As, however, the absolute subjection of lay Roman catholics in all such cases to their ecclesiastical chiefs, makes these associations entirely at their command, it may well be believed that they often form a tremendous engine in the hands of the popedom for making all things bow to its will. TR.

his death.¹ One shout now rose from all parts: "Death, death to the sacrilegious wretch!" and the whole mass returned to Metz in hurry and disorder.

Leclerc was known to all of them; he had often called images idols; and, moreover, had he not been seen returning from the chapel at day break? On being apprehended, he immediately confessed what was laid to his charge, and conjured the people to worship God alone. But this only further inflamed the zeal of the mob, which would have dragged him to instant death. Upon being brought before the judges, he boldly declared that Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh, ought alone to be worshipped and was condemned to be burned alive. He was then conducted to the place of execution.

There a fearful scene awaited him. The cruelty of his persecutors had been at pains to discover whatever could add to the horrors of his punishment, and near the fire which was to consume him, men were seen heating the pincers that were to serve as the instruments of their rage. Leclerc heard the savage shouts of the monks and the people, without losing his firmness and self-possession. They began by cutting off his right hand by the wrist; next his nose was torn off with the glowing hot pincers; next, with the same instrument they laid hold of his arms, which they broke in sundry places, and ended by burning him on the chest?² While the cruelty of his enemies was thus exhausting its fury on his body, the mind of Leclerc was at peace. He recited in a solemn and deep voice,³ those words of David: *Their idols are silver and gold, the works of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not: they have ears, but they hear not; noses have they, but they smell not: they have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not; neither speak they through their throat. They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them. O Israel, trust thou in the Lord, he is the help and shield of all that call upon him.*⁴ The contempla-

Totam civitatem concitarunt ad auctorem ejus facinoris quærendum. (Act Mart. lat. p. 189.)

² Naso candentibus abrepto, iisdemque brachio utroque, ipsisque mammis crudelissime perustis. (Bezæ Icones.) Meaux Manuscript; Crespin, &c.

³ Altissima voce recitans. (Bezæ Icones.)

⁴ Psalm cv. 4—9.

tion of such fortitude at once frightened the adversaries and greatly confirmed believers;¹ while the people at large, though they had previously displayed such a pitch of anger, were now wonder-struck and affected.² After undergoing these tortures, Leclerc was burnt at a slow fire, in conformity with the terms of his sentence. Such was the death of the first martyr of the Gospel in France.³

The priests of Metz were still dissatisfied. In vain did they attempt to shake the constancy of Châtelain. "Like the adder," they would say, "he affects being deaf, and refuses to hear the truth."⁴ He was apprehended by the cardinal of Lorraine's people, and carried away to the castle of Nommeny.

He was then degraded by the bishop's officers, who took off his vestments, and scraped his fingers with a bit of glass, saying; "By this scraping we deprive thee of the power of sacrificing, consecrating, and blessing, which thou hast received by the anointing of hands."⁵ Next, putting a lay dress on him, they handed him over to the secular power, which condemned him to be burnt alive. The fire was soon made ready, and Christ's minister was consumed by the flames. "Lutheranism diffused itself not a whit the less, in all the Metz country," say the authors of the history of the Gallican Church, who, as for the rest, approve of this rigour.

As soon as this storm began to beat upon the Church at Metz,

¹ *Adversariis territis, piis magnopere confirmatis.* (Bezæ Icones.)

² *Nemo qui non commoveretur, attonitus.* (Act. Mart. lat. p. 189.)

³ Nothing can more clearly show a total want of confidence in those promises which Roman catholics, nevertheless, appropriate to themselves as the only true Church, than their inhuman measures for silencing opposition where they have the power, and their efforts, continued to this day, to suppress all theology but their own. Instead of confidence in the divine aid, their policy is of that desperate character which the dread of destruction to their whole system, and the consciousness of its hollowness and weakness, must naturally inspire. Yet such atrocities as the execution of Leclerc, must speedily have defeated the end for which they were intended, by prompting enquiry and exciting interest and sympathy for the sufferers. The martyr-ologies with which such executions soon enabled the Reformation to plead the cause of the persecuted Gospel, with immense effect, at the bar of every person of high moral principle and humane feeling, seem to have mortally annoyed their antagonists. Farel, Racmond, in particular, betrays this feeling in speaking of France, in the first chapter of his seventh book; and there, among other absurdities, he broadly accuses the Reformers of insufferable self-conceit, because such of them as suffered persecution, ventured to praise the fortitude and constancy of the martyrs whom it destroyed! Tr.

⁴ *Instar aspidis serpentis aures omni surditate affectas.* (Act. Mart. lat., p. 183.)

⁵ *Utriusque manus digitos lamina vitrea erasit.* (Ibid., lat. p. 66.)

all was desolation in the house of Toussaint. His uncle, the dean, without having taken any part in the prosecutions directed against Leclerc and Châtelain, shuddered at the thought of his nephew being one of these people. Still greater was the alarm felt by his mother. Not a moment was to be lost; all who had given heed to the Gospel, were threatened in their liberty and in their lives. The blood shed by the inquisitors had only augmented their thirst: fresh fires were in course of preparation. Peter Toussaint, the Chevalier d'Esch, and others besides, left Metz and sought refuge in Basel.

IX. Thus did the gales of persecution blow with violence, at Meaux and at Metz. The north of France rejected the Gospel, and for a time the Gospel gave way. But the Reformation only changed its place; the scene of its operations was transferred to the south-eastern provinces.

Farel, who had taken refuge at the foot of the Alps, displayed the utmost activity in that quarter. To him it was of small moment, comparatively, that he could enjoy the sweets of domestic life in the bosom of his own family. The report of what had taken place at Paris, had filled his brothers with a certain degree of terror, but an unknown power was alluring them towards those new and admirable things with which William entertained them. The latter solicited them with all the impetuosity of his zeal, to become a convert to the Gospel;¹ and Daniel, Walter, and Claud, were gained over at length to the God whom their brother preached. They did not, at the first instant, forsake the worship of their forefathers, but when persecution arose, they had the courage to sacrifice their friends, their property, and their country, in order that they might worship Jesus Christ without constraint.² The brothers of Luther and Zwingli do not appear to have been as frankly converted to the Gospel; from its very commencement the French Reformation bore a character of more domestic affection and intimacy.³

¹ Choupard's manuscript.

² Farel, a gentleman of good family, endowed with good means, the which he lost for the sake of religion, as did also three brothers of his. (Geneva Manuscript.)

³ The French Reformation had, indeed, quite a peculiar character. Its distinguishing characteristics were earnestness and ardour. It was purified and promoted by persecution, but within France itself, put down by being overpowered. It had a healthful influence, however, on other lands through the

Farel did not confine himself to his brothers; he announced the Gospel to his relations and friends at Gap and the surrounding neighbourhood. It would even appear, if we are to believe a manuscript, that, availing himself of the friendship of some ecclesiastics, he applied himself to the preaching of the Gospel in some of the Churches;¹ but other authorities assure us that he did not enter the pulpit at this period of his life. Be that as it may, the doctrines which he professed, caused a mighty sensation. The mob and the clergy wished him to be silenced. "A new and strange heresy!" it was said, "are all the practices of piety, then, to be accounted vain? He is neither priest nor friar; it belongs not to him to act the preacher."²

Ere long all the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, of Gap, were combined against Farel. He was evidently an agent of that sect which people were opposing everywhere. "Let us cast utterly away from us," said they, "this brand of discord." Farel was summoned to appear, and very roughly compelled to fly.³

Still, he did not forsake his native land. Did not the villages and hamlets, the banks of the Durance, Guisanne, and Isère, contain many souls that had need of the Gospel? and though some risk was to be encountered, might he not find shelter amid the woods and the rugged rocks, which he had so often traversed in his youth? He began, accordingly, to itinerate through the country, preaching in houses and secluded pasturages, and concealing himself when necessary in the woods, and on the banks of mountain streams.⁴ Such was the school in which God was forming him for labours of a different kind. "The crosses, the persecutions, the machinations of Satan, of which I was forewarned," he would say, "have not been wanting, they have even been much beyond what of myself I could have endured;

instrumentality of those that in any wise introduced its spirit among them. Still it may serve as an example of that entire self-devotedness, without which, no fundamental Reformation can ever be established, in as much as it has to struggle at all times and everywhere with the spirit of the world.—L. R.

¹ He preached the Gospel in public with much freedom. (Choupard's Manuscript.)

² Ibid. Hist. des Evêques de Nîmes, 1738.

³ He was expelled, and very rudely too, both by the bishop and by those of the town. (Choupard's MS.)

⁴ Olim errabundus in sylvis, in nemoribus, in aquis vagatus sum. (Farel ad Capit. de Bucer. Basil. 25th Oct. 1526. Neuchâtel manuscr. letters.)

but God is my father, he has supplied me, and will ever supply me, with the strength I require.”¹ Many of the inhabitants of those rural districts, received the truth from his mouth. Thus the persecution which expelled Farel from Paris and from Meaux, diffused the Reformation in the provinces of the Saône, the Rhone, and the Alps. In all ages, that saying of Scripture finds its accomplishment: *Therefore they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the Word of God.*²

Among the Frenchmen who were then gained to the Gospel, there was a gentleman of Dauphiny, the chevalier Anémond de Coct, one of the younger sons of the auditor de Coct, lord of Chastelard. Of a lively, ardent, and active temperament, sincerely devout, a foe to relics, processions, and the clergy, Anémond received the doctrines of the Gospel with much promptitude, and ere long he became wholly devoted to it. He could not endure forms in religion, and would have had all the Church's ceremonies abolished; the only true religion for him being the inward worship of the heart. “Never,” he would say, “has my mind found rest in external things. The sum of Christianity is comprised in those words: *John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost; a man must be a new creature.*”³

Endued with all the vivacity of a Frenchman, Coct spoke and wrote, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in French. He had read and would quote the Donat, Thomas Aquinas, Juvenal, and the Bible. His phraseology was concise, and he would pass abruptly from one idea to another. He was perpetually in movement, and presented himself wherever a door seemed open to the Gospel, or a celebrated doctor was to be heard. His warmth of heart gained upon all with whom he formed any ties. “He is distinguished by rank and learning,” said Zwingli at a later period, “but still more by his godliness and affability.”⁴ Anémond may be considered as a type of many of the French who

¹ Non defuere crux, persecutio et Satanæ machinamenta . . . (Farel Galeoto.)

² Acts of the Apostles, viii. 4.

³ Nunquam in externis quievit spiritus meus. (Coctus Farello, Neuchâtel conclave's manuscript.)

⁴ Virum est genere, doctrinaque clarum, ita pietate humanitateque longo clariorem. (Zw. Epp. p. 319.)

became attached to the Reformation; vivacity, simplicity, and zeal carried to imprudence, being often to be found among such of his countrymen as embraced that cause. But at the other extreme of the French character, we find the grave countenance of Calvin, forming a powerful counterpoise to the light-hearted vivacity of Coet. Calvin and Anémond are the two opposite poles, between which revolves the whole religious world in France.

Hardly had Anémond received from Farel the knowledge of Jesus Christ,¹ when he endeavoured himself to bring over men's souls to that doctrine of spirit and of life. His father was dead; his eldest brother, a man of a harsh and over-bearing temper, treated him contemptuously. Lawrence, the youngest of the family, loved him with the utmost affection, but could comprehend him only by halves. In short, Anémond found so little congeniality among his kindred, that he directed his activity to another quarter.

The awakening in Dauphiny had been confined hitherto to the laity, but Farel, Anémond, and their friends, wished to see a movement so likely to unsettle the Alpine provinces, headed by a priest. At Grenoble there was a parish priest, a friar minorite, called Peter de Seville, a preacher of great eloquence, and a man of a good and honest heart, who conferred not with flesh and blood, and whom God was gradually drawing to himself.² Seville soon perceived and acknowledged that the Word of the Lord was the only sure doctor; and forsaking doctrines based on the mere testimonies of men, he resolved in his own mind, to preach the Word, "clearly, purely, holily."³ The whole Reformation is summed up in these three words. Coet and Farel listened with delight as this new preacher of grace raised his eloquent voice in their province, and thought that henceforth their presence in it might be considered less necessary.⁴

¹ In a letter to Farel, he subscribes himself, *Filius tuus humilis*, (2d Sept., 1524.)

² *Pater cœlestis animum sic tuum ad se traxit.* (Zwinglius Sebillæ, Epp., p. 320.)

³ Nitide, pure, sancteque prædicare in animum inducis. (Ibid.)

⁴ I am surprised that mention is no where made in this part of the work of Francis Lambert of Avignon, of whom the author has given so picturesque and interesting a description in the 13th chap. of Book viii., and who must have

The more the awakening extended, the more violent was the opposition it excited. Wishing to become acquainted with Luther,

done much to prepare the ground for the labours of Farel and his friends. From a short account of that Reformer, to be found among other exquisite biographical sketches in Dr. M'Crie's miscellaneous writings, we learn, that from his early youth Lambert was deeply impressed with a sense of religion; and afterwards, when his knowledge was greatly increased, and he had frankly renounced his former errors, he could not deny the work of the Spirit of Christ on his mind at this period. Being desirous to devote himself to religious meditation and practice, he, in the 15th year of his age, entered a Franciscan monastery of the order of Minorites, called Observants, at Avignon. His youthful mind was imposed upon by the exterior show of humility and sanctity which these monks assumed. He expected to be associated with persons who, having retired from the world, were wholly occupied with religion, "prayer all their business, all their pleasure praise." But how was he disappointed to find that under a sanctimonious garb and outward carriage, were concealed all the passions and vices of men of the world! Let us hear his own words, in a writing which he afterwards published, assigning his reasons for relinquishing the order. "I admired their decent dress, their humble countenance, their downcast eyes, the delightful expressions of feigned piety which they uttered, their naked feet. I praised the gravity of their gesture, their slow step, their folded arms, and their exquisite and finished mode of preaching. I was ignorant of the heart of the wolf which lay concealed under the clothing of the sheep. But God, in his deep counsel, willed that I should be deceived by men, that I might discover the reality of what was so much applauded; nor do I doubt, that by the providence of God I was received into their society, and seduced by their artifice, that in discovering the truth, I might be able to make public the abominations hid within these whited sepulchres."

During his noviciate the true state of the monastery was concealed, but when he had taken the vows, they no longer used the same reserve. Upon this it is impossible (he tells us) to describe the anguish he felt, doomed to live among men who vexed his soul with their unrighteous deeds, and then derided the concern they had caused. Being appointed to the public ministry of the Word, as soon as they found that he preached in a way opposite to their wishes, they violently opposed him. "The people," says he, "heard the Word of God and received it with avidity; but these, like deaf adders that stop their ears, refused to hear the Word of the Highest." Yet such was his reputation, that after some years he was made apostolical preacher, that is, was appointed to go about like the apostles, and preach the Gospel everywhere. This, though a laborious office, was an unspeakable relief to him, as it took him much away from the convent.

After the fatigue of preaching constantly for months together, he would return to the monastery, and then, says he, "evil speeches, insults, and revilings were my daily food." *In 1518, preaching in some town in France, he so impressed the people, that they brought out pictures and other instruments of superstition to be committed to the flames.* When opposed by one of the preachers of indulgences, he made such an exposure of the man's wicked arts, that the magistrates expelled him from the city. When he came to the houses of notoriously immoral persons who entertained the Minorites, he would secretly reprove and counsel them, but this incensed the friars, "for they dreaded more," says he, "the loss of a supper than the damnation of their hosts."

"It would be tedious," says Dr. M'Crie, "to rehearse the different instances of persecution which our young divine suffered, and his struggles to exonerate his conscience in the situation in which he found himself. Wearied out with opposition, he wished to enter among the Carthusians." "I was afraid," says he, "to return to the common society of men, lest I should be a stumbling-block to those extensive regions in which I had preached the Gospel. I flattered myself that though I could not preach the Gospel in peace, I might be allowed to profit men by my writings. But this, also, was an illusion of Satan."

Zwingli, and the countries in which the Reformation had commenced, as well as ill pleased to see his fellow-countrymen reject the truth, Anémond resolved to bid adieu to his native land and his family. He made his will, disposing of his property, which was then in the hands of his eldest brother, the lord of Châtelard, in favour of his brother Lawrence;¹ he then left Dauphiny and France, making his way with all the impetuosity of a Southern temperament, through countries which it was no easy matter at that time to traverse, crossed through Switzerland, and hardly stopping at Basel, arrived at Wittenberg and went to see Luther. This happened soon after the second diet of Nuremberg. The French gentleman addressed the Saxon doctor with his usual liveliness; spoke to him enthusiastically of the Gospel, and laid before him, with an engaging earnestness, the plans he was forming, for the propagation of the truth. The doctor's Saxon gravity smiled at the southern imagination of the chevalier,² but Luther, notwithstanding certain prejudices

"The monks, having found some of Luther's writings in his possession, seized upon them, and having condemned them as heretical, caused them to be burned in the capital of the province." See *Miscellaneous Writings of the late Thomas M'Crie, D.D.*, p. 107.

Dr. M'Crie then relates that Lambert left his convent in 1522, at the age of 35, and after being 20 years a monk, that regard for his safety obliged him to assume the name of John Serran; that, as has been noticed by M. M. d'A., he first visited Switzerland, and met with Berchthold Haller at Berne, who, in introducing him by letter to Zwingli, mentions that Lambert's sentiments were not in all points scriptural, but that in many articles he had made proficiency, which, "considering that he was a Franciscan, an Observant, and a Frenchman, was wonderful;" that soon after he went into Germany, there published his reasons for renouncing the monastic order, expounded St. John's Gospel about the close of 1522, at Isenac, and in 1523 was cordially received by Luther at Wittenberg. In 1524, his eager desire to preach to his countrymen, led him to accept an invitation to go to Metz, though much against the advice of Luther and Melancthon. After being joyfully received by the people of Metz, and befriended by the magistrates there, the rage of the inquisitors and monks compelled him to retire to Strasburgh, where he encouraged the friends of the truth by his writings. The fame of his piety and talents led him to be sent for by the landgrave of Hesse, and in 1527, he was made principal of the newly erected college of Marpurg, and there he laboured with indefatigable industry until his death, in 1530. The landgrave appears under his instructions, to have abandoned Luther's views on the sacrament of the supper.

The reader will be struck with the remarkable similarity between the experience of Lambert and that of Eccolampadius. And although the views of the former were but partially scriptural up to the time of his leaving France, there can be no doubt, that while Lefèvre was preparing the ground for the Reformation in Paris, as a professor, Francis Lambert must have powerfully contributed to the same result, and that at a very early period, in the south-east of France.

Tr.
¹ "Mon frère Anémond Coet, chevalier, au partir du pays me feist son heritier." (MS. letters in the library at Neuchâtel.)

² Mire ardens in Evangelium, says Luther to Spalatin. (Epp. ii. p. 340.)

against the French character, was fascinated and won by Anémond. The thought of this gentleman's having come, for the sake of the Gospel, from France to Wittenberg, touched his feelings.¹ "Assuredly," said the Reformer to his friends, "this French knight is an excellent, learned, and godly person;"² no less favourable was the impression he produced upon Zwingli.

On seeing what had been done by Luther and Zwingli, Anémond thought that nothing could withstand them, were they to devote their attention to France and Savoy; accordingly, failing to persuade them to go there, he solicited them to consent at least to write. He besought Luther, in particular, to address a letter to duke Charles of Savoy, the brother of Louisa and of Philibert, and uncle of Francis I., and Margaret. "That prince," he told the doctor, "has a strong bent toward godliness, and the true religion,³ and loves to converse about the Reformation with some of the persons attached to his court. He is made to comprehend you; for he has for his motto these words: *Nihil deest timentibus Deum*,⁴ and that motto is your own. Smitten, in turn, by the empire and by France, humbled, crushed at heart, in constant jeopardy, his soul is much in need of God and his grace; all that he wants is some powerful impulse, and once won over to the Gospel, the influence he might exercise over Switzerland, Savoy, and France, is immense. For goodness' sake, do write to him."

Luther was so purely a German, that out of Germany he must have found himself ill at ease; however, in the spirit of true catholicism, he held out his hand wherever he recognised a brother; and wherever he had a call to speak, he made his voice be heard. He would sometimes write on one and the same day, to the extremities of Europe, to the Netherlands, Savoy, and Livonia.

"Certainly," he replied to Anémond's request, "love to the

Sehr brünstig in der Herrlichkeit des Evangelii, says he to the duke of Savoy. (Ibid. p. 401.)

¹ Evangelii gratia huc profectus e Gallia. (L. Epp. ii. p. 340.)

² Illic Gallus eques . . . optimus vir est, eruditus ac pius. (Ibid. p. 340.)

³ Ein grosser Liebhaber der wahren Religion und Gottseligkeit. (Ibid. p. 401.)

⁴ Nothing is wanting to them that fear God. (Hist. gen. de la Maison de Savoie, par Guichenon, ii. p. 228.)

Gospel in a prince, is a rare and inestimable jewel;¹ and he addressed a letter to the duke, which Anémond conveyed probably as far as Switzerland.

"Let your highness forgive me," wrote Luther, "if I, a humble and despised man, venture to write to you; or rather, do you impute this hardihood to the glory of the Gospel; for I cannot see that resplendent luminary rise and shine forth in any quarter, without exulting with joy. . . . It is my desire that my Lord Jesus Christ may gain many souls, by the example of your most serene highness. Therefore do I wish to tell you of our doctrines. . . . We believe that the commencement of salvation, and the sum of Christianity, is faith in Christ, who, by his blood alone, and not by our works, hath made an atonement for sin and deprived death of its domination. We believe that this faith is a gift from God, and that it is created in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, and not obtained by our own labour. For faith is a living thing,² by which man is spiritually born again, and becomes a new creature."

Luther then goes on to the consequences of faith, and shows how a man cannot possess it without that scaffolding of false doctrines and human works, which had been so laboriously reared by the Church, immediately coming to the ground. "If grace," said he, "be obtained by the blood of Christ, it is not then gained by our works. Therefore are all the laborious practices of all the cloisters useless, and these institutions ought to be abolished as contrary to the blood of Jesus Christ, and as leading men to trust to their good works. Incorporated with Jesus Christ, there remains for us nothing to do, but that which is good; for having become good trees, we ought to give evidence that we are so, by good fruits.

"Gracious prince and lord," says Luther, "in concluding, "let your highness, after having begun so well, contribute to diffuse this doctrine; not with the power of the sword, which would injure the Gospel, but by calling for doctors who might preach the Word, to come into your territories. It is by the breath of

¹ Eine selt same Gabe und hohes Kleinod unter den Fürsten. (L. Epp. ii. p. 401.)

² Der Glaube ist ein lebendig Ding. . . . (Ibid. p. 402.) The Latin original is wanting.

his mouth that Jesus will destroy antichrist, in order that, as saith Daniel (chap. viii. 25.) it may be broken without hands. Wherefore, most serene prince, do you revive the spark that is beginning to burn within you; let a fire go forth from the house of Savoy, as of old from the house of Joseph;¹ before that fire, let all France be like stubble; let it burn, and crackle, and purify, so that that illustrious kingdom may truly bear the name of *most Christian kingdom*, which it has owed in time past to nothing but the torrents of blood it has poured forth in the service of antichrist!"

Such were Luther's endeavours to disseminate the Gospel in France. It is not known what effect this letter had upon the prince; but we do not perceive that he ever signified the slightest desire to break off from Rome. In 1522, he asked Adrian VI. to be godfather to his eldest born, and afterwards the pope promised him a cardinal's hat for the second of his children. After endeavouring to see the court and the elector of Saxony,² and receiving a letter from Luther for that purpose, Anémond returned to Basel, more resolved than ever to peril his life for the Gospel. He could have wished, in his ardour, to shake, if possible, all France. "All that I am," he would say, "all that I shall be, all that I have, and all that I shall have, I desire to consecrate to the glory of God."³

At Basel, Anémond found his fellow-countryman, Farel, whom his letters had inspired with a strong desire to see the Reformers of Switzerland and Germany, besides that he wanted some sphere in which to exert his active energies with greater freedom. Accordingly, he quitted that France which even then provided nothing but the punishment of death for the preachers of the pure Gospel. By taking bye paths and concealing himself in the woods, he escaped, though with difficulty, from the hands of his enemies. Having often lost his way, "God would teach me by my weakness in these little things," he would say, "what my weakness is in great things."⁴ At length he

¹ Dass ein Feuer von dem Hause Sophoy ausgehe. (L. Epp. ii. p. 406.)

² Vult videre aulam et faciem Principis nostri. (Ibid. p. 340.)

³ Quidquid sum, habeo, ero, habebove, ad Dei gloriam insumere mens est. (Coet Epp. Neuchâtel Manuscript.)

⁴ Voluit Dominus per infirma hæc docere quid possit homo in majoribus. (Farel. Capitoni. Ibid.)

reached Switzerland early in 1524. There he was destined to spend his life in the service of the Gospel, and then it was that France began to send into Helvetia those generous evangelists who were to establish the Reformation in Burgundian Switzerland,¹ and to give it a new and powerful impulse in other parts of the confederation, and throughout the world.

X. The catholic spirit manifested by the Reformation, constitutes a fine trait in its character. Thus we find Germans passing into Switzerland, and Frenchmen into Germany; Englishmen and Scotchmen afterwards cross over to the continent, and the doctors of the continent into Britain. The Reformations of the various countries start into life, almost quite independently of each other, but they are hardly born when they mutually hold out a helping hand. We see one faith, one mind, one Lord. Authors, it appears to me, have done wrong in writing as they have hitherto done, the history of the Reformation, each for a single country only; the work was one; the protestant churches from their origin form "one body, fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth."^{2 3}

There was at this time formed at Basel, by sundry refugees from France and Lorraine, a French church which might be said to be snatched from the flames. There Lefèvre and Farel, and the events that had taken place at Meaux, had been topics of conversation; so that when Farel arrived in Switzerland, he was already known there as one of the most devoted champions of the Gospel.

He was immediately taken to see Œcolampadius, who had returned to Basel some time before. Not often do two such

¹ La Suisse romande. That part of Switzerland speaking French is no doubt meant. Tr.

² Eph. iv. 16.

³ This, indeed, is true catholicity, entirely in accord with the mind of Christ, and wrought by his Spirit. It reposes on heartfelt conviction and on clear views. True love is the bond of union. It is altogether spontaneous, and cannot remain absent, where the Spirit of Christ resides. It is altogether different from the compulsory and purely external catholicity of the Roman Church, yet is vainly to be sought for among those who call themselves Protestants, without having the mind of Christ.—L. R.

One knows not whether most to lament the disunion that prevails, at the present day, among the churches of the Reformation, arising from the various degrees in which they have held by, or departed from the "one faith, mind, and Lord" of their fathers in the sixteenth century, or to rejoice in the cordiality that binds together in all those churches, those who desire to walk in the good old paths of Scriptural doctrine. Tr.

opposite characters happen to meet. Æcolampadius charmed those who knew him with his gentleness; Farel carried them away with him by his impetuosity; yet from the first moment, those two men found themselves knit together by an indissoluble tie.¹ It was like another meeting between a Luther and a Melancthon. Æcolampadius took Farel into his house, gave him a modest chamber, a frugal table, and an introduction to his friends; and soon all hearts were won by the young Frenchman's learning, godliness, and courage. Pellican, Imeli, Wolfhard, and other Basel ministers, felt themselves strengthened in the faith by his energetic discourses. Æcolampadius happened at that time to be profoundly discouraged. "Alas," he would say to Zwingli, "I speak in vain, and see not the slightest ground for hope. Perhaps I might have more success among the Turks!² 3. . . Ah," he would add with a deep-drawn sigh, "I blame nobody for this but myself." But the more he saw of Farel, the more he felt his heart revive, and the courage which the latter communicated to him, became the basis of an imperishable affection. "O my dear Farel," said he, "I trust the Lord will render our friendship immortal! And if we cannot be united here below, our joy will not be the less, when we shall have one home with Christ in heaven."⁴ Devout and

¹ Amicum semper habui a primo colloquio. (Farel ad Bulling. 27th May, 1556.)

² Fortasse in mediis Turcis felicius docuisssem, (Zw. et Æcol. Epp. p. 200.)

³ It is surprising that this idea was so slow of finding its way among the Reformed, and that missions to the heathen should have been so eagerly begun by Jesuits whom no persecution drove abroad, while they continued to be neglected by Protestants, even in circumstances which one would have thought must have compelled them to go to the heathen. No doubt, every consideration of duty and self-preservation must have led them, at first, to direct their regards to the recovery from the thralldom and superstitions of the popedom, those whom they found the victims of both, and to the consolidation and defence of their own churches, beset as these were by the apostles of Rome, and ready to relapse into their old errors under neglect or superficial teaching. Hence the Reformed Churches became rich beyond measure in able polemical divines and godly pastors, though poor in zealous missionaries. The tendency of our own days is, perhaps, too little in the former direction. The Christian education of youth is by no means so exact and profound now as it was in the sixteenth century, and the various modifications of error by which it is apt to creep in and undermine the truth, are not met by an equal amount of solid systematic theology, carefully deduced from Scripture. We abound in missionaries; but are wanting in a sufficient supply of able *doctors of holy Scripture*. Tr.

⁴ Mi Farelle, spero Dominum conservaturum amicitiam nostram immortalem; et si hic conjungi nequimus, tanto beatius alibi apud Christum erit contubernium. (Zw. et Æcol. Epp. p. 201.)

affecting sentiments! . . . Farel's arrival in Switzerland was evidently succour from on high.

But while this Frenchman exceedingly enjoyed the society of Œcolampadius, he shrank with coldness and a noble disdain, from intercourse with a man, at whose feet all the nations of Christendom did obeisance. The prince of the schools, he from whom a word or a look was an object of every one's ambition, the master spirit of his age, Erasmus, was treated by Farel with neglect. The young Dauphinese refused to go and do homage to the old Rotterdam sage, for he despised those who are never more than half on the side of truth, and who, with a full comprehension of the dangerous nature of error, are tender in the extreme to those who propagate it. Here we see Farel's conduct marked by that decision which became one of the distinctive traits of the Reformation in France, and French Switzerland, and which some have called stiffness, exclusiveness, and intolerance. A dispute had arisen about the merits of the Etaples doctor's commentaries, and at every entertainment that happened to be given, the company present was sure to side, some with Erasmus against Lefèvre, others with Lefèvre against Erasmus.¹ Farel adhered without hesitation to his old master. But what more than anything else made him indignant, was the cowardice of the Rotterdam doctor, with respect to the evangelical Christians, he having actually shut the door of his house against them. What of that? Farel was not the man to knock for admittance there. It was a small sacrifice to him, for he was convinced that a godly heart, that foundation of all true theology, was wanting in Erasmus. "Frobenius's wife," he would say, "has more theology than he;" and indignant at Erasmus having written to the pope, asking what measures he should take "for extinguishing Luther's conflagration," he openly asserted that Erasmus wished to extinguish the Gospel.²

The illustrious scholar was irritated at this independence on the part of young Farel. Princes, kings, doctors, bishops, popes, Reformers, priests, people of the world, in short, all men, reckoned themselves happy in coming to pay him their tribute of

¹ Nullum est pene convivium. . . . (Er. Epp. p. 179.)

² Consilium quo sic extinguatur incendium Lutheranum. (Er. Epp. p. 179.)

admiration; Luther himself had preserved some respect for him personally; yet here was a young unknown exile from Dauphiny who dared to brave his power. This insolent liberty vexed Erasmus more than the homage of the whole world could gratify him; he lost no opportunity, accordingly, of venting his spleen against Farel; and, besides, by attacking so notorious a heretic, he cleared himself of the suspicion of heresy in the eyes of the Roman catholics. "Never have I seen anything more mendacious, virulent, and seditious than that man,"¹ he would say; "he has a vain heart and a malicious tongue."² Nor was the spite and wrath of Erasmus confined to Farel; it extended to all the French refugees at Basel, whose frankness and decision offended him. They were observed to pay slight regard to the persons of men; and if the truth were not frankly professed, cared little for the man, whatever might be his claims on the score of genius.³ Possibly they might be somewhat wanting in the meekness of the Gospel; but their faithfulness had something in it of the energy of the prophets of old; and one loves to meet with men that refuse to bow before that which the world worships. Astonished at these tokens of high-minded disdain, Erasmus complained of them to everybody. "What!" he wrote to Melancthon, "shall we reject the pontiffs and bishops, but to have still more cruel tyrants in those mangy rabid fellows; . . . for such has France lately sent us?"⁴—"Some French-

¹ Quo nihil vidi mendacius, virulentius, et seditiosius. (Er. Epp. p. 798.)

² Acidæ linguæ et vanissimus. (Ibid. p. 2129.)

³ Here, likewise, does the character of these French Reformers and Reformed favourably distinguish itself. To reverence men's persons, or even to honour them according to the fame they have acquired, or the reputation they have made for themselves, involves our participating in their failings, and is prejudicial to the good which they either treat with indifference or directly oppose. People appeal to their example and authority, as a pretext for their own indifference or pusillanimity. They who would really stand by what is good, will with Farel and his companions ask only for what is accordant with the mind of Christ, not with that of an Erasmus.—L. R.

This was, no doubt, the character of the French Reformed in the sixteenth, but I confess I have been struck with proofs of the reverse in the following century. In the life of the celebrated preacher du Bosc it will be seen how fatal a snare was presented to the French Reformed under Louis XIV., by the dread of incurring the reproach of disloyalty, and disregard for politeness and etiquette. The thought of being wanting in refinement of manners, or of failing in courtesy to the great, even when they are manifestly encroaching on the dear-bought franchises of the Church, proved in France then, as almost everywhere now, one of those bugbears by which the best of men are sorely tempted to compromise their allegiance to the Church and its divine Head. TR.

⁴ Scabiosos . . . rabiosos . . . nam nuper nobis misit Galila. (Er. Epp. p. 350.)

men," he wrote to the secretary of the pope, on presenting to him his book *on the Freedom of the Will*, "are still more out of their senses than are the Germans themselves. Those five words are never out of their mouth, *Gospel, Word of God, Faith, Christ, Holy Spirit*, and yet I have no doubt that they are actuated by the spirit of Satan.^{1 2} Instead of Farellus he often wrote *Fallicus*, thus insinuating that one of the most straightforward men of his age, was crafty and deceitful.

The ill humour and anger of Erasmus were at their utmost height, when told that Farel had called him a *Balaam*. Farel thought that Erasmus, like that prophet, allowed himself, possibly without being aware of it, to be induced by presents to speak against the people of God. Unable upon this to restrain himself any longer, the learned Hollander resolved to take the high-mettled Dauphinese to task; and one day that Farel was discussing certain points of Christian doctrine with some friends in the presence of Erasmus, the latter, suddenly interrupting him, said: "Why do you call me Balaam?"³ Though taken by surprise at first, from the abruptness of the question, Farel soon recollected himself, and replied, that it was not he that had called him that; but on being pressed to name the guilty person, he said it was Du Blet of Lyons, a refugee, like himself, at Basel.⁴ "It was possibly he that said so," replied Erasmus, "but it is you that must have put it into his head." Then, ashamed at losing his temper, he promptly changed the topic of conversation. "Why," said he to Farel, "do you maintain that we ought not to address prayer to the saints? Is it because there is no command to that effect in Holy Scripture?"—"Yes," said the Frenchman.—"Well now," replied the scholar, "I call upon you to prove by the Scriptures, that we ought to invoke the Holy Ghost." To this Farel made the following simple and true reply: "If he be God, he is to be called upon in prayer."⁵

¹ Non dubitem quin agantur spiritu Satanæ. (Er. Epp.)

² How far was Erasmus, with all his learning and aversion to the grosser superstitions, removed from the genuine spirit of the Gospel and from any true reformation, when he ascribed to Satan, all upon which these especially depended! These five words comprised, in fact, the very pith and marrow, both of the doctrines and the practice of Christianity.—L. R.

³ Diremi disputationem. . . . (Er. Epp. p. 804.)

⁴ Ut diceret negotiatorem quemdam Dupletum hoc dixisse. (Ibid. p. 2129.)

⁵ Si Deus est, inquit, invocandus est. (Ibid. p. 804.)

"I left the discussion," says Erasmus, "for night was coming on."¹ From that time Farel's name never fell under his pen but to represent him as an odious being, who was at every cost to be shunned; whereas the Reformer's letters, on the contrary, are full of moderation towards Erasmus. The Gospel is milder than philosophy, even in the most impassioned characters.²

Already could the Gospel reckon upon many friends in Basel, both in the council and among the people; but the doctors of the university combatted it with all their might. Against the latter Œcolampadius and Stör, pastor of Liestal, had defended certain theses. Farel thought it in Switzerland, too, his duty to profess the grand principle of the evangelical school of Paris and Meaux: *The Word of God is sufficient*. He craved leave from the university to defend certain theses, "rather," he modestly added, "that I may be reprehended, should I be in error, than to instruct other people;"³ but the university refused its consent.

Farel then applied to the council; and that body issued a public intimation, that a Christian gentleman of the name of William Farel having, from the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, drawn up certain articles in accord with the Gospel,⁴ it had sanctioned his defending these in Latin. The university prohibited all priests or students from showing themselves at this disputation, but the council issued orders to the contrary.

The following are some of the thirteen propositions posted up by Farel.

"Christ hath given us the most perfect rule of life: it pertains to no one to diminish aught therefrom or to add ought thereto.

"To regulate one's self by any other precepts than those of Christ, leads straight to impiety."⁵

¹ Omissa disputatione, nam imminabat nox. (Er. Epp.) We have only Erasmus's account of this conversation; he himself tells us that Farel gave a very different one of what took place.

² I doubt if Erasmus ought, indeed, to be ranked among philosophers, as the author has done more than once, and if his errors ought thus to be especially ascribed to philosophy. In my apprehension, he was a man of literature, but no philosopher. But this is true: learning and knowledge, be it literary or philosophical, without the mind of Christ, leave men to the guidance of their own fancies and passions.—L. R.

³ Damit er gelehrt werde, ob er irre. (Füssli Beytr. iv. p. 244.)

⁴ Ausgiessung des heiligen Geistes ein Christlicher Mensch und Bruder. (Ibid.)

⁵ These two first propositions form the genuine foundation of our true and

"The true ministry of priests, is to labour in the administration of the Word; and they have no higher function than that.

"To deprive Christ's good news of its certainty, is to destroy it.

"He who hopes to be justified by his own power, and his own merits, and not by faith, sets himself up as God.

"Jesus Christ, whom all things obey, is our pole-star, and the only star that we ought to follow."¹

Thus was it that this "Frenchman" presented himself in Basel.² It was a child of the mountains of Dauphiny, educated at Paris at the feet of Lefèvre, that came thus courageously to expound the grand principles of the Reformation, in that illustrious Swiss university, and close to where Erasmus had fixed his abode. Farel's theses comprehended two ideas: one, that of a return to Holy Scripture; the other, that of a return to faith: both these, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the popedom decidedly condemned as heretical and impious, in the famous constitution, *Unigenitus*,³ and being

fundamental Reformation. Great now is the need of having a Farel, to instil and to exercise these maxims, in order that the Church calling itself Reformed, may be reformed anew and brought back again to her true purity.—L. R.

¹ Gulielmus Farellus Christianis lectoribus, die Martis post Reminiscere. (Fussli. Beytr. iv. p. 247.) Füssli does not give the Latin text.

² Schedam conclusionum a Gallo illo. (Zw. Epp. p. 333.)

³ The constitution *Unigenitus*, so called from the first word, that being the usual way of distinguishing bulls, categorically stated and anathematised the doctrines held by the Jansenists, which have been mentioned already in this work, as approaching those of the Reformation on the subject of grace. Although Jansenius himself was a Dutchman by birth, received a classical education at Utrecht, where he changed his name from Olto, or Oltue, to Jansen, to avoid the odium of being recognised as of popish parentage, and spent his life mostly in Spain and Flanders, under the patronage of Philip IV. of Spain, he had by far the greatest number of followers in France. This was owing, no doubt, in a great measure to the presence in that country, until the revocation of the edict of Nantes, of an eminently Scriptural and learned Reformed Church, and to the consequent enlightenment, even of the popish population, by the Scriptures and Scriptural theology. The Bible could not be concealed or slighted as long as its claims were pressed by the unrivalled polemical theologians of that church, on such minds as those of the first French Jansenists, Arnould, Nicole, Pascal, &c. Indeed, this powerful influence constantly exerted on such members of the Romish communion by the Reformed, was perhaps the chief cause of the rancorous hatred of the Jesuits, and of the measures that preceded and consummated the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Jansenism has been condemned by several bulls from the Roman chancery, under divers pontificates, as rash, impious, blasphemous, and heretical, and these began to appear before the suppression of the French Reformed. On the 15th of February, 1665, pope Alexander VII. enjoined all the clergy of France, the only Romish country then where Jansenism in any degree was maintained, to swear submission to the constitution of Innocent X., dated 31st May, 1653, and to that of Alexander VII., October 16th, 1656, and to reject

intimately united, they do in fact subvert the system of the popedom. If faith in Christ be the beginning and the end of Christianity, we ought then to cleave to the Word of Christ, not to that of the Church. Nay, more; if faith in Christ unite men's souls, what need then of any outward tie?¹ Is it with crosses, bulls, and tiaras that their holy unity is formed? Faith unites by a spiritual and true unity, all in whose hearts it fixes its abode. Thus does there vanish at one stroke, the threefold illusion, of meritorious works, human traditions, and false unity, that is, the whole of Roman catholicism.

The disputation began in Latin.² Farel and Œcolampadius expounded and proved their articles, calling upon their opponents, several times successively, to reply; but none of them made their appearance. These sophists, as Œcolampadius calls them, meanly acted the part of braggarts, yet shunned the light in their obscure retreats.³ The common people, accordingly, began to despise the cowardice of their priests, as well as to detest their tyranny.⁴

Thus did Farel take his place in the ranks of the Reformation. People were delighted at seeing so much learning and godliness combined in a Frenchman; and the noblest triumphs were straightway anticipated. "He is capable of himself," it was said, "to discomfit, if not utterly to destroy, the whole Sorbonne;⁵ men's hearts were won by his candour, his sincerity and his frankness."⁶ Yet amid all his activity, he forgot not that it is with our own soul that every mission ought to begin.

and condemn the five propositions taken from the book called *Augustinus of Jansenius*, in the sense intended by the author. This bull of Alexander VII. was ratified by a declaration of Lewis XIV., in 1665. The parliament of Paris opposed the bull, but the archbishop of Paris enjoined its being subscribed, on his own authority. Still, however, Jansenism survived, its ranks recruited probably by men whom persecution frightened from being Protestants. The constitution *Unigenitus* appeared at last as if to give the death-blow to the doctrines of grace, in their last refuge in France. Tr.

¹ As we saw above wherein true catholicity consists, we here see what true unity involves. The two are intimately connected with each other, and are manifest among all who honestly love the truth.—L. R.

² Schedam conclusionum latine apud nos disputatam. (Zw. Epp. p. 333.)

³ Agunt tamen magnos interim thrasones, sed in angulis lucifugæ. (Ibid.)

⁴ Incipit tamen plebs paulatim illorum ignaviam et tyrannidem verbo Dei agnoscere. (Ibid.)

⁵ Ad totam Sorbonicam affligendam si non et perdendam. (Œcol. Luthero, Epp. p. 200.)

⁶ Farello nihil candidius est. (Œcol. Luthero, Epp. p. 200.)

The mild *Æcolampadius* entered into a covenant with the ardent *Farel*, in which they engaged to exercise themselves during their familiar conversations, in humility and gentleness; so that we see even those men of courage, on the very field of battle adapting themselves for peace. Be it observed, however, that the impetuosity of a *Luther* and that of a *Farel* were necessary virtues. Some effort must be put forth when the world has to be shifted into a new position, and when the Church has to be renovated—a truth acknowledged by men of the mildest tempers then, though too often forgotten now.¹ “Some,” said *Æcolampadius* to *Luther*, when introducing *Farel* to him, “would have his zeal against the enemies of the truth to be more tempered; but in that very zeal I only see an admirable good quality, which, if seasonably exercised, is no less necessary than mildness.”² Posterity has ratified the judgment thus pronounced by *Æcolampadius*.

In May, 1524, *Farel*, accompanied by some friends from Lyons, went to Schaffhausen, Zurich, and Constance. Great was the joy with which *Zwingli* and *Myconius* received this exile from France, and *Farel* remembered it all his life after. But on returning to Basel, he found *Erasmus* and his other enemies at work, and he received an order to quit that city. In vain did his friends loudly signify their disapproval of such an abuse of power; he found himself compelled to abandon the Swiss territory, which from that time was devoted to great reverses. “It is thus,” said the indignant *Æcolampadius*, “that we understand hospitality, we, true inhabitants of Sodom!”³ . . .

Farel formed a close friendship, when at Basel, with the che-

¹ And still is this most highly necessary. It were well, could men like *Farel* be found in our own days, to restore the deeply decayed condition of the so-called Reformed Church. People speak of mildness and toleration, and allow themselves, from dread of being accounted wanting in forbearance and love, to be withheld from those vigorous efforts which probe the matter thoroughly, and which will one day be indispensable, if Christendom is ever to be animated with fresh vitality. Meanwhile all things are thus going more and more backwards. But thus do all become only more and more ripe for those divine penal inflictions, whereby God himself will probe to the quick, for the purpose of thoroughly purifying his Church, while we are falling short of our duty under show of moderation.—L. R.

² Verum ego virtutem illam admirabilem et non minus placiditate, si tempestive fuerit, necessariam. (*Æcol. Luther*o, Epp.)

³ Adeo hospitum habemus rationem, veri Sodomitæ. (*Zw. Epp.* p. 434.)

valier d'Esch; the latter wished to accompany him, and they set off, furnished by Œcolampadius with letters to Capito and Luther, to whom the Basel doctor recommended Farel as "that William who had laboured so much in the work of God."¹ At Strasburg, Farel became the intimate friend of Capito, Bucer, and Hedio, but it does not appear that he went so far as Wittenberg.²

¹ Gulielmus ille qui tam probe navavit operam. (Zw. et Œcol. Epp. p. 175.)

² It will seem strange to readers little versed in modern history, that Strasburg, which was not, like Basel, one of the free states incorporated with the Swiss confederation, and which has so long been a French city and fortress, should have been able to give such effective protection and patronage, early in the sixteenth century, to the Reformation, and to so many of the Reformers. To such readers some explanation under this head will be interesting, and particularly so, from the light thus thrown on the divine economy in watching over the infancy of what the author calls the renovation of Christianity. When the Gospel message was first preached, the whole civilized world was at peace and lay included in the one powerful empire of Rome. This state of things, as Principal Robertson has shown in his only published sermon, was admirably calculated to promote the progress of the Gospel. As the Roman government was essentially military and little influenced by interested or fanatical priests, or by zealous lay partisans of the popular creed, the unity of the empire rather favoured, than otherwise, the preaching of a new doctrine. But the same unity in the sixteenth century, when Rome itself had passed into the power of a priest, and when Europe was crowded with the jealous guardians of Romish orthodoxy, from the princely archbishop to the mendicant friar, might have crushed every effort at Reformation in the bud. Wisely was it ordered, therefore, that Christendom should have become partitioned into so many independent civil governments, amid whose mutual jealousies and diverse constitutions, the religious unity of Rome found it impossible to crush the Reformation, at all points, at once.

The province of Alsace, of which Strasburg is the capital, was at the commencement of the sixteenth century governed by a prefect, (some say two prefects, one for upper, the other for lower Alsace), which officer was appointed by the emperor of Germany, to exercise in his name the rights of sovereignty, including the right of determining peace or war, all matters of higher administration, and even public justice, after the decline in the jurisdiction of the landgraves, had given the higher court at Ensisheim, an authority all of which went to enhance the sovereign power.

But the whole province did not own the prefect's government. The free city of Strasburg, in particular, professed to be exempt from swearing allegiance to the emperor. This anarchy led to bloody civil broils and devastations, which ended in the general peace of 1495. Strasburg was then a free and powerful republic, exercising all the powers of sovereignty, and priding itself in having the privilege of carrying the imperial standard in the wars carried on by the Germanic body.

The constitution of the city was remarkably democratic, having its senate composed of thirty senators, of whom twenty were plebeians chosen by the tribes, or trades' corporations, and ten nobles, chosen by the senate itself. The twenty plebeian senators appointed the consul called *ammeister*, who kept the keys of the city and its seal. There were, also, six pretors, called *stettmeisters*. These were noblemen, and they presided for three months at a time, by turns. The provost, (*schultheiss*) appointed by the bishop and chapter, with the consent of the citizens, still existed, but with the shadow of authority only.

The city enjoyed the most ample freedom and obtained from the emperor Sigismund the privilege of holding fiefs, and the very singular one of receiv-

XI. God does not ordinarily remove his servants to a distance from the field of battle, unless it be to bring them back to it, stronger men, and better armed. Farel and his friends from Meaux, Metz, Lyons, and Dauphiny, on being driven out of France by persecution, refreshed themselves in Switzerland and in Germany with the oldest of the Reformers; and now, like an army dispersed at first by the enemy, only, however, instantly to rally again, they were ready to wheel about and go straight forward in the name of the Lord. Nor was it on the frontiers alone that the friends of the Gospel rallied; they recovered their courage in France itself, and began to prepare for renewing the attack. Already the trumpets sounded the alarm, the soldiers put on their armour, and ran together in groups that they might multiply their blows; the principal persons among them meditated the battle march; the signal: "Jesus, his Word and his grace," mightier far than the din of warlike music at the moment of an engagement, filled all hearts with the same enthusiasm; and everything was preparing in France for a second campaign, to be signalised by fresh victories, and fresh and still greater reverses.

Montbeliard called at that time for some one to labour there. Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, young, violent, and cruel, on being dispossessed of his estates in 1519 by the Suabian league, had fled into that country, being the only one of his possessions that he had remaining. In Switzerland he saw the Reformers; his calamities proved salutary to him; he relished the Gospel.¹ Œcolampadius sent word to Farel that a door was open at Montbeliard, upon which the latter secretly hastened to Basel.

Farel had never entered regularly into the ministry of the Word; but we find that at this period of his life he possessed every qualification requisite for a minister of the Lord. He did not throw himself ultroneously, or inconsiderately, into the

ing into the number of its inhabitants, citizens banished by the tribunals of the empire and even by the emperor himself. This seemed as if purposely intended to make Strasburg the refuge of the persecuted Reformers; a result further promoted by the city having been delivered, in 1491, from the last vestige of the authority of the bishops, in consequence of the emperor Frederick IV. having authorized the inhabitants to refuse submission in temporal matters to ecclesiastical judges. Favoured by the advantage of a regularly constituted and free government, Strasburg rose to great wealth and power as a commercial city. See *Resumé de l'histoire d'Alsace*. Paris, 1825. Tr.

¹ Le prince qui avoit congnoissance de l'Evangile. (Farel, Sommaire.)

service of the Church. "Looking to my littleness," said he, "I should not have dared to preach, waiting until God should send out fitter persons."¹ But God now addressed a threefold call to him. He was no sooner at Basel than *Œcolampadius*, touched with the wants of France, conjured him to consecrate himself to the service of that country. "See," said he to him, "how little Jesus Christ is known by all who speak the French language. Might you not give them some instruction in the vulgar tongue, in order to their having a better understanding of Holy Scripture?"² The people of Montbeliard at the same time called him; the prince of the country consenting to their doing so.³ Now, was not this triple vocation to be regarded as a call from God? . . . "I did not think," says he, "that it was lawful for me to resist. According to the will of God, I obeyed."⁴ Concealed in the house of *Œcolampadius*, struggling against the responsibility which it was proposed to him to undertake, and yet feeling himself compelled to yield to so clear a manifestation of the will of God, Farel accepted that charge, and *Œcolampadius* ordained him to it, with invocation of the name of God,⁵ and addresses to his friend, replete with wisdom: "The more your disposition naturally inclines you to violence," said he, "the more ought you to exercise yourself to mildness; temper your lion's courage with the modesty of the dove."⁶ Farel's whole soul responded to this appeal.

Thus was Farel, after having been an ardent follower of the old church, about to become a servant of God in the new. If Rome insist that, in order to the validity of ordination, there must be the imposition of hands by a bishop descended, in uninterrupted succession, from the apostles, this is because it puts human authority above the Word of God. In every church in which the authority of the Word is not absolute, some other authority of course must elsewhere be sought for. And then, what more natural than to ask from the most venerated minis-

¹ *Summaire*, that is, brief declaration of William Farel, in the epilogue.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Etant requis et demandé du peuple et du consentement du prince.* (*Ibid.*)

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Avec l'invocation du nom de Dieu.* (*Ibid.*)

⁶ *Leoninam magnanimitatem columbina modestia frangas.* (*Œcol. Epp. p. 198.*)

ters of God, what they know not how to find in God himself? If men do not speak in the name of Jesus Christ, is it not something at least to speak in the name of St. John and St. Paul? The man who speaks in the name of antiquity is stronger than the rationalist who speaks in his own name alone. But the Christian minister has a still higher authority; he preaches, not because he derives his descent from St. Chrysostom, or from St. Peter, but because the Word which he proclaims comes down from God himself. The idea of succession, however respectable it may be in itself, is, notwithstanding, only a human system, put in the place of the system of God. There was no human succession in Farel's ordination. More than this; it had not a thing that is necessary in the flocks of the Lord, where *all things must be done in order*, and whose God *is not a God of confusion*. There was wanting in him the consecration of the Church; but extraordinary times justify extraordinary measures. At that memorable epoch, God himself intervened. By marvellous dispensations he consecrated those whom he called to the task of renovating the world; and such a consecration was well worth that bestowed by the Church. In Farel's ordination there was the infallible Word of God, given to a man of God, to be taken into the world; there was a call from God and from the people; there was the consecration of the heart; and perhaps there is not a minister at Rome, or at Geneva, who has been more legitimately ordained for the holy ministry. Farel set out for Montbeliard, and d'Esch accompanied him thither.

Farel thus found himself placed at an advanced post. In his rear, Basel and Strasburg supported him with their counsels and their printing presses; in his front lay stretched out the provinces of Franche-Comté, Burgundy, Lorraine, the Lyonnais, and the rest of France, where men of God were beginning to struggle against error, amid profound darkness. He forthwith applied himself to the preaching of Christ, and to exhorting the faithful not to allow themselves to be turned aside from the Scriptures, by threats or by cunning. Employed, long before Calvin, at the work which that Reformer was to accomplish on a more extensive scale, Farel was, at Montbéliard, like a commanding officer on a height, whose piercing view embraces the

whole field of battle, animates those actually engaged with the enemy, rallies such as may have been dispersed by the impetuosity of the attack, and by his courage inflames such as are lagging in the rear.¹ Erasmus wrote immediately to his Roman catholic friends that a Frenchman, escaped from France, was making a mighty stir in that part of the country.² Nor were Farel's labours in vain. "Everywhere," wrote to him one of his compatriots, "men may be seen springing up who employ their active energies, their whole lives, in extending to the utmost the kingdom of Jesus Christ."³ The friends of the Gospel blessed the Lord, in that the holy Word shone daily with more and more lustre, in all the Gauls.⁴ This threw the adversaries into consternation. "The *faction*," wrote Erasmus to the bishop of Rochester, "is extending from day to day, and is propagating itself in Savoy, Lorraine, and France."⁵ . . .

Lyons seemed to be for some time the centre of evangelical action within the kingdom, as Basel had become beyond its frontier.⁶ Francis I., on his way to the South, to conduct an expedition against Charles V., arrived there with his mother, his sister, and his court. Margaret took along with her several persons who were devoted to the Gospel. "All others she dis-

¹ This is the comparison employed by a friend of Farel's during his residence at Montbéliard. . . . *Strenuum et oculatum imperatorem, qui iis etiam animum facias qui in acie versantur.* (Tossanus Farello, MS. of the Neuchâtel conclave, 2d September, 1524.)

² . . . *Tumultuatur et Burgundia nobis proxima, per Phalicum quemdam Gallum qui e Gallia profugus.* (Er. Epp. p. 409.)

³ *Suppullulare qui omnes conatus adferant, quo possit Christi regnum quam latissime patere.* (Neuchâtel Manuscript, 2d August, 1524.)

⁴ *Quod in Galliis omnibus sacro-sanctum Dei Verbum in dies magis ac magis elucescat.* (Neuchâtel Manuscript, 2d August, 1524.)

⁵ *Factio crescit in dies latius, propagata in Sabaudiam, Lotharingiam, Franciam.* (Er. Epp. p. 869.)

⁶ The position of Lyons, as well as that of Basel or Basle, is peculiarly favourable for commerce, communicating by the Rhone with the Mediterranean sea and the East, and being at no great distance from points by which it can convey goods, by water carriage, to the north-east and north of France. It was then as it is now, next to Paris, by far the most considerable city of France, and, like Basel, it became doubly influential by its printing-presses, and the number of books that issued from them. Its importance was too obvious not to make it of the first consequence with the papists, to keep it entirely in their own power, and long has it been a bulwark of superstition and bigotry. It is represented in old accounts, as full of churches and monasteries, and the people as much addicted to religious processions on the festivals of favourite saints. It now derives its chief commercial importance from the vast extent of its silk manufactures, and has become peculiarly interesting to the friends of the Gospel of late years, as the scene of the conversion, persecution, and first evangelical labours of the Rev. Adolphe Monod, now one of the theological professors at Montauban. Tr.

missed and left behind," says a letter of that time.¹ While Francis I. led through Lyons 14,000 Swiss, 6000 French, and 1500 lances of the French nobility, to repel the invasion of the imperials in Provence; while the whole of that great city was resounding with the clash of arms, the tread of horses, and the sound of trumpets, the friends of the Gospel were marching thither to more pacific conquests. They wished to attempt at Lyons what they had failed to effect at Paris, thinking that at such a distance from the Sorbonne and from Parliament, the Word of God might perhaps have a freer course, and that possibly the second city in the kingdom might be destined to become the first for the Gospel. Was it not there that near four centuries before, the excellent Peter Waldo began to diffuse the divine Word? He at that time shook all France. And now that God had prepared all things for the deliverance of his Church from her bondage, might not the prospect be entertained of successes far more extensive, and far more decisive? Accordingly, the men of Lyons, who were no longer, it is true, "poor," as in the twelfth century, began to wield with courage "the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God."²

¹ De Sebrille to Coet 28th December, 1524. (Manuscript of the Neuchâtel conclave.)

² Chapter xii. Book iii. of the Reverend G. S. Faber's "Inquiry into the History and Theology of the ancient Valdenses and Albigenses," treats of the Poor Men of Lyons or the missionary Valdenses of France. These must not be confounded with the ancient Valdenses of Piedmont; they originated with a person of whom Mr. Faber says: "Perhaps through the whole range of ecclesiastical story, there can scarcely be mentioned an individual, who in the hand of God has been more eminently an instrument for good than the rich and holy merchant Peter of Lyons." He began his labours about the year 1160, and is thought to have died in 1179. He founded the comparatively modern society of the Poor Men of Lyons, and gave them the name of Valdenses, from his own agnomen of Valdo or Valdéz, or Valdensis, or Valdensius, or Valdus; for in all these forms it occurs.—Mr. Faber thinks that he derived this name from a town or district, called *Valdis* or *Vaudra* or *Valden*, on the French border, which according to different but not irreconcilable accounts, is said to have been the seat of the family to which he belonged, his birth-place, and the place of his citizenship. Assuming this spot to have been within the territories of the ancient Vallenses or Waldenses, Mr. Faber traces to early impressions in favour of evangelical truth, as embraced by the inhabitants of that country, the peculiar turn which Peter of Lyons took, on being brought to serious impressions by an event very similar to that which led Luther to become a monk at Erfurt. Once that a meeting of some of the more wealthy citizens took place, one of their number fell down dead; this impressed the wealthy Lyons merchant as much as the sudden death of his friend by lightning impressed Luther. The latter, trained in profound respect for the religion of Rome, thereupon became a monk; the former, educated in Scriptural principles, became an enlightened and indefatigably industrious and devoted Christian. "Either by birth or by origin, or by early inhabitation," says Mr. Faber, "the

Among the persons by whom Margaret was surrounded was her almoner, Michael d'Arande. The duchess made him preach the Gospel in public at Lyons; and master Michael openly and purely announced the Word of God to a great many hearers, attracted partly by the charm which everywhere attends the good news when published, partly, also, by the favour in which both the preaching and the preacher were held by the king's beloved sister.¹

wealthy merchant was a Valdensis or Vaudis or Vaudois. With the pure and primitive doctrine of the pious Dalesman, he had long, most probably from his very childhood, been acquainted; but the full occupation of successful traffic, and the consequent increase of worldly wealth and worldly respectability, had choked the word, so that it became unfruitful, in a thorny soil of mere speculative knowledge. But the Lord had a purpose of mercy for the individual: and through him had a purpose also of great and abiding, and extensive good to his sincere Church. An awful dispensation . . . spake to his sleeping conscience in a voice of thunder. And the result was precisely in accordance with the previous speculative illumination of his understanding," p. 460.

The author proceeds to explain two apparently contradictory statements respecting the Poor Men of Lyons—the one representing them as ANCIENT, the other as MODERN heretics.

"The proselyted French Valdenses," says he, "considered as a congregation gathered out of those who were previously members of the Roman church, were no older than Peter, the Valdo; but in point of ultimate theological pedigree, when considered as a branch or continuation of the ancient Valdenses of Dauphiny and Piedmont, they were, agreeably to their true and perpetual allegation, as old as the times of the apostles themselves." . . . "Thus we see," he adds, "how utterly repugnant to historical testimony is the assertion of Bossuet: that the Valdenses so owed their origin to Peter Valdo, as to have had no existence in any part of the world previous to his time." Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. §. 2, 3, 73.

"What distinguished Peter the Valdo, from the old Valdenses was mainly this, that not content with a limited local testimony against papal errors, under the name of the *Poor Men of Lyons*, he instituted a special order of preachers or missionaries; who instead of quietly vegetating at home from generation to generation, should go forth, like the wandering Albigenses, into the world at large, and should thus carry the Gospel to every quarter of Europe." See Faber's Valdenses and Albigenses, pages 464-6.

That the labours of these godly missionaries in preparing the soil for the Reformation harvest in the sixteenth century, have been greatly underrated by historians, there seems much reason to conclude. Ultimately, Mr. Faber believes, either directly or indirectly, they did thus carry the Gospel to every quarter of Europe. Reinerius, in the thirteenth century, says: *Fere nulla est terra, in quâ hæc secta non sit.*

It is a circumstance worth noting that the same period, the close of the twelfth century, which was marked by the rise of the Poor Men of Lyons, witnessed the almost absolute extinction of the evangelical Christians called Culdees, who from their head-quarters in the small island of Iona and other minor institutions, diffused much light for a time over the north-west of Europe. Thus, just as one pure testimony was silenced, another succeeded it, in a distant quarter, to show that truth was the same everywhere, and was never to be wholly banished from the earth. Ere long it may be universal Europe that is to be buried in errors and superstition, while the truth may find her only witnesses in distant parts, now or lately the abodes of heathenism. Tr.

¹ Elle a ung docteur de Paris appelé maître Michel Eleymosinarius, lequel ne prêche devant elle que purement l'Evangile. (Seville to Coct. Neuchâtel MS.)

Anthony Papillion, a man of highly cultivated mind, an elegant Latin writer, and a friend of Erasmus, "the first in France that understood the Gospel well,"¹ also accompanied the princess. At Margaret's request, he had translated Luther's work on monastic vows, in consequence of which he had much ado with that Parisian vermin (*de quoi il eut beaucoup d'affaires avec cette vermine parrhisiennne*) says Sebville;² but Margaret had protected this learned person from the attacks of the Sorbonne, and had procured for him the office of first master of requests to the Dauphin, together with a seat in the grand council.³ Not the less did he serve the Gospel by his devotedness and his prudence. A merchant of the name of Vaugris, and still more, a gentleman of the name of Anthony du Blet, a friend of Farel's, were then at the head of the Reformation in Lyons. The latter, being a very active person, served as a bond of connection between the Christians scattered over those regions, and put them in communication with Basel. While the armed troops of Francis I. merely passed through Lyons, the spiritual soldiers of Jesus Christ halted there with Margaret; and leaving the former to carry war into Provence and the plains of Italy, they began the Gospel combat in Lyons itself.

But they did not confine themselves to Lyons. They surveyed the country all around them; the campaign opened at many points at once; and the Lyonese Christians, by their words and labours, encouraged all who confessed Christ in the surrounding provinces. They did more than this; they even went to preach it in parts where until then it was unknown. The new doctrine ascended the Saône, and an evangelist traversed the narrow and intricate streets of Mâcon. Michael d'Arande himself, almoner to the king's sister, went there in 1524, and with the aid of Margaret's name, obtained leave to preach in that city,⁴ which was doomed afterwards to be deluged with blood, and whose *leaps* will ever be famous.⁵

¹ Ibid.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Arandius præche à Mascon. (Coet to Farel, December, 1524. Ibid.)⁵ The word *sauteries*, which seems to mean originally and is here translated *leaps*, is not otherwise in use in the French tongue; yet being derived from *sauter* (to leap) it appears to have been invented for the purpose of expressing the inhuman punishments, inflicted on the Huguenots at Macon, after its being

After having ascended the Saône side of the city, the Christians at Lyons, with ever watchful eye, ascended that towards the Alps. There was at Lyons a Dominican friar of the name of Maigret, who had been compelled to leave Dauphiny, where he had preached the new doctrine without reserve, and who now made urgent request that persons might be sent to encourage the brethren at Grenoble and at Gap. Papillion and du Blet, accordingly, went thither.¹ A storm was ready to burst upon

taken in 1562. A detailed account of this will be found in Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary under the word Macon, derived from two relations to which he refers, the one from Beza's Ecclesiastical History, book 15, p. 429, the other from d'Aubigné (is he not likely to have been one of M. Merle's forefathers?) Hist. vol. I. p. 216. The main facts were the following: that a person called St. Poinet (by d'Aubigné called St. Pont,) according to the testimony of his mother, delivered for the disburthening of her conscience, the son of a priest, and who had been appointed by the commanding officer Tavanès, governor of the city, was wont, after giving a festive entertainment to women of respectable station, to let two or three imprisoned Huguenots be taken out of prison, or sometimes other persons to be seized unawares, under pretence of their being guilty of treason, and either to have them shot, or to make them *leap* from the bridge over the Saone into the river and be drowned, and this he sneeringly called an after-dinner entertainment for the amusement of these ladies. Bayle not inappropriately compares the conduct of these women, nay, he thinks it much more shameless than that of the Vestal Virgins who expressed their delight at the sight of the gladiators when introduced upon the arena, so powerfully reprobated by the poet Prudentius. The *Macon leaps* have elsewhere been compared to the atrocities of the emperor Tiberius, as related by Suetonius in the 62d chapter of his Life of that emperor, as inflicted on the condemned persons whom, at the island of Caprea, that monster, after subjecting them to exquisite tortures, caused to be thrown into the sea before his eyes and killed by the seamen with oars and boat hooks. Shame on the abettors of a church, from love to which, to say the least, such atrocities were perpetrated, if they were not excited and caused by its priests and monks. We justly suspect their most sweetly flattering words, and even now must impute violent and hypocritical aims to all their efforts to agitate, until they confess and detest with heart-felt aversion, that old passion for persecution. We do not wrong religious freedom and liberty of conscience, but our object is to maintain them, while we with our utmost endeavours would oppose the full restoration of the Romish church to all her pretended privileges.—L. R.

¹ There have been two great personages at Grenoble. (Coct to Farel—Neuchâtel, MS.) The title of *Messire* given to du Blet, indicates a person of rank. I suppose therefore that that of *negotiator*, refers to his activity; nevertheless he may have been a great merchant at Lyons.

There can be little doubt of this. The author seems puzzled to account for a nobleman, as the very name preceded by the article *Du*, indicates, being also a merchant. In any other part of France, and particularly in the provinces remote from Italy, and where the maxims of the northern invaders most prevailed, a nobleman engaging in trade would have been quite an anomaly. I find, however, in the description of the Lionnois given in the *Delices de la France* (A. D. 1670,) that the inhabitants of that small province, having the great city of Lyons for its capital, universally partook of the mercantile character of that city. "The peasant is crafty," says the account I refer to, "the man of condition," meaning, I presume, nobleman, "manages his affairs well; traffic is their grand occupation, and all are alike bent upon gain." . . . Nay, it is not only possible, but even probable, perhaps, that the noble families of the province, like many in Italy, might have originated in trade, and owed

Seville and his pulpit ministrations. The Dominicans had been moving heaven and earth; maddened at the sight of so many evangelists, including Farel, Anémond, and Maigret, they would fain have annihilated those within their reach.¹ They insisted that Seville should be apprehended.²

Upon this the friends of the Gospel in Grenoble were struck with terror; they could not endure that Seville, too, should be taken from them. Margaret made an application in his behalf to her brother; many of the most distinguished personages at Grenoble, among others, the king's advocate, all of them being either avowed or secret friends of the Gospel, exerted themselves in favour of the evangelical cordelier. Their combined efforts rescued him at last from the rage of his adversaries.³

But although Seville was saved, it was only on condition that his mouth should be shut. "Hold your peace," it was said to him, "else you will be sent to the stake." He wrote to Anémond de Coet: "Silence has been imposed on me, upon pain of death."⁴ These threats of the adversaries, overawed even those of whom the best hopes had been entertained. The king's advocate and other friends of the Gospel, became not only lukewarm but even cold;⁵ many went back to the Romish worship, pretending to worship God spiritually, in the secret homage of their hearts, and to give a spiritual meaning to the external rites of Roman catholicism—a deplorable illusion, leading from one degree of unfaithfulness to another, nor is there any kind of hypocrisy which might not thus be justified.⁶

their fortunes, rank, and influence, to successful industry. Hence it were the less remarkable that du Blet, a nobleman, should be addressed as *Messire*, while he was described, also, as *negotiator*. Tr.

¹ Conjicere potes ut post Macretum et me in Sebevillam exarserint. (Anémond to Farel 7th September, 1524. Neuchâtel MS.)

² The Thomists wanted to proceed against me by inquisition and personal caption. (Letter from Seville, Ibid.)

³ But for certain secret friends I should have been delivered into the hands of the Pharisees. (Ibid.)

⁴ Neuchâtel MS.

⁵ Non solum tepidi, sed frigidi. (Ibid.)

⁶ Calvin's attention was early called to this systematic conformity with Rome among persons who had become fully convinced of its corruptions, as we learn from the following passage in Th. Beza's Life of that Reformer: "In the mean time Calvin published two very elegant letters in the year 1537, because he observed many in France to be well acquainted, indeed, with divine truth in their minds, who still indulged their old corrupt feelings, under the pretence of its being sufficient to worship Christ in the heart while they attended mass, one concerning the necessity of avoiding idolatry, was directed to Nicholas

By means of this system of myths and allegories, the sceptic will preach Christ from a Christian pulpit; and the follower of some abominable superstition among the pagans might contrive, with the aid of a little invention, to find it embody some pure and lofty idea. The first thing in religion is truth. Some of the Grenoble Christians, however, and among these were Amadeus Galbert, and a cousin of Anémond's, steadfastly held by their faith.¹ These godly men met in secret with Sebville, sometimes in the house of one, sometimes in the house of another, and *confabulated* together about the Gospel. They would repair to some secluded spot; would go under cover of night to some brother's house; that they might pray to Jesus Christ, would hide themselves like robbers meditating crime. More than once a false alarm struck the humble meeting with trepidation. The adversaries consented to wink at secret conventicles, but swore that the flames should do justice on who-

Cheminus, bishop of Orleans, whose friendship and hospitality he had very much enjoyed while there, and who was afterwards appointed to a civil office in the province of la Maine. Another related to the popish priesthood, written to Gerard Roussel, already mentioned, who after the tumult of Paris, was first presented with an abbacy, and then a bishopric, and, afterwards, so far from pursuing the even tenor of his Christian course, gradually undermined, as domestic chaplain, the faith of the queen of Navarre." See the Life of John Calvin, by Th. Beza, translated by Francis Sibson, A. B. By the queen of Navarre is meant the princess Margaret who became so by her second marriage. Her conformity to the Church of Rome was more owing probably to her regard for her brother Francis I. than to any other cause, but it seems to have redoubled the gloom that attended the closing period of her life.

These conformists seem to have been misled, as many are at the present day, by looking at the fair side only of the popedom; and it is a singular fact that after they had become much more numerous in the further course of the sixteenth century, the atrocities of that body, and particularly the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, seem, by forcing the moral deformities of the papal system on their regard, to have compelled them, even in the face of those horrors, to join the ranks of the Reformed.

When the long course of crafty and malignant measures which gradually undermined the establishment secured to the French Reformed, in their native country, by the edict of Nantes, was finally consummated by the formal revocation of that edict, a vast number of the Reformed, having shut their ears to warnings by timely attending to which many thousands of their brethren had found safety in flight, were debarred on the one hand from leaving France, and subjected, on the other, to the most diabolical persecutions, if they refused to conform to the Roman catholic worship. In such circumstances, the sophistry, here so justly exposed, was peculiarly dangerous, and beguiled many unstable souls into shameful conformity with a religion which their inmost conscience rejected. It was then that four letters were sent to them from refugee ministers admirably exposing such delusions, and arimating them to fortitude under such trials. See "Pastoral Letter to the Protestants of France who have fallen by Force of Torments," and the three following letters in "Suppression of the Reformation in France," &c., London, 1840. Tr.

¹ Tuo cognato, Amadeo Galberto exceptis. (Neuchâtel MS.)

soever might attempt to discourse in public from the Word of God.¹

Such were the circumstances in which *Messires* du Blet and Papillion arrived at Grenoble. Seeing that Seville's mouth had been shut there, they exhorted him to come and preach Christ at Lyons. Lent of the following year would present a favourable opportunity for doing so, to a crowded congregation; Michael d'Arande, Maigret, and Seville, proposed to combat at the head of the phalanxes of the Gospel; and thus everything gave token that a striking manifestation of the truth was about to be made in the second city of France. The report of this evangelical Lent, spread even into Switzerland: "Seville has been set at liberty and is to preach the Lent sermons at Lyons," wrote Anémond to Farel.² But a grievous disaster intervened and prevented this spiritual combat, by filling the whole of France with alarm and distress. It is during peace that the conquests of the Gospel are made. The defeat of the French at Pavia, happening in February, caused the miscarriage of this bold plan of the Reformers.

Meanwhile, without waiting for Seville, Maigret, from the commencement of winter, preached at Lyons salvation by Jesus Christ alone, in spite of warm opposition from the priests and monks.³ In his discourses there was no longer any question about the worship of creatures, the saints, and the Virgin, or about the power of priests. The great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh, was alone proclaimed. The old heresies of the Poor Men of Lyons, are re-appearing, it was said, and are more dangerous than ever! But notwithstanding this opposition, Maigret continued his ministrations; the faith by which his soul was animated, found utterance in powerful words; for it is of the nature of truth to embolden the heart that receives it. Rome, however, was yet to have the mastery at Lyons as well as at Grenoble, and Margaret's presence could not save Maigret from being seized, dragged through the streets, and thrown into prison. Vaugris, a merchant, who then left that city to pass into Switzerland, having spread the news of

¹ Mais de en parler publiquement, il n'y pend que le feu. (Neuchâtel MS.)

² Le samedi des Quater-Temps (December, 1524.) (Ibid.)

³ Pour vray Maigret a prêché à Lion, maulgré les prêtres et moines. (Ibid.)

this on his way, it caused mingled astonishment and sorrow. One thought alone re-assured the friends of the Reformation: "Maigret has been apprehended," it was said, "but, *thank God, Madame d'Alençon is there!*"¹

These hopes were doomed to be disappointed. The Sorbonne having condemned several propositions maintained by this faithful minister,² Margaret, who was now placed in a position becoming ever more and more difficult, beheld the boldness of the friends of the Reformation, and the hatred of the great, simultaneously increasing. Francis I. began to lose patience at the zeal of these evangelists; he regarded them as fanatics whom it was right to put down. Distracted by her anxiety to be useful to her brethren on the one hand, and by her inability to save them on the other, Margaret caused it to be intimated to them, that they must avoid throwing themselves into new perils, seeing that she should write no more to the king in their favour.³ This resolution the friends of the Gospel did not consider irrevocable. "God give her grace," said they, "to say and to write only what is necessary for poor souls."⁴ But though this succour from man was taken from them, Christ still remained, and it is well for the soul to be bereft of all human resource, that it may stay itself on God alone.

¹ Neuchâtel MS.

² Histoire de François I.^{er} par Gaillard, tom. iv. p. 233.

³ "Perhaps that princess," says Lacreteille, speaking of Margaret, "might have procured a solid glory for Francis's reign, had she communicated to him the principles of religious toleration, and had she not spoken in behalf of the Protestants only in the name of pity." But why should she, or rather, why should not Lefèvre, and the other Reformers of the king's own sex, have failed to appeal, like Luther and Knox, to divine authority for something beyond either pity or toleration, in pleading for subjects who protested against errors of deadly influence both to the governors and the governed—both to their countrymen as individuals and to their country as a community? The apostles proclaimed that God *commanded* all men to repent and believe the Gospel. That Gospel the Reformers had rescued from being buried under human traditions and ordinances, not for themselves alone, but for all men. And I confess that in France the Reformation, from the first, wears a kind of sectarian aspect, which makes it less wonderful that it should have become so much a matter of party spirit and civil war, from the low ground assumed by the first of its Reformers, and afterwards made the basis of the edict of Nantes. In that edict, the French Reformed sought to secure themselves and to give peace to the kingdom, by consenting to the limitation of their testimony to certain towns and places—consented, in fact, to the Word of God being bound. The result demonstrated that they would have followed a wiser course, as well as a more Scriptural one, had they refused all pledges to limit or suppress their testimony. Tr.

⁴ Peter Toussaint to Farel, Basel, 17th December, 1524. (Neuchâtel MS.)

XII. Meanwhile the efforts of the friends of the Gospel in France, were paralysed. The great began to show themselves hostile to Christianity; Margaret was terrified; disastrous news came across the Alps, and one sad stroke following another, threw all France into mourning, leaving but one thought to engross all men's minds, and that was how France and her king could be saved! . . . But although the Christians of Lyons were arrested in their labours, were there not at Basel soldiers escaped from the battle, and ready to begin it anew? Never have the exiles of France forgotten her. Ousted, for nearly three centuries, from their country by the fanaticism of Rome, their last descendants are seen carrying to the towns and country villages of their forefathers, the treasures of which the pope has deprived them. At the very time that the soldiers of Christ in France, were mournfully laying aside their arms, the Basel refugees were preparing for the combat. As they beheld the monarchy of St. Louis, and of Charlemagne, ready to escape from the hands of Francis I. himself, could the French avoid feeling that they were called upon to *receive the kingdom which cannot be moved*?¹

Farel, Anémond, d'Esch, Toussaint, and their friends formed in Switzerland an evangelical society whose object it was to save their country from spiritual darkness. They were written to from all parts, that there was an increasing thirst for the Word of God in France;² advantage was to be taken of this, to water and to sow, while yet the seed-time lasted. Œcolampadius, Zwingli, and Oswald Myconius ceased not to encourage them; holding out the hand of friendly sympathy, and inspiring them with their faith. The Swiss schoolmaster wrote as follows, in January, 1525, to the French knight: "Banished as you are from your country, by the tyranny of antichrist, your very presence in the midst of us, proves that you have boldly done your part in the cause of the Gospel. The tyranny of Christian bishops will compel the people at last to regard them as nothing but liars. Continue steadfast; the time is not far off when we shall enter the haven of rest, whether it be that the tyrants

¹ Hebrews, xii. 28.

² Gallis verborum Dei sitientibus. (Coet to Farel, 2d September, 1524. Neuchâtel MS.)

strike us or that they themselves are struck;¹ and all will be well with us then, if we be but faithful to Jesus Christ."

These were precious encouragements to the French refugees; but at that very time their feelings were lacerated by a blow that came from those very Christians of Switzerland and Germany who were seeking to fortify them. Escaped with difficulty from being burnt at the stake, they looked on with alarm, as the evangelical Christians beyond the Rhine began to trouble the repose they were enjoying, by the deplorable discords. The disputes about the supper had commenced. With their feelings interested and agitated, and experiencing a keen sense of the need there was for charity, the French would have given everything for the sake of union among the minds that were thus divided. This became the all-engrossing consideration with them, and well it might, for at the epoch of the Reformation none needed Christian unity more than they: of this Calvin was afterwards the proof. "Would to God," said Peter Tous-saint, "that I might purchase peace, concord, and unity in Jesus Christ, with my whole blood which, indeed, is of little value."² Endowed with great justness and quickness of apprehension, the French perceived immediately that the controversy that now arose would check the progress of the Reformation. "All would go on better than many suppose, were we but of one mind. There are many people who would willingly come to the light, but when they see these divisions among the clergy, they know not what to think."^{3 4}

¹ Non longe abest enim, quo in portum tranquillum perveniamus. (Osw. Myconius to Anémond de Coët, Neuchâtel MS.)

² Of 21st December, 1525. (MS. of the conclave of Neuchâtel.)

³ Ibid.

⁴ It is therefore a false accusation, brought in later times against Calvin, and the Reformers especially attached to him, and repeated even in our own days, when they are charged with intolerance and want of love. No! although Calvin was a powerful opponent of the so-called Libertines, who stood up for an unbridled liberty, not of thinking only, but also, and especially, of living, and although on that account he became the object of their deadly hatred, a hatred which among that sort of people subsists to the present day, still no man was more cordially bent than he was, upon the maintenance of peace and unanimity among brethren, notwithstanding some occasional differences of sentiment. These kindly feelings he endeavoured to promote to the utmost of his power, and thus was it also with the Reformed, his genuine followers. It is not on their side that peace with the Lutheran brethren is broken, nor are they to blame, in that the bond of union is not renewed—an object to which they have shown themselves all along inclined, without being thereby untrue to their own convictions. Far are they, indeed, from the proper line, who

The French were the first to think of something being done to conciliate the opposing parties. "Wherefore," said they in writing from Strasburg, "is not a Bucer, or some other learned man, sent to Luther? The longer people wait, these dissensions will wax worse." Their fears went on increasing;¹ until, at length, these Christians gave up their efforts as hopeless, averted their eyes with sorrow from Germany, and fixed them exclusively on France.

either, on the one hand, continue to revile Calvinistic orthodoxy and intolerance, or, on the other hand, put themselves forward as the truest abettors of Calvinistic orthodoxy, and who would make it consist in the strong condemnation of whatever does not tally with their own narrow views. Both these opposite extremes are now disturbing the peace of the Church.—L. R.

Speaking of this unhappy controversy, under the year 1524, Milner observes: "It is one of the most mournful events attending the Reformation, that historical truth and method should require us to mention at all the difference here alluded to. Such as it was, it had, as yet, hardly appeared with perspicuity; but in the year 1524, and the several succeeding years, it grew into a tedious and violent controversy concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the Eucharist. This dispute, which has been called the sacramental contest, after producing the most deplorable animosities, terminated at length in the fatal division of those sincere friends of the Reformation who had embarked in the same cause, and who equally professed the essentials of godliness. The differences of sentiment among the contending parties were frequently indistinct, and almost entirely verbal; and if the Church of Christ could be viewed abstracted from every secular connection, such niceties would scarcely deserve a moment's consideration. But Christians must class themselves with some communities, and are therefore compelled to give peculiar attention to the distinguishing features of that denomination to which they belong. Happy! did they but learn to do this in a spirit of candour and charity! And still happier! did they employ their zeal, their firmness, their perseverance in defending the foundations of religion, in imitation of St. Paul, who would not give place to false brethren by subjection, no not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with the Galatians." (Milner's History of the Church of Christ, vol. v. pp. 154-5.) Notwithstanding what Mr. Le Roy remarks, there can be no doubt that Calvin, in writing against the Lutherans, indulged to an unwarrantable degree those feelings of animosity which, in that age, even among persons of the most refined taste, seem to have been invariably expressed in the coarsest and most vituperative terms. Bossuet, in his history of the Variations, takes advantage of this lamentable failing in the Genevese Reformer, to hold him up to the contempt of his reader. As for the Calvinistic churches in Germany, both in forbearance and in a steadier orthodoxy in regard to the grand doctrines of Christianity, Dr. Pusey seems to consider them to have been all along superior to the Lutherans. It is deplorable to think that on the subject of the supper, an ordinance in which, besides the testimony conveyed through the evangelists, we have an express revelation to the apostle Paul to guide us in observing it, men, nevertheless, by travelling out of the simple tract of Scripture, and deserting common sense, should have so multiplied words without knowledge, in most useless, and worse than useless controversies. The danger of embracing erroneous views is now much increased partly by the Reformed churches being charged, as Sir James Mackintosh has charged the Church of England, with expressing themselves nonsensically on the subject, partly owing to the specious attempts of at least one living Roman catholic doctor, to explain away the revolting absurdities of transubstantiation. Tr.

¹ Multis jam christianis Gallis dolet, quod a Zwinglii aliorumque de Eucharistia sententia, dissentiat Lutherus. (Tossanus Farello, 14th July, 1525.)

France, and the conversion of France, became thenceforth the exclusive concern of the hearts of those generous men whom history, which has inscribed on its pages so many names idly puffed up with their own glory, has suffered three whole centuries to pass without even having mentioned. Cast upon a foreign soil, they there fell upon their knees, and daily, in the stillness of their retirement, commended the land of their forefathers in prayer to God.¹ Prayer, that was the grand power by which the Gospel diffused itself throughout the kingdom, and the grand means of conquest employed by the Reformation.

But these Frenchmen were not only men of prayer: never did the Gospel army comprise warriors more ready to sacrifice their persons, when the time of conflict had arrived. They saw the importance of filling their native land, which still lay under the darkness of superstition, with the Holy Scriptures and with godly books. The spirit of research breathed over the whole kingdom; everywhere there was a call to spread the sails to the wind. Anémond, ever prompt in action, and Michael Bentin, another refugee, resolved to combine their zeal, their talents, their means, and their labours. Bentin wished to found a printing-press at Basel, and the knight to avail himself of the slight knowledge of German he possessed, to translate the best works of the Reformation into French. "Ah," would they say, in the delight inspired by their project, "would to God that France teemed with evangelical volumes, so as that everywhere, alike in the cabins of the people, in the palaces of the great, in the cloisters and the parsonages, and in the inner sanctuary of men's hearts, a mighty testimony might be rendered to the grace of Jesus Christ."²

Funds were required for such an enterprise, and the refugees had none. Vaugris was then at Basel; Anémond sent him, at his departure, a letter for the Lyons brethren, some of whom were rich in this world's goods, and, though oppressed, undeviating in their fidelity to the Gospel; he besought them to send him some assistance;³ but that could not suffice; the French

¹ *Quam sollicitè quotidianis precibus commendem.* (Tossanus Farello, 2d September, 1524. Neuchâtel MS.)

² *Opto enim Galliam Evangelicis voluminibus abundare.* (Coet to Farel, Neuchâtel manuscript.)

³ *Ut pecuniæ aliquid ad me mittant.* (Ibid.)

wanted to establish several presses at Basel, which should be worked day and night, so that France might be inundated with the Word of God.¹ At Meaux, at Metz, and other places too, persons were to be found rich enough, and powerful enough, to aid this enterprise. No one could address the French with so much authority as Farel; to him, accordingly, Anémond made application.²

It does not appear that the knight's enterprise was ever carried into effect; but the work was done by others. The Basel presses were constantly occupied in printing French books; these were sent to Farel, and Farel introduced them with incessant activity into France. One of the first publications sent by this religious book society, was the *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*, by Luther. "We are selling," wrote the merchant Vaugris to Farel, "the bale of *Paters* at four deniers Basel money, by retail; but wholesale, we sell them at two florins for the 200 copies, which does not amount to so much."³

Anémond sent from Basel to Farel, all the useful books published there, or that might arrive from Germany; one, for instance, might be something on the education of ministers of the Gospel, another on the education of children.⁴ These works were submitted to Farel's examination; he composed, translated, and superintended translations into French, and seemed to be, at one and the same time, all action and all closet study; Anémond printed and superintended the printing; and those epistles, those prayers, those books, all those light leaves, were the means of regenerating the age. While dissoluteness was invading the country from the throne, and darkness from the steps of the altar, those unperceived writings alone diffused gleams of light and seeds of holiness throughout the nation.

But it was, above all, the Word of God which the Lyons evangelical merchant called for in the name of his fellow-countrymen. The men of the sixteenth century, in their keen appetite for intellectual food, behoved to receive in their own lan-

¹ Ut praela multa erigere possimus. (Coet to Farel, Neuchâtel manuscript.)

² An censes inveniri posse Lugduni, Meldæ, aut alibi in Galliis qui nos ad hæc juvare velint. (Ibid.)

³ Vaugris to Farel; Basel, 29th August, 1524. (Ibid.)

⁴ Mitto tibi librum de instituendis ministris ecclesiæ cum libro de instituendis pueris. (Coet to Farel, 2d September, 1524. Ibid.)

guage, those ancient monuments of the first ages of the world, suffused with the fresh breath of primitive humanity, and those sacred oracles of the times of the Gospel in which the plenitude of the revelation of Christ shines forth.¹ Vaugris wrote to Farel: "I pray you, obtain a translation, if possible, of the New Testament, from some one capable of doing it well, for it would prove a great blessing to France, Burgundy, and Savoy. And if it were necessary to bring a French letter (printing types), I would see to its being brought from Paris, or from Lyons; and if we have any at Basel that are good, so much the better."

Lefèvre had already published at Meaux, but in a detached manner, the books of the New Testament in French. Vaugris called for some one who should revise the whole, and superintend the bringing out of a complete edition. This task Lefèvre undertook and published the new edition, as we have seen, on the 12th of October, 1524. An uncle of Vaugris's, of the name of Conrard, a refugee at Basel, immediately sent for a copy. The chevalier de Coet, happening to be with a friend on the 18th of November, there saw the book, and it gave him the utmost delight. "Lose no time in throwing off a new impression," said he, "for I doubt not that a very large number will be disposed off."²

Thus was the Word of God presented to France in opposition to the traditions of the Church, unceasingly presented to it, down to this day, by Rome. "How are we to distinguish," said the Reformers, "what may be found derived from man, in the traditions, from what is to be found there coming from God, unless by the Scriptures of God? The declared opinions of the fathers, the decretals of the Church's chiefs, cannot be the rules of our faith. They show what were the sentiments of those old doctors; but the Word of God alone enables us to know what is the mind of God. All things should be submitted to the Scriptures."

The principal means by which these writings were circulated were as follows. Farel and his friends transmitted the sacred

¹ This is surely a very unguarded description of the Old and New Testaments. Were the old Testament Scriptures only "suffused with the fresh breath of primitive humanity," and not *sacred oracles* as well as the New? TR.

² Manuscript belonging to the conclave at Neuchâtel.

books to certain packmen, or hawkers (*colporteurs*,) simple and godly men, who with their precious burthen, went from town to town, from village to village, and from house to house, in Franche comté, Lorraine, Burgundy, and the adjacent provinces, knocking at all men's doors. The volumes were given them at a low price, "in order that they might be appetised to sell them."¹ Thus so early as in 1524, there was to be found at Basel, for the benefit of France, a Bible, itinerating book, and religious tract society. It is a mistake to suppose that such operations date from our own times; in their essential objects, they may be traced, not to the times of the Reformation only, but, beyond these, to the earliest ages of the Church.

XIII. The attention bestowed by Farel on France, did not make him forgetful of the places in which he lived. He arrived at Montbéliard towards the close of July, 1524, and hardly had he sown the grain, than, as *Œcolampadius* expresses it, the first fruits of harvest already began to appear. In the joy of his heart, Farel wrote to that friend, informing him of his success. "It is easy," replied the Basel doctor, "to find admission for certain dogmas into the ears of your hearers; but to change their heart is the work of God."²

Overjoyed at such news, the chevalier de Coët repaired, with all his usual vivacity, to the house of his friend Peter Tous-saint. "I set off to-morrow on a visit to Farel," said he hurriedly to Toussaint. The latter, who was of a calmer temperament, wrote to the Montbéliard evangelist: "Be upon your guard," said he to Farel, "it is a great cause that you are maintaining; it won't bear being tarnished by the counsels of men. The powerful promise you their favour, their support, their mountains of gold. . . . But to trust in these things is to desert Jesus Christ and to walk in darkness."³ Toussaint closed this letter when the chevalier entered; the latter took it up and set off for Montbéliard.

On his arrival there he found the town in great agitation. Many of the great had taken alarm and were saying, looking with a disdainful air at Farel: "What would this poor gentle-

¹ Vaugris to Farel. (Neuchâtel manuscript.)

² Animam autem immutare, divinum opus est. (*Œcol. Epp.* p. 200.)

³ . . . A quibus si pendemus, jam a Christo defecimus. (Neuchâtel MS.)

man want with us? Would that he had never come! He cannot remain here, for he will be the destruction of us all, as well as of himself." These barons having taken refuge at Montbéliard with the duke, dreaded lest the noise that everywhere accompanied the Reformation, should bring upon them the notice of Charles V., and of Ferdinand, and thus lead to their being driven from their last asylum. But it was the clergy that resisted Farel the most. The superior of the Franciscans at Besançon, had posted to Montbéliard, and had there formed a plan of defence in concert with the clergy of the place. On the Lord's day following, Farel had hardly begun to preach when he was interrupted by being told that he was a liar and a heretic. Forthwith the whole congregation was in commotion. People rose from their seats; silence was called for. The duke hastened to the spot, ordered both the superior and Farel to be apprehended, and ordained that the former should either prove his accusations or retract them. The superior preferred the latter alternative, and an official report was published detailing the whole affair.¹

This attack only still further inflamed the zeal of Farel; he considered that henceforth it was his duty to unmask without reserve those self-interested priests; so, unsheathing the sword of the Word, he struck some vigorous blows. He was led to imitate Jesus rather when our Lord chased from the temple those who bought and sold, and the money-changers, than when the prophetic spirit bore this testimony to him: "He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street."² Œcolampadius was terrified. In these two men we find perfect types of two characters, diametrically opposite to each other, yet both worthy of our admiration. "You have been sent," wrote Œcolampadius to Farel, "gently to draw men to the truth, not to drag them with violence, to preach the Gospel, not to curse. Physicians do not employ amputations, unless when they find applications useless. Conduct yourself like a physician, not like an executioner. It is not enough for

¹ Der Christliche Handel zu Mumpelgard, verlossen mit gründlicher Wahrheit

² The French version quoted by M. Merle d'Aubigné runs thus: *Il ne conteste point, il ne crie point, on n'entend point sa voix dans les rues.* The difference between this and our authorised English version seems to be immaterial. TR.

me that you are gentle towards the friends of the Word, you ought, also, to gain over its opponents. If the wolves are expelled from the sheep-fold, let the sheep at least hear the shepherd's voice. Pour wine and oil into the wounds, and comport yourself as an evangelist, and not as a judge and a tyrant."¹

The report of these labours spread through France and Lorraine, and people at the Sorbonne and at the cardinal's, began to take alarm at this association of Basel and Montbéliard refugees. They would fain have broken up an alliance that so disquieted them; for error knows no greater triumph than to gain over some renegade. Martial Mazurier and others had already procured for the Gallican papacy, the satisfaction it derived from shameful defections; now, could they but succeed in seducing one of those confessors of Christ who were sheltering themselves on the banks of the Rhine, and had suffered much for the Lord's name, what a victory would it be for the pontifical hierarchy! Accordingly, she put her batteries in order, and the first against which they were pointed was the youngest.

The dean, the cardinal of Lorraine, and all who met at the numerous parties held at the house of that prelate, deplored the melancholy fate of the Peter Toussaint who had given rise to such high expectations. He is at Basel, it was said, in the very house of *Æcolampadius*, residing with one of the ring-leaders of heresy! They wrote to him fervently, and as if their great concern were to save him from everlasting condemnation. The poor youth was tortured by these letters, and the more so, as he perceived in them the tokens of an affection that was dear to him.² One of his relations, probably the dean himself, summoned him to repair to Paris, to Metz, or to any other place whatever, provided it were at a distance from the Lutherans. This relation, aware of the full extent of Toussaint's obligations to him, doubted not that he would immediately comply with his orders; accordingly, on finding his efforts useless, his affection was changed into a violent hatred. This resistance exasperated

¹ *Quod Evangelistam, non tyrannicum legislatorem præstes.* (*Æcol. Epp.* p. 206.)

² *Me in dies divexari legendis amicorum litteris qui me . . . ab instituto remorari nituntur.* (*Tossanus Farello*, 2d September, 1524, Neuchâtel MS.)

at the same time against the youthful refugee, the whole of his family, and all his old friends. His mother was applied to; she was "under the power of the hood;"¹ the priests surrounded her, frightened her, persuaded her that her son had committed actions not to be mentioned without horror. Upon this the distracted mother wrote an affecting letter, "full of tears," he says, and in which she depicted to him, in a heart-rending manner, the whole amount of her calamity. "Ah! wretched mother," she said, "ah! unnatural son! . . . cursed be the knees that bare thee and the paps that gave thee suck!"²

Poor Toussaint was now in the utmost alarm. What was he to do? To return to France was impossible; and to leave Basel to go to Zurich, or to Wittemberg, beyond the reach of his relations, would only aggravate their distress. Œcolampadius suggested to him a middle course. "You had better leave my house," said he;³ and in fact he did so, with a heart surcharged with grief, and went to live with an obscure and ignorant priest,⁴ quite the person to re-assure his relations. What a change was this for poor Toussaint! He met his host only at meals, on which occasions they never ceased to have discussions about matters of faith, but when the cloth was removed, Toussaint hastened to his chamber again, and shutting himself up there, alone, and far from noise and disputation, he carefully studied the Word of God. "The Lord is my witness," said he, "that in this valley of tears I have but one desire, that of beholding the extension of Christ's kingdom, in such wise that all with one mouth may glorify God."⁵

Toussaint was comforted by this one circumstance; the friends of the Gospel in Metz were becoming stronger and stronger every day.⁶ At his entreaty the chevalier d'Esch set off, in

¹ Jam capulo proxima. (Neuchâtel MS.)

² Litteras ad me dedit plenas lacrymis quibus maledicit et uberibus quæ me lactarunt, etc. . . . (Ibid.)

³ Visum est Œcolampadio consultum . . . ut a se secederem. (Ibid.)

⁴ Utor domo cujusdam sacrificuli. (Ibid.)

⁵ Ut Christi regnum quam latissime pateat. (Neuchâtel MS.)

⁶ We learn from that ponderous and voluminous work, the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Lorraine, published at Nancy, in 1728, that duke Anthony, who was the reigning prince at this time, was of a remarkably pacific disposition; that under him the country enjoyed profound tranquillity until invaded by the peasants in their insurrectionary war, and, moreover, that the clergy of his states were much oppressed by the ecclesiastical courts at Rome, an oppression from which duke Anthony struggled to deliver them. All these circumstances

the course of January, 1525, to fortify the evangelical Christians of that city; he traversed the forests of the Vosges, and reached the neighbourhood in which Leclerc had given up his life, carrying with him several books, with which Farel had provided him.¹

These French refugees did not confine their regards to Lorraine alone. The chevalier de Coct received letters from one of Farel's brothers, picturing to him, under sombre colours, the state of Dauphiny. These he took care not to show, dreading lest they should intimidate the feeble, and contented himself with ardently seeking from God the succour of his mighty hand.² In December, 1524, Peter Verrier, a messenger from Dauphiny, arrived at Montbéliard on horseback, charged with commissions for Farel and for Anémond; whereupon the knight, with his habitual vivacity, proposed to return immediately into France. "If Peter have brought with him money," he wrote to Farel, "take it; if the said Peter have brought me letters, open and, after taking a copy of them, send them to me. Nevertheless, don't sell the horse; but keep it, for peradventure we may require its services. I am inclined to think that I ought to pass secretly into France, and try to find Jacobus Faber (Lefèvre), and Arandius. Write me what you would advise."³

Such was the confidence and open-heartedness that prevailed among those refugees: one opened another's letters and took his money. It is true that Coct was at that time owing thirty-six crowns to Farel, whose purse was ever at the service of his friends. There was more zeal than discretion in the knight's wish to return to France. He was of too imprudent a character not to expose himself thus to certain death; and this Farel, no doubt, made him see. He left Basel, and retired to a small

must have gone to promote this growing strength among the friends of the Gospel in Metz. The country was quiet, the prince benevolent, and Rome unpopular. The superstition of the people, however, was gross and inveterate, and seems to have presented the greatest obstacle to the Reformation of the province, favoured as it was by the uniform tendency of the Romish worship to divert the regards of man from the sublime simplicities of the Gospel, to the miserable adoration of saints and relics, and to a stupid veneration for particular localities. TR.

¹ "Let him return to Metz, where God's enemies are continually rising against the Gospel." Toussaint to Farel, 17th December, 1524. Ibid.)

² *Accepi ante horam a fratre tuo epistolam quam hic nulli manifestavi; terrentur enim infirmi.* (Coctus Farello, 2d September, 1524.)

³ Coct to Farel, December, 1524. (Neuchâtel MS.)

town where he had "great hope of acquiring the German language, God helping."¹

Farel continued to act as an evangelist at Montbéliard. His inmost soul was bitterly distressed as he contemplated the majority of the inhabitants wholly given up to the worship of images. According to Farel, it was the ancient idolatry of paganism that was returning.

Nevertheless, he might possibly have been long restrained by the exhortations of *Œcolampadius*, and by a dread of compromising the truth, but for an unforeseen circumstance. One day, towards the close of February (it was the festival of St. Anthony), Farel was proceeding to the side of a small stream which traverses the town, under the lofty rock crowned by the citadel, when on reaching the bridge, he met a procession, reciting prayers to St. Anthony, and headed by two priests carrying an image of that saint. Farel thus found himself confronted by those superstitions, without, however, having sought for them. He felt a violent conflict within him. Was he to give way, or should he conceal himself? But would not that act betray a cowardly want of faith? Those lifeless images, borne upon the shoulders of ignorant priests, made his very blood boil. . . . Farel boldly stepped forward, took out of the arms of the priests the chest of the saintly hermit, and threw it from the bridge into the river. Next, turning to the astonished people, he exclaimed: "Poor idolaters, will you never leave off your idolatry?"²

Both priests and people halted, and were in consternation at the deed. The whole multitude seemed paralysed with religious fear. But this stupor did not last long. "The image is drowning!" cried some one from amid the crowd, whereupon immobility and silence were succeeded by transports and shouts of rage. The crowd would fain have rushed headlong upon the sacrilegious person who had thrown the object of their adoration into the water, but Farel, we know not how, escaped from their resentment.³

¹ Coet to Farel, January, 1525. (Neuchâtel MS.)

² *Revue du Dauphiné*, tom. ii. p. 38.—Choupard's MS.

³ Mr. Kirchhofer, in his life of Farel, gives this event as a tradition of uncertain authenticity; but it is related by several Protestants even, and it appears to me to be quite accordant with the character of Farel and the fears of *Œcolampadius*. We ought to acknowledge the weaknesses of the Reformers.

We can well understand that there is matter for regret in Farel's having allowed himself to be hurried into a course, which, far from serving, rather checked the progress of the truth. No one ought to consider that he is authorised to attack with open violence what is of public institution. Nevertheless, in the Reformer's zeal there is something of a nobler character than in the cold prudence so often to be met with, which shrinks from the slightest danger, and dreads making the smallest sacrifice for the promotion of God's kingdom. Farel was not unaware that he thus exposed himself to the risk of losing his life, as Leclerc had done. But the testimony which his own conscience gave him, that he sought only the glory of God, raised him above every fear.¹

After this affair of the bridge, so highly characteristic of Farel's history, the Reformer was obliged to conceal himself, and soon after to leave the town. He took refuge at Basel with Œcolampadius; yet he still preserved that affection for Montbéliard which a servant of God never fails to entertain for the first fruits of his ministry.²

Sad news met Farel on his reaching Basel. While he was a fugitive, his friend Anémond de Coët, lay grievously ill. Farel immediately sent him four golden crowns; but a letter from Oswald Myconius, written on the 25th of March, informed him of the chevalier's death. "Let us live," said Oswald to him, "in such a manner that we may enter into the repose into which we hope that the spirit of Anémond has now entered."³

Thus prematurely died Anémond, while yet young, full of activity, full of vigour, willing to undergo the utmost hazards for the evangelization of France, and who was in himself an host. *God's ways are not our ways.* It was not long before,

¹ But did not this testimony of his conscience justify in some sort his deed? That deed was verily unusual and if we are to doubt the God-dishonouring character of image worship, or to reckon it a matter of indifference, then must it be regarded as civilly punishable. Yet extraordinary circumstances justify extraordinary measures. The blindness of superstition was not to be convinced with words. And Farel's were necessary, and were also provided by God's Providence, for the purpose of putting it to shame by their bold doings.—L. R.

² Ingens affectus, qui me cogit Mumpelgardum amare. (Farelli Epp.)

³ Quo Anemundi spiritum jam pervenisse speramus. (Myconius Farello. Neuchâtel MS.)

that near Zurich also, another knight, Ulrich von Hutten, breathed his last. Some points of resemblance may be traced between the German and the French knight; but the godliness and the Christian virtues of the Dauphinese Reformer, place him far above the witty and fool-hardy enemy of the pope and the monks.

Shortly after Anémond's death, Farel, unable to remain longer at Basel, from which he had been banished once before, repaired to his friends Capito and Bucer, at Strasburg.

Thus, at Montbéliard and Basel, as well as at Lyons, blows were dealt with effect amid the ranks of the Reformation. Among the most devoted combatants, some were removed by death, others by persecution or exile. In vain did the soldiers of the Gospel on all sides attempt the assault; they were everywhere driven back. But if the forces which they had concentrated first at Meaux, next at Lyons, after that at Basel, were successively dispersed, there remained combatants scattered here and there who in Lorraine, at Meaux, nay even in Paris, struggled, more or less openly, to uphold the Word of God in France. If the Reformation beheld its masses broken, still it did not lose all its single soldiers. It was against them that the Sorbonne and the Parliament proceeded to direct their wrath. The grand object was, that not one should be left upon the territory of France of those generous men who had undertaken to plant there the standard of Jesus Christ, and unheard-of calamities seemed to conspire at the time with the enemies of the Reformation, and to lend them powerful aid for the complete accomplishment of their work.

XIV. In fact, during the latter part of Farel's residence at Montbéliard, great things were transacted on the scene of the world. Charles V.'s generals, Lannoy and Pescara, having retreated out of France on the approach of Francis I., that prince had crossed the Alps, and blockaded Pavia. He was attacked by Pescara on the 24th of February, 1525; Bonnivet, la Tremouille, la Palisse, and Lescure, were slain near the king; the duke d'Alençon, Margaret's husband, first prince of the blood, had fled with the rear-guard and had gone to Lyons, there to die of shame and vexation; and Francis himself, having been thrown from his horse, had surrendered his sword to

Charles de Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who stooped with one knee on the ground to receive it. The king of France was now the emperor's prisoner, and his captivity seemed to be the direst of calamities. "Nothing whatever is left me," the king wrote to his mother, "save my honour and my life." But none felt more acutely on this occasion than did Margaret. Her country's glory compromised, France bereft of her king and exposed to the utmost peril, her beloved brother a prisoner in the hands of his haughty adversary, her husband disgraced and dead . . . what subjects of bitter thought were these! . . . But she was not without a comforter; and while her brother repeated for her consolation: "All is lost, save honour!" she could say:

"All save my brother, Jesus, Son of God!"^{1 2}

¹ Les Marguerites de la Marguerite, i. p. 29.

² Upon this occasion, the princess sent to her captive brother, her own copy of St. Paul's epistles, with the following singularly characteristic letter to Marshal de Montmorency who, having been taken prisoner along with the king, remained with him. The original French will be found at p. 177 of Professor Genin's "Lettres inédites de Marguerite d'Angoulême.

"My cousin, there is a certain very devout recluse, who for three years has been constantly urging a man whom I know, to pray to God for the king, and to do him service, the which he has done; and has sent me word that he is assured, that if the king would be pleased by way of devotion (*par manière d'oraison*) daily when he shall be by himself, to read the epistles of St. Paul, he will be delivered to the glory of God and to his own honour, for he promises in his Gospel that whoso loves the truth, the truth will set him free. And in as much as I think he has them not, I send mine, begging that you will supplicate on my part, that he will read them, and I firmly believe that the Holy Spirit, who abides in the letter, will do by him things as great as he did by those who wrote them, for God is neither less powerful nor less good than he has been, and his promises are ever true. He has humbled us by imprisonment but he has not abandoned us, giving us patience and hope in his goodness, which is ever accompanied with consolation and a more perfect knowledge of him, a thing which I feel assured, is better than the king ever knows, not having on account of the imprisonment of his body, his mind less at liberty and fully supplied with the grace of him whom I supplicate to perfect his commandment in him. As to which cannot have greater uneasiness than to feel herself useless for his service. Your good cousin, MARGARET."

From the very next letter in the collection, being from the princess to the king on affairs of state, and possibly too from the concluding expression in the above, we may infer that Francis had repelled his sister's endeavours to lead him to her own religious convictions, in such a manner as to prevent her from addressing him directly on the subject, and to induce her to send him through Montmorency an advice from a person of his own sex who had been three years praying for him. How striking the contrast between this godly princess on the one hand, and the Sorbonne, the parliament, and other Roman catholics on the other, at the crisis of the king's being made prisoner. The one urges upon the captive monarch a devout perusal of St. Paul's epistles—the others, as will be seen, hasten to take advantage of the king's absence, to exterminate the so-called heretics, who had become such mainly through their addiction to such reading! Tr.

France, with her princes, parliament, and people, was overwhelmed with consternation. Nor was it long before Christians, as in the three first centuries of the Church, began to be accused as the cause of these national calamities, and fanatical cries were raised on every side, demanding blood as the means of warding off still worse disasters. Hence the opportunity was favourable; it was not thought enough to have driven the evangelical Christians from the three strong positions they had been occupying; advantage behoved to be taken of the popular terror, the iron was to be struck while hot, and, throughout the whole kingdom, the opposition, now becoming so formidable to the popedom, was to be utterly swept away.

This clamorous conspiracy was led on by Beda, Duchesne, and Lecouturier, which three irreconcilable enemies of the Gospel flattered themselves that they would easily obtain from the public terror, victims that had hitherto been refused to them. They instantly employed every device, fanatical conversations and preaching, complaints, menaces, and defamatory writings, to excite the animosity of the nation, and that especially of the nation's chiefs. They vomited forth fire and flames, and loaded the objects of their fury with the most scurrilous abuse.¹ All means seemed good in their eyes; they pounced on certain words found here and there, leaving out what was necessary to explain the sentence quoted; substituted their own expressions for those of the doctors whom they accused, and omitted or added, as best suited their purpose of blackening their opponents. We have this on the testimony of Erasmus himself.^{2 3}

¹ Plus quam scurrilibus conviciis debacchantes. . . . (Er. Francisco Regi, p. 1108.)

² Pro meis verbis supponit sua, prætermittit, addit. . . . (Ibid. p. 887.)

³ "Erasmus," says Gaillard, "reckoned up the errors of Beda (we speak only of voluntary errors), and without treating him rigorously, he found that they amounted to four hundred and seventy-one simple lies, three hundred and ten calumnies, and forty-seven blasphemies. Beda's only reply lay in pressing the censure of the Sorbonne (against Erasmus)."

Francis I., according to the same author, was aware of Beda's indulgence of slander, at least in so far as Erasmus was concerned, and on his return from Spain made an odd enough diversion in favour of the Rotterdam doctor, by not only commanding the parliament to stop the sale of Beda's books, and forbid the publication of libels against Erasmus, but also by ordaining that the university should examine a book written by Beda against Erasmus, and against Lefèvre of Etaples. "I am assured," said the king, "that the book is full of errors, and sure I am that it is full of calumnies, a fault equivalent to many errors." See Gaillard's Francis I., vol. iii. p. 555. TR.

Nothing so much stirred their bile as the fundamental doctrine of Christianity and of the Reformation, salvation by grace. "When I see," said Beda, "these three men, Lefèvre, Erasmus, and Luther endued in other respects with so penetrating a genius, yet united in a conspiracy against meritorious works, and for resting the whole weight of salvation on faith alone,¹ I am no longer surprised that thousands of men, seduced by these doctrines, have learned to say: 'Why should I fast and martyrise my body?' Let us banish from France this odious doctrine of grace. There is a dismal deception of the devil in that neglect of merits."²

Thus did the syndic of the Sorbonne exert himself in combating the faith. In this he required the support both of a debauched court, and of another part of the nation, more respectable indeed, but not less opposed to the Gospel. I speak of those men of grave tempers and severe morality, who, devoted to the study of the laws and of the forms of jurisprudence, could see nothing but a system of legislation in Christianity, and a moral police in the Church! and who from being unable to make the doctrines of the spiritual incapacity of man, the new birth, and justification by faith, enter into what with them were the all-absorbing ideas of jurisprudence, regarded them as fantastic dreams, equally dangerous to public morals and to the prosperity of the state. This hostility towards the doctrine of grace,

¹ Cum itaque cerneram tres istos . . . uno animo in opera meritoria conspirasse. (Natalis Bedæ Apologia adversus clandestinos Lutheranos, fol. 41.)

² Here we see one cause, at least, which goes far to explain the strange tendency to inhuman cruelty adopted by the Church of Rome, with so much else, from the paganism by which she has succeeded, as the grand instrument, under Satan, of gratifying man's hankering for idolatry. When a poor creature imagines it to be his duty, whether he performs that duty or not, to punish himself unmercifully for his sins, and that although he cannot accuse himself of the deadly crime of heresy—when, moreover, he imagines that God himself not only sanctions this, but accounts it highly meritorious, can we wonder at such an one shutting up all his bowels of compassion to the sufferings even of a brother who has no idea of inflicting such self-punishment, yet whom he regards as infinitely more guilty than himself? And this indifference to human suffering cannot fail to be increased, should the dupe of superstition perceive in the child of God, a complete deliverance from that weight of conscious guilt which oppresses himself, and the present enjoyment of a peace which he can hope to realise, only perhaps after spending ages in purgatory. The cruelty of Romanism is, in fact, so natural a result of the working of its principles on the natural heart of man in certain given circumstances, that its return with these circumstances, the moment it can be safely exercised, may be regarded as no less natural in itself than consistent with past experience. Ta.

manifested itself in the sixteenth century in two very different excesses; in Italy and in Poland, by the doctrine of Socinus, who was descended from an illustrious family of juris-consults at Sienna; and in France, by the persecuting decrees, and the martyr fires of the parliament.¹

The parliament, in fact, in its contempt for those great truths of the Gospel, which the Reformers were preaching, and from considering it as indispensable to do something on the occurrence of such an overwhelming calamity, warmly remonstrated with Louisa of Savoy, on the conduct of the government, with respect to the new doctrine. "Heresy," it said, "has lifted up its head in the midst of us, and by not kindling fires for its suppression, the king has drawn down the wrath of heaven upon the kingdom."

The pulpits, at the same time, resounded with complaints, threats, and maledictions; punishments, it was insisted, ought to be promptly inflicted and those, too, of the most signal kind. Among the preachers at Paris, Martial Mazurier particularly distinguished himself; and endeavouring to obliterate by his

¹ There is much profound truth in these remarks—truth which lawyers themselves, and those especially who have much to do with the administration of criminal justice, will, if Christians indeed, most readily acknowledge as impressed on them by their own experience. No men know so much of the extent and nature of crime throughout the country; no men have such overwhelming evidence constantly before them, of the comparative uselessness in repressing crime of a system of legal intimidation, however expensive and curiously contrived; no men are more perfectly aware that crimes are least frequent among the members of Christian families and churches, where the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel are inculcated on all, and where a discipline founded on those doctrines is fully exercised; notwithstanding all which, the remarks called forth by a heavy calendar, from our criminal lawyers, often seem as if dictated by the conviction that in diminishing crime, law and police are everything, the Gospel with its doctrines and discipline nothing. This is not to be attributed to jealousy of the Church as a rival power, though even to that it may require more than ordinary magnanimity to be superior, but to the total difference of principle between these two spheres, and to the mental habits fostered in the administration of them. Detection, conviction, punishment, and, too often, hardening in guilt, are the grand features of the one—offers of grace, persuasion, confession, forgiveness and a holy life, are the distinguishing characteristics of the other. The grand remedies for the evil complained of by the author, are that the Church should bestow more than ordinary attention on the Christian education of youths intended for the legal profession, and, still better, that she should be so sedulous a nurse of the whole population especially committed to her care, that criminal jurisprudence and police may be rendered more and more obsolete by having ever less and less to do. It may further be remarked that the similarity of principle between criminal jurisprudence and Roman catholic theology, multiplies the powers of persecution wherever they co-exist. TR.

violence the remembrance of the ties that once united him with the partisans of the Reformation, he declaimed against the secret disciples of Luther. "Know you," he would exclaim, "the prompt operation of that poison? Know you its potency?" Ah, let us tremble for France! for it acts with inconceivable rapidity, and in a short space of time may prove the destruction of thousands."¹

It was no difficult matter to excite the regent against the partisans of the Reformation. Her daughter, Margaret, the first personages at the court, Louisa of Savoy herself, Louisa who had ever been so devoted to the Roman pontiff, were signalised by some fanatics, as favouring Lefèvre, Berquin, and other innovators. "Had she not read," it was said, "their tracts and translations of the Bible?" Now the king's mother wished to wash her hands of such outrageous suspicions.² Already had she sent her confessor to the Sorbonne, to consult that society upon the means of extirpating heresy. "Luther's detestable doctrines," she had instructed her confessor to say, "are daily gaining new adherents." This message provoked a smile from

¹ Mazurius contra occultos Lutheri discipulos declamat, ac recentis veneni celeritatem vimque denunciat. (Lannoi, regii Navarrae gymnasii Historia, p. 621.)

² This remarkable woman, who contrived to maintain an extraordinary ascendancy over her son and daughter, and even to preserve their affection, amid the most unprincipled gallantries, is thus described in the "Life and Times of Francis I.": "She has been the object of much well-deserved reprobation. Her influence during the greater part of her life, was exerted most fatally for France; and her persecution of Semblançai was a crime so odious and sanguinary, that it is impossible to say one word in palliation of it. She has been praised for having exercised discreetly and usefully the power which her son's imprisonment placed in her hands; but although she is entitled to some respect on this score, it should be remembered that the nobles and the parliament kept a jealous and vigilant eye upon her proceedings, and that the political circumstances of the other states of Europe protected the kingdom from any attack. It is not improbable that in other hands than hers, the king's imprisonment might have been of shorter duration, and it is some drawback from this praise to know that it was during her government that the system of persecution for religious opinions began, which afterwards caused much bloodshed in France." Vol. ii. p. 115.

The author adds that she was "extremely superstitious." It is difficult to determine whether this proneness to superstition, or her anxiety to cultivate popularity, led her to favour persecution during her son's imprisonment. During that very period, it would appear, that she was her daughter's confidant in concerting plans for restoring to the cause of church reformation what it had lost by Briçonnet's recantation, and the persecution and dispersion of its other friends; but it is quite consistent with what we know of her character, to suppose that in thus affecting to agree with the princess Margaret, she made the latter her dupe. Tr.

the faculty. Previous to this, its representations had found no willing ear to listen to them, and now people came with humble petitions for their advice in this affair. It held at length within its grasp the heresy which it had long been so desirous to stifle, and instructed Noel Beda to reply to the regent forthwith. "Inasmuch as the sermons, the disputations, and the books which we have so often opposed to heresy," said the fanatical syndic, "have failed to arrest its progress, all heretical writings ought to be prohibited by an ordinance; and should these means prove still inadequate, force and constraint ought to be employed against the very persons of these false doctors; for men who resist the light, ought to be subjugated by *punishments* and by *terror*."¹

Even this reply Louisa had anticipated. Hardly had Francis I. fallen into the hands of Charles V., when she wrote to the pope, to ask what his good pleasure might be with respect to heretics. In a political point of view, it was of importance to Louisa to secure the favour of a pontiff who had it in his power to raise Italy against the conqueror of Pavia, and she was now ready to conciliate him, at the cost of a little French blood. Delighted at having it in his power to indulge his wrath in the most Christian kingdom, against a heresy which he was unable to check either in Switzerland or Germany, the pope immediately ordained that the Inquisition should be introduced into France, and to forward this object, he addressed a brief to the parliament.² At the same time, Duprat, whom the pope had

¹ Histoire de l'Université, par Crevier, v. p. 196.

² Although no nation, perhaps, has perpetrated greater or more extensive cruelties, under the guise of zeal for religion, than France, from the ancient crusades against the Albigenses to the Dragonades of Marillac and Louvois, it has ever resisted the establishment of the Inquisition within its own territories. The secrecy of that tribunal must have made it formidable to the many free-thinking conformists to Romanism in the French capital, and to their influence, no doubt, at court and in parliament, we may ascribe this determined opposition to the wishes and policy of Rome. The proceedings of the Inquisition are so systematic, that the statistics of that Moloch can be more accurately ascertained than the cruelties and victims of French persecution, and hence cannot be put aside, as the latter are, by Roman catholics who profess a horror for such things, as historical falsehoods, or at least exaggerations. Meanwhile, the reader may see what it was that the alleged vice-gerent of the meek and compassionate Jesus urged at this conjuncture on the French, from the following extract from Galloi's abridgement of Llorentes' History of the Inquisition in Spain.

made a cardinal, and on whom he had bestowed the archbishoprick of Sens and a rich abbacy, endeavoured to respond to such benefits from the court of Rome, by displaying an indefatigable hostility against heretics. Thus the pope, the regent, the doctors of the Sorbonne, the parliament, the chancellor, and the ignorant and fanatical part of the nation, had all simultaneously conspired to effect the ruin of the Gospel, and the death of its confessors.

It was the parliament that began. Nothing less was required than that the first body in the nation should take the lead in this expedition against that doctrine; and, besides, was it not its own affair, since the public safety was interested in it? "The parliament, accordingly, urged by a holy zeal and fervour against those novelties,¹ ordained, by an *arrêt*, that the bishop of Paris, and other bishops, should be held bound to issue a commission to M. M. Philip Pot, president of the court of

"General recapitulation of the victims of the Spanish Inquisition, from the year 1481, to the year 1820.

	Born alive	Born in exile.	Sentenced to the galleys or to imprisonment
From 1481 to 1498, under the administration of the Inquisitor general Torquemada.....	10,229	6,840	97,371
— 1498 to 1507, under that of Deza.....	2,592	829	32,552
— 1507 to 1517, under Cisneros.....	3,564	2,232	48,089
— 1517 to 1521, under Adrian.....	1,620	560	21,835
— 1521 to 1523, an Interregnum.....	324	112	4,481
— 1523 to 1538, under Manriquez.....	2,250	1,125	11,250
— 1538 to 1545, under Tabera.....	840	420	6,520
— 1545 to 1556, under Louisa, and during the reign of Charles V.....	1,320	660	6,600
— 1556 to 1597, Philip II.'s reign.....	3,590	1,845	18,450
— 1597 to 1621, Philip III.'s reign.....	1,840	602	10,716
— 1621 to 1665, Philip IV.'s reign.....	2,852	1,428	14,080
— 1665 to 1700, Charles II.'s reign.....	1,632	540	6,512
— 1700 to 1746, Philip V.'s reign.....	1,600	760	9,120
— 1746 to 1759, Ferdinand VI.'s reign.....	10	5	170
— 1759 to 1788, Charles III.'s reign.....	4	0	56
— 1788 to 1808, Charles IV.'s reign.....	0	1	42
	34,958	18,049	288,214

Thus the general total of the victims of the Spanish Inquisition, only from 1481 to 1820, amounts to 340,921, without including those who have been subjected to imprisonment, the galleys, or exile, under the reign of Ferdinand the VI., the number of whom is further very considerable."

The very sight of this table may well appal the reader. But what were there to be added, returns of victims from the Spanish colonial Inquisitions? France presents no such returns, the nation professing an abhorrence for such inhuman and systematic cruelty, while, notwithstanding, it clings to the religion that sanctioned and commanded it. It is lamentable to think that infidel philosophy, not evangelical Christianity, has been the grand agent in effecting the diminution of victims, so remarkable towards the close of the period which the table embraces; so that Spain, though delivered from one enormous evil, is left a prey to the distraction that necessarily results from the absence of true religion. TR.

¹ On the Catholic Religion in France, by de Lezeau, a manuscript in the Sainte Geneviève library at Paris.

inquests, and Andrew Verjus, counsellor, and to M. M. William Duchesne, and Nicolas Leclerc, doctors in theology, to commence and carry through the prosecution of those who should be found tainted with the doctrines of Luther.

"And to the end that it might appear that these gentlemen, the commissioners, were labouring by authority of the Church rather than of the parliament, his holiness was pleased to send his brief (20th May, 1525), who approved of the commissioners named.

"In consequence of this, all persons whom the bishops or judges of the Church declared to these commissioners to be Lutherans, were delivered over to the secular arm; that is, to the said parliament, which, for that (offence), condemned them to be burnt alive."^{1 2}

Thus speaks a manuscript of that time.

¹ The Sainte Geneviève library manuscript at Paris, from which I took this fragment, bears the name of Lezeau, but on the catalogue that of Lefèvre.

² Gaillard, accordingly, speaks within the truth when he represents the parliament, which it will be borne in mind was a law court, not a house of commons, as merely *insinuating* the necessity of exterminating heretics. That able historian speaks of this conjuncture as follows: "During the king's absence and imprisonment, the duchess of Angoulême, governed by that despotic minister and intolerant prelate, the chancellor Duprat, consulted the faculty of theology on the means of extirpating heresy. Noël Beda failed not to reply in substance, that all whom the Sorbonne had condemned should be burnt, and had the Sorbonne desired to refer themselves always to him, the public executors would have had enough of occupation; it entered but too much into his sentiments, the parliament, let us say rather, the whole kingdom remained still in the same principles, and up to this time Francis had resisted the torrent. After the battle of Pavia, the parliament, in remonstrances full, in other respects, of wise and useful suggestions, *insinuated the necessity of exterminating heretics*; it revived its old process against James Lefèvre, and compelled him to leave France and the kingdom, together with Gerard Roussel." . . . Gaillard, vol. iii. p. 537. It will be likewise observed that Gaillard endeavours to screen the Sorbonne, by representing their reply as that of Beda only. There is something very horrible in the idea that the consciences and understandings of men who could come to such a decision, were guided by professed ministers of the blessed Gospel, and that the parliament of Paris only gave the effect of law, on this occasion, to the solemn opinions of doctors of divinity. Gaillard remarks that *almost all the doctrinal judgments pronounced at that time, censured the proposition that "the burning of heretics is contrary to the spirit of the Gospel."* That proposition, he says, was supported by Erasmus from love for humanity, and by Luther possibly from hatred to the Church. But as he had remarked on the preceding page, the no less significant fact that "almost all the doctrinal judgments of those times, reject the use of translations of the Scripture into the vulgar tongue," this surely might have suggested to him that Erasmus and Luther disapproved of the burning of heretics, *because it was contrary to the spirit of the Gospel*, and that the conviction of its being so, was one secret but powerful reason for such repeated condemnations passed on the use of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. So true is it, that "every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved," John iii. 20. TR.

Such was the terrible commission of inquiry, appointed during the captivity of Francis I. against the evangelical Christians of France as a means of securing the public safety. It was composed of two laymen, and two ecclesiastics, one of the latter being Duchesne, who was, next to Beda, the greatest fanatic among the doctors of the Sorbonne. Sufficient modesty was shown not to place their leading man on the commission, but his influence was not the less assured to them on that account.

Thus the machine was put in order; its springs were well prepared; death was to be the result of its every blow. The question now was, against whom they should direct the first attack, and this formed the subject of a serious deliberation among Beda, Duchesne, and Leclerc, together with president Philip Pot, and counsellor Andrew Verjus. Was there not Briçonnet, count of Montbrun, the old friend of Louis XII., ex-ambassador to Rome and bishop of Meaux? The commission for the public safety that met in Paris in 1525, thought that by beginning with a person of such an elevated station, they might be sure of spreading terror throughout the kingdom; and this reasoning being thought conclusive, it was resolved that that venerable prelate should be impeached.

Far from allowing himself to be intimidated by the persecution of the year 1523, Briçonnet, as well as Lefèvre, had persisted in his opposition to the popular superstitions. In proportion to the eminent place he held alike in the Church and in the state, the influence of his example was thought to be deadly, and the greater the necessity of obtaining from him an open and explicit retractation, or to strike him with a blow that would confound the public more completely still. The commission of inquiry eagerly admitted all the accusations that could be preferred against him. It minuted proofs of the cordiality with which the bishop had received heretics; it established the fact that a week after the superior of the cordeliers, acting upon instructions from the Sorbonne, had preached in St. Martin's church at Meaux, with the view of restoring orthodoxy there, Briçonnet had gone himself into the pulpit, had refuted him, and denounced both the preacher himself and the other cordeliers. his fellow friars, as bigots, false prophets, and hypocrites, and that, not content with thus publicly affronting them, he had

by his official intimated a day for the superior to appear in person, and answer for his conduct.¹ . . . It would seem even, according to a manuscript of that time, that the bishop had gone to much greater lengths than this, and that in the autumn of 1524, in company with Lefèvre of Etaples, he had spent three months in itinerating through his diocese, and had burnt all the images, with the exception of the crucifix. So bold a procedure as this, showing that Brignonnet united great hardihood with his remarkable timidity, could not, even if true, bring upon his head the same blame that was attached to other destroyers of images, inasmuch as he was at the head of the Church in which he reformed these superstitions, and as all that he had done was within the sphere of his rights and duties.²

Be that as it may, Brignonnet could not fail to be sufficiently guilty in the eyes of the enemies of the Gospel. He had not only assailed the Church in general, he had fallen foul of the Sorbonne itself, a corporation which made it its first object to seek its own glory and preservation. Great, therefore, was its satisfaction when it learned that an impeachment had been ordered to be brought against its adversary; and John Bochart, one of the most celebrated advocates of that time, when he appeared before parliament to support the charge against Brignonnet, raising his voice, exclaimed: "Against the faculty neither the bishop of Meaux, nor any other individual can lift his head or open his mouth. Nor is the faculty called upon to enter into discussion, and to produce and set forth its reasons before the said bishop, who ought not to oppose the wisdom of that holy company, which, he ought to believe, is aided by God."³

In consequence of this requisition, the parliament issued an

¹ Crevier's History of the University, v. p. 204.

² There is to be found in the library of the Neuchâtel pastors, a letter from Seville, containing the following passage: "I am satisfy to you that the bishop of Meaux in Brie, near Paris, *cum Jacobo Fabro Stapulensi*, for three months past, while visiting the bishopric, have burnt *actu* all the images, reserving the crucifix, and are summoned to appear personally in Paris, next March, to answer *coram supremi curia et universitate*." I am sufficiently inclined to believe this fact to be authentic, although Seville was not in those quarters, and Mezeray, Daniel, and Maimbourg, have not mentioned it. These Roman catholic authors are very brief, and may besides have had reasons for omitting any notice of the fact, considering how the process ended; moreover, the news reported by Seville consists with all the facts that are known to us. Nevertheless the thing may be doubted.

³ Crevier's Hist. de l'Université, v. p. 204.

arrêt, on the 3d of October, 1525, by which, after decreeing that all the persons denounced in it should be taken into custody, it ordained that the bishop should be interrogated by masters James Menager and Andrew Verjus, counsellors of court, upon the facts whereof he was accused.¹

This *arrêt* of the parliament threw the bishop into consternation. Briçonnet, sent as ambassador from two kings to Rome; Briçonnet, bishop and prince, the friend of Louis XII. and of Francis I., had to stoop to be interrogated by two crown counsellors. . . . He who had hoped that God would kindle in the hearts of the king, and the king's mother and sister, a fire that should spread throughout the kingdom, beheld the kingdom turn against him, and resolve to smother the flame which he had received from heaven. The king was a prisoner, his mother put herself forward at the head of the enemies of the Gospel, and Margaret, terrified at the calamities that had burst upon France, dared not turn aside the blows that were about to descend upon her dearest friends, and, first and foremost, on the spiritual father who had so often consoled her; or, supposing that she had the courage, she had not the power. It was but shortly before that she had written to Briçonnet in a letter full of devout sentiments: "Oh! that my poor dead heart might feel some spark of love, wherein I desire to be consumed to ashes."² . . . But now that the question was about being literally consumed to ashes, this mystic language was no longer seasonable; the stake was to be braved, if a man had a mind to confess his faith. The poor bishop who had hoped so much to see an evangelical reform make calm and gradual progress in men's minds, was overcome with fear and trembling, on perceiving the time arrive when such a reform was to cost a man his life. This terrible thought had never perhaps presented itself to him, and he recoiled from it with anguish and trepidation.³

¹ Maimbourg, Hist. de Calv. p. 14.

² Manuscript in the Royal Library, S. F. No. 337.

³ From this example it may be seen, how dangerous it is to comfort one's self with such remote human prospects, and with the hope of protection from man, when called upon to exercise self-devotedness and courage. Should that hope fail, should those prospects vanish, people like Briçonnet lose courage and leave the good cause to shift for itself. The warning is not uncalled for in our own times.—L. R.

Brignonnet, however, had one hope still left; could he be permitted to appear before a general meeting of all the chambers composing the parliament, as was due to a person of his rank, in so august and numerous a court, he would be sure to find generous hearts to comprehend what he might have to say, and to undertake his defence. He besought the court, accordingly, to do him this favour; but his enemies, too, had guessed what might be the result, were he granted such a hearing. Could they forget that Luther had been seen unsettling even the best established hearts, when he appeared at Worms before the Germanic diet? Careful to remove as far as possible every chance of safety, in this they laboured so effectually that the parliament refused Brignonnet that favour, by an *arrêt* confirming the preceding one, and dated 25th October, 1525.¹

Here, then, we see the bishop of Meaux ordered, like the most obscure priest, to appear before masters James Menager and Andrew Verjus. These two jurisconsults, docile instruments of the Sorbonne, were incapable of being moved by the elevated considerations to which the entire chamber might have been sensible; they were matter-of-fact persons. Had the bishop been in disaccordance with the company? Their interrogatories were all comprised in this question, and, accordingly, Brignonnet's condemnation was secured.

While the sword was thus suspended by the parliament over the bishop's head, the monks, priests, and doctors were losing no time; they saw that a retraction from Brignonnet would better serve their interests than his punishment could even do. His death would give fresh ardour to all who shared his faith; whereas his apostasy would throw them into profound discouragement. To the work then they went. He was visited, he was urgently solicited; Martial Mazurier especially, as he had fallen himself, striving to effect his fall. There was no lack of reasons which might seem specious in the eyes of Brignonnet. "Did he really contemplate the forfeiture of his place? Might he not, by remaining in the Church, employ his influence with the king and the court, in doing an amount of good, the ultimate effects of which might prove more extensive than could

possibly be foreseen? What was to become of his old friends on his ceasing to be in power? How much might he not, by resistance, compromise a reform, which, to secure its being really beneficial, behoved to work its way by means of the legitimate influence of the clergy! How many souls should he not by resisting the Church cause to stumble; how many should he not on the contrary, attract by yielding! . . . They, as well as he, desired a reformation. All things were insensibly tending to it; at the court, in the city, in the provinces, everywhere in fact, progress was making . . . and from mere whim, would he annihilate so cheering a prospect! . . . In reality, he was not called upon to make a sacrifice of his doctrines, but only that he should subject himself to the order established in the Church. Was it well, when France was lying overwhelmed by so many reverses, that people should call up still fresh troubles against her? In the name of religion, in the name of his country, in the name of his friends, in the name of the Reformation itself, yield!" they said. Such are the sophisms by which the noblest causes are ruined.

Meanwhile, not a word of that was said, failed so far to impress the bishop. The tempter who wished to make Jesus fall in the wilderness, in like manner presented himself to him under specious pretences, but instead of exclaiming like his Master: "Get thee behind me, Satan!" he gave heed to these discourses, welcomed, and pondered them. From that moment his allegiance was gone.

Brignonnet had never entered with his whole soul, like a Farel, or a Luther, into the movement which was then regenerating the Church. He had a certain tendency to mysticism, such as enervates men's souls, and deprives them of the firmness and the courage springing from a faith that rests solely on the Word of God. The cross which a man must take up, if he would follow Jesus, was too heavy.¹ Agitated, frightened, stupified, out of his proper mind,² he stumbled against the stone that had been artfully placed in his way . . . and fell. Instead of throwing himself into the arms of Jesus Christ, he

¹ Crucis statim oblatae terrore perculsus. (Bezae Icones.)

² Dementatus. (Ibid.)

threw himself into those of Mazurier,¹ and by a shameful recantation, tarnished the glory of a noble fidelity.²

Thus fell Brignonnet, the friend of Lefèvre and of Margaret, thus was the good news of grace disowned by the main support of the Gospel in France, and that from the culpable consideration that were he to remain faithful, he should lose his influence over the Church, over the court, and over France. But what was urged upon him as his country's salvation, became perhaps its ruin. What would have been the result, had Brignonnet had the courage of Luther? Had one of the leading bishops in France, a man endeared alike to the king and to the people, gone to the stake, and there, like a person of no consideration in the eyes of the world, set the seal of a courageous confession and Christian death, to the truth of the Gospel, would not France have bestirred herself, and the bishop of Meaux's blood, becoming the seed of the Church, like that of the Polycarps and the Cyprians, might we not have seen those regions which have been illustrious in so many respects, come forth, in the sixteenth century, from that long-continued spiritual darkness in which they still lie involved?³

Brignonnet went through the formality of being interrogated by James Menager and Andrew Verjus, and these declared that he had sufficiently exculpated himself of the crime laid to his charge. He was then subjected to penance, and convened a synod in which he condemned Luther's writings, retracted all that he had taught contrary to the Church's doctrines, re-established the invocation of saints, strove to recall those who had forsaken the Romish worship, and that he might leave no doubt as to his reconciliation with the pope and the Sorbonne, on the eve of Corpus Christi day he celebrated a solemn fast, and ordered pompous processions, in which he himself bore a part, giving on that occasion pledges of his faith, by the magnificence he displayed as well as by all sorts of devotion.⁴

¹ Ut episcopus etiam desisteret suis consiliis effecit. (Launoi, regii Navarrae gymnasii historia, p. 621.)

² Nisi turpi pulinodia gloriam hanc omnem ipse sibi invidisset. (Bezæ Icones.)

³ Thus is it here still further established, how dangerous all such human reasonings are, and how they are worse than the heaviest persecutions in thwarting the powerful progress of truth.—L. R.

⁴ Mezeray ii. p. 981; Daniel, v. p. 644; Morcri, article *Brignonnet*.

Brignonnet is perhaps the most illustrious example of back-sliding that the Reformation presents. No where do we behold a man so deeply engaged in that work and withal so sincerely pious, turn round so abruptly to oppose it. Notwithstanding, let us not be mistaken in our estimate, both of his character and his fall. Brignonnet, on the side of Rome, was what Lefèvre was on the side of the Reformation. Both were of the golden mean (*juste milieu*) section, and properly belonged to neither of the two parties; but the one is of the right centre, the other is of the left centre. The Etaples doctor¹ leans towards the Word, whereas the bishop of Meaux leans towards the hierarchy; and when these two men, after meeting on common ground, are called upon to make up their minds, the one joins the ranks of Rome, the other those of Jesus Christ. As for the rest, we cannot suppose Brignonnet to have been altogether false to the convictions of his faith; the Romish doctors never fully trusted him, even after his retractations. But he did what was done at a later period by the bishop of Cambray, whom he resembled in more than one trait of his character; he thought he could submit outwardly to the pope, all the while remaining inwardly subject to the divine Word. In this he displayed a moral weakness which was inconsistent with the Reformation. Brignonnet was one of the chiefs of the mystical or quietist school in France; and we know that one of its first principles has ever been for a man to accommodate himself to the Church to which he happens to belong, whatever that may be.

Brignonnet's scandalous fall had its natural effect upon the hearts of his old friends, and was the melancholy harbinger of those deplorable apostasies which the spirit of the world obtained so often in a subsequent century. This personage, who seemed to hold in his hand the reins of the Reformation, was suddenly thrown from his seat; and the Reformation had thenceforth to pursue its course in France, without chief, without human leader, in humility and in obscurity. But the disciples of the Gospel lifted their heads and looked from that time forward with a still firmer confidence to that heavenly Chief, whose faithfulness, they knew, could never be shaken.

¹ The author of the Life and Times of Francis I. strangely mistakes Lefèvre's connection with Etaples by calling him the bishop of that place. Ta.

The Sorbonne triumphed; a great step was made towards the utter destruction of the Reformation in France; and it was proper, without further delay, to press to the gaining of another victory. Lefèvre stood first after Brignonnet; him, accordingly, Beda proceeded immediately to attack, by publishing against that illustrious doctor, a book containing calumnies so gross, that "cobblers and blacksmiths might point them out with their fingers," said Erasmus. What more especially moved his bile, was that doctrine of justification by faith which Lefèvre had been the first to proclaim in Christendom. To this point Beda incessantly returned; it was the article which, according to him, subverted the Church. "What!" he would say, "Lefèvre affirms that whoever perils his salvation on his own strength shall perish, whereas whoever putting away from him all powers inherent in himself, casts himself exclusively into the arms of Jesus Christ, shall be saved. . . . What heresy, thus to preach the impotence of merits!¹ . . . What an infernal error! what a pernicious cheat on the devil's part! Let us oppose it with all our might."²

Forthwith the persecution machine which leaves no alternative but retractation or death, was directed against the Etaples doctor; and hopes were already indulged of seeing Lefèvre compelled to share either the lot of the poor wool-carder, Leclerc, or that of the illustrious bishop, Brignonnet. The proceedings against him were soon prepared; and a decree of the parliament, dated 28th August, 1525, condemned nine propositions extracted from his commentaries on the Gospels, and placed the Holy Scriptures translated by him in the list of prohibited books.³

This, as the doctor clearly saw, was but the prelude to what was to follow. From the time that symptoms of persecution

¹ The expressions remind one of the charges brought against the grand doctrine of the Reformation, salvation by faith, as immoral, by a theological school in our own day, which I have in a former Note compared to the Theatines of Italy, and which, though now enjoying much of the same kind of popularity as the romantic school in literature, the gothic school in architecture, &c., seems destined soon to disappear by absorption into the papacy, like so many other systems that have sought to find a place in the gulph that lies between Scriptural Christianity and the papal antichrist. See an admirable refutation of the main errors of that school, by M. Merle d'Aubigné, in the fifty-sixth Circular of the Evangelical Society of Geneva. Tr.

² *Perpendens perniciosissimam demonis fallaciam . . . Occurri quantum valui.* (Nat. Bedæ Apolog. adv. Lutheranos. fol. 42.)

³ I. Lelong. *Biblioth. sacrée*, seconde partie, p. 44.

first appeared, he had felt that he must fall before the attacks of his enemies, and that the moment had come for obeying the Saviour's injunction: "*When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another.*" Lefèvre left Meaux, where, ever since the bishop's fall, his life had become embittered at any rate, and where he found all his activity paralysed. Withdrawing to a distance from his persecutors, he shook off the dust from his feet against them, not that he wished them any ill, but as a token of the ills that awaited them; "for," says he somewhere, "just as that dust is cast from our feet, shall they be cast off from the face of the Lord."¹

The persecutors had missed their victim; but comforted themselves with the reflection that France was at least delivered from the father of heretics.

Lefèvre, now a fugitive, reached Strasburg under a borrowed name; he lost no time in frankly attaching himself to the friends of the Reformation, and what joy must it not have given him to listen to the public preaching of that Gospel, of the return of which to the Church he was the first to have a presentiment! Lo, here was his faith! Here was precisely what he would himself have said! He seemed to be born a second time to the Christian life. Gerard Roussel, one of those evangelical men who, nevertheless, like the Etaples doctor, never attained to a complete emancipation, had, like himself, been under the necessity of leaving France. They attended together the instructions of Capito and Bucer;² they had private interviews with those faithful doctors,³ and it was even reported that they had been sent to that effect by Margaret, the king's sister.⁴ ⁵ But Lefèvre was more taken up with admiring the

¹ Quod excussi sunt a facie Domini sicut pulvis ille excussus est a pedibus. (Faber in Ev. Matth. p. 40.)

² Faber Stapulensis et Gerardus Rufus, clam e Gallia profecti, Capitonem et Bucerum audierunt. (Melch. Adam. vita Capitonis, p. 90.)

³ De omnibus doctrinæ præcipuis locis cum ipsis disseruerint. (Ibid.)

⁴ Missi a Margaretha regis Francisci sorore. (Melch. Adam. Vit. Capitonis, p. 90.)

⁵ Among the friends of the Gospel at Strasburg, there was one at this time who seems to have escaped M. Merle d'Aubigné's notice, yet who holds a place of the highest importance in this and the following year, in certain projected measures in favour of the Reformation, the history of which seems now to be lost except in the obscure traces left by four letters of Margaret of Angoulême, being the only ones extant of an apparently long correspondence. The person to whom I refer is Sigismond of Hohenlohe, (in French, *de Haute Flamme*)

ways of God than with polemics. Looking abroad upon Christendom, filled with amazement at the great things that were taking place there, touched with gratitude and with his heart

canon of Augsburg and dean of the grand Chapter of Strasburg. Professor Genin says of him that "he had embraced Luther's opinions and laboured to disseminate them. In 1525, he published at Strasburg the *Bookling of the Cross*, in German; reprinted at Leipsick in 1748, with notes and justificatory pieces, from which I have taken these letters."

The count of Hohenlohe had been at the pains to translate them into German, as they successively came to hand. The originals are lost, as also the translations, except the four letters which M. Genin gives, and the first of which will be found below.

In retranslating these four letters, introduced by Professor Genin with great candour into his collection, seeing that they militate strongly against his idea that the princess never really compromised her character as a good Roman catholic, Mr. Genin endeavours to assimilate them, in point of style, to the other letters in the princess's own French, by adopting the turns of expression she usually employed, particularly in her mystical correspondence with the bishop of Meaux. The German, he says, seems to have been a faithful rendering of the French, but the edition is so horribly disfigured by a ridiculous punctuation that he cannot answer for having always hit the true meaning.

"To my good cousin, Count Sigismond de Haulte Flamme, Dean of the grand chapter of Strasburg.

"24th June, 1525.

"May he whose works are no less known to us than his power, wisdom, and will are concealed from us, be pleased to recompense you by his favour for that which you have done to us, with such good and true affection, in visiting the mother and the daughter, poor widows and not without affliction; whereby you show what spirit you are of. But we pray you to hold and believe that your letter has been most agreeable to us. Accordingly we have resolved to follow your advice, in so far as the Father of all men shall therein be propitious to us. For your opinion and judgment is so right and holy, that he who should gainsay it, is already condemned. You show that you are a cousin not only according to flesh and blood, but, also, according to the Spirit, in thus exercising your solicitude, for you make us your debtors for the favours which the Father hath promised us by the Son. Certainly, dear cousin, you bind us doubly to you, on account of your affectionate charity, for there are many friends according to the world and appearance, but few who wish for their friends (the favour of) the Lord God. Now, since it hath pleased him that you should be such to us, I pray him to fortify in you that good will; also, that you would let us often hear tidings of you.

"As for what betides us, believe this trusty bearer of something touching our earthly suffering; and this ill-composed and still worse written letter from my hand, be so good as take and hold sufficient for two letters, to wit, from the mother and from the daughter, whom our Lord has conjoined in him. Hence ought there not to be in faithful souls but one will, one God, and one hope; which is the confidence of all the elect.

"Pray for me, as your love commands you, and I promise you, for my part, to do the same for you.

"Your good useless cousin,

"MARGARET."

This letter is known from a note by the count, to be the first of the correspondence. But the parties seem to have met shortly before (the *mother* and *daughter* being evidently Louisa of Savoy and Margaret), in consequence of count Hohenlohe having paid them a visit. And strange to say, that visit seems to have been one of Christian sympathy, and to have been appreciated by the dissolute Louisa as well as by her godly daughter. Both had doubtless been softened by the terrible chastisement they had received in the loss of the battle of Pavia, and the king's being a captive. Margaret had probably advised with this valued Christian friend about measures for counteracting the torrent

full of expectation, he fell upon his knees and besought the Lord "to perfect that which he saw was then beginning."¹

Great was the gladness that awaited him, particularly at Strasburg; his disciple, his son, Farel, from whom persecution had separated him for three years, had arrived there before him. The old Sorbonne doctor found that his young pupil had grown a man in the full vigour of life, and a Christian in all the energy of the faith. Farel respectfully pressed the wrinkled hand which had guided his early steps, and experienced inexpressible delight on again finding his (spiritual) father in an evangelical city, and on seeing him surrounded with faithful men. Together they frequented the pure instructions of illustrious doctors; they communicated at the Lord's Supper, administered according to the institution of Jesus Christ; they received affecting tokens of love from their brethren. "Do you remember," said Farel to him, "what you once told me, while as yet both of us were still immersed in darkness: 'William! God will renovate the world; and you will see it! . . . Here is the commencement of what you then told me of.'"—"Yes," replied the godly old man, "yes, God will renovate the world. . . . O my son, continue to preach with courage the Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ!"²

Lefèvre, no doubt from an excess of prudence, wished to remain unknown in Strasburg, and had adopted the name of Anthony Peregrine, while Roussel bore that of Solnin. But the illustrious veteran could not remain concealed; soon the whole city, even to the very children, respectfully saluted the

of persecution now rushing from the Sorbonne and the parliament, and no longer driven back by the monarch's presence. His advice, whatever it was, Margaret could not have expressed her appreciation of in higher terms than she uses, though she evidently questions the possibility of complying with it. The three other letters belong to the year 1526, so that they fall not within the range of this volume of M. Merle d'Aubigné's work, which he concludes with the princess's departure for Spain to attend her brother during his illness at Madrid, and to negotiate his release. Suffice it to say, that the count offered to pay the court a visit—that the princess begs him to defer doing so until April, when all their friends would be met, including the king, and that at that period she seems to have brought over both her mother and brother to consult with the count of Hohenlohe about the interests of protestantism, after the recantation of poor Briçonnet had deprived her of all hopes of effecting any good through him. *Tr.*

¹ Farel à tous Seigneurs, peuples et pasteurs.

² Quod et pius senex fatebatur; meque hortabatur pergere in annunciatione sacri Evangelii. (Farellus Pellicano Hotting. II. L. vi. p. 17.)

old French doctor.¹ He was not alone; he resided in the house of Capito along with Farel, Roussel, Vedaste, who was universally commended for his modesty, and a person called Simon, a Jewish neophyte. The houses of Capito, Œcolampadius, Zwingli, and Luther, were at that time like so many inns; such was then the force of brotherly love. Many other Frenchmen were still to be found in that Rhenish city; there they formed a church, to which Farel often preached the doctrines of salvation, and this Christian society alleviated their exile.²

While these brethren were thus enjoying the asylum opened for them by fraternal charity, such as remained at Paris and in France, were in imminent jeopardy. Brignonnet had retracted, Lefèvre had left France; this was something, no doubt, for the Sorbonne; but it had still to wait for the punishments which it had counselled. Beda and his crew saw themselves still without victims. . . . There was one who caused them still more irritation than Brignonnet and Lefèvre: it was Louis de Berquin. The Artois *gentilhomme*, having more decision of character than either of his masters, missed no opportunity of harassing the theologians and the monks, and unmasking their hypocrisy. Living, by turns, at Paris, and in the provinces, he collected the writings of Erasmus and Luther, and translated them;³ he himself composed controversial works; in fine, he defended and propagated the new doctrine with all the zeal of a new convert. The bishop of Amiens denounced him; Beda supported the bishop's complaint, and the parliament threw him into prison. "This fellow," it was said, "won't escape like Brignonnet or Lefèvre." In fact he was kept under bolts and bars. In vain did the prior of the Chartreux, and others besides, beseech him to make the *amende honorable*; he openly declared that he would not yield on a single point. "There-

¹ Nam latere cupiunt et tamen pueris noti sunt. (Capito Zwinglio Epp. p. 439.)

² It also promoted the triumph of the Gospel over all opposition. People dared to risk something for a cause, when even in banishment they were everywhere at home, and when, according to the promise of Jesus, they found fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters everywhere. There might something be accomplished now for the deeply fallen Church of Christ, were the same unanimity, courage, and self-devotedness to prevail among the right-minded.—L. R.

³ Erasmi Epp. p. 923.

upon," says an old chronicle, "there seemed no alternative, but that he should be committed to the flames."¹

Margaret, who had felt horror-struck at what had happened to Brignonnet, shuddered at the thought of Berquin being dragged to the stake from which the bishop had escaped so shamefully. She dared not enter his prison, but she endeavoured to have conveyed to him some words of comfort, and possibly it was for him that the princess composed that affecting complaint of the prisoner, in which, addressing himself to the Lord, he is made to exclaim:

O refuge, helpful, safe, accessible,
For the afflicted, and the orphan's judge!
Treasure of consolation ever full!
These iron-doors, those draw-bridges, that barrier,
That now enclose me, keep me far removed
From neighbours, brothers, sisters, and kind friends.
Nevertheless, where'er I may be placed,
Contrivance none can shut the door so close
That in an instant Thou art not with me.²

But Margaret did not confine herself to this; she immediately wrote to her brother, to solicit at his hands the pardon of this gentleman. Happy could she but deliver him in time from the hatred of his enemies!

While waiting for this victim, Beda resolved to make the adversaries of the Sorbonne and of the monks tremble, by beating down the most celebrated of them all. Erasmus had lifted himself against Luther; but that was of no consequence! if the ruin of Erasmus could be secured, by much the stronger reason would that of Farel, Luther, and their associates be inevitable. The surest method of reaching a mark is to aim beyond it. When Rome should have planted her foot on the neck of the Rotterdam philosopher, who was the heretical doctor that could escape her vengeance? Already had Lecouturier, commonly called, from his Latin name, *Sutor*, taken the lead by launching against Erasmus, from his solitary chartreux cell, a publication replete with violence, in which he called his opponents theologasters, and asslings, imputing to them scandals, heresies, and

¹ Actes des Martyrs, p. 103.

² Marguerites de la Marguerites des princesses, i. p. 445.

blasphemies. Treating of matters of which he understood nothing, he minded one, said Erasmus with a sneer, of the old proverb: *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*: Let the cobbler keep to his last.¹

Beda flew to the aid of his colleague. He commanded Erasmus to write no more;² and, himself taking up the pen which he had enjoined the greatest writer of his age to lay down, he made a selection of all the calumnies invented by the monks at the expense of the illustrious philosopher, translated them into French, and composed a book of them, which he circulated at the court and in the city, endeavouring to rouse all France against him.³ This book was the signal for attack, and Erasmus was assailed from all parts. Nicolas d'Emmond, an old Louvain Carmelite, shouted every time he entered the pulpit: "There is no difference between Erasmus and Luther, if it be not that Erasmus is the greater heretic of the two;"⁴ and wherever the Carmelite happened to be, at table, or travelling by land or water, he called Erasmus a heresiarch and a falsifier.⁵ Roused by these clamours, the faculty of Paris prepared a censure for that illustrious writer.⁶

¹ The play upon the word *couturier*, or *sutor*, will be best understood by Scottish readers, *sutor* being a common term for shoemaker in the north. Tr.

² *Primum jubet ut desinam scribere.* (Erasm. Epp. p. 921.)

³ *Ut totam Galliam in me concitaret.* (Ibid. p. 886.)

⁴ *Nisi quod Erasmus esset major hereticus.* (Ibid. p. 915.)

⁵ *Quoties in conviciis, in vehiculis, in navibus.* . . . (Ibid.)

⁶ Gaillard admits apparently the general propriety of the censures of the Sorbonne, but remarks that they might be carried too far. He points to the danger, for example, of denouncing propositions which, in their most natural meaning, seem true to the common mass of believers, and the defects in which can be perceived only by eyes that have been practised in scrutinizing the subtleties of the school; or of allowing suspicions to be entertained of interested motives having influenced the condemnation pronounced. He is too good a Romanist to condemn the Sorbonne, and too much of a philosopher to approve of its censures. As a respectable son of the Romish church he will not venture to apply the standard of truth and falsehood to the recorded judgments of such an awful authority, but thinks he may go so far as to question their occasional expediency. The reader will be amused with the following examples he adduces of censures which he thinks *inconvenient*, or, as we should say, *unoward*.

"Every legitimate child succeeding to property from his parents, ought to inform himself as to the manner in which they acquired that property."

This proposition, condemned by the Sorbonne, says Gaillard, is possibly somewhat severe, but is it not edifying? Does it not tend to the reparation of acts of injustice?

"The illegitimate children of priests cannot upon their marriage receive any sum from their fathers when these have no patrimony."

The faculty, says a Note, decided that the bastards of priests, may receive

Erasmus was terror-struck. Here, then, was the result of all his plans to avoid giving offence, and even of his hostility to Luther. He had more than any one else placed himself in the breach; and now people would make him serve as a bridge, and trample him under foot the more surely to reach their common enemies. Revolted at this idea he wheeled right about, and was hardly done with his attack on Luther, when he turned against the fanatical doctors who had struck him from behind. Never was his correspondence more active. He looked all around him, and his keen eye instantly discovered whose were the hands that held his fate. He resolved without hesitation at once to carry his loud complaints to the feet of the Sorbonne, of the parliament, of the king, of the emperor himself. "What has caused this immense Lutheran conflagration," he wrote to those doctors of the Sorbonne from whom he still looked for some impartiality, "what has fed it, if not the intemperate proceedings of Beda?¹ In war, a soldier who has done his duty, receives a recompense from his commanding officers; but as for me, all the recompense I receive from you, the commanding officers in this war, is to be delivered over to the slanders of Beda and Lecouturier!"²

from the goods of the Church, and condemned the opposite proposition, as false, rash, scandalous, and calculated to disquiet pious souls.

Might not the censuring of such a proposition, says Gaillard, authorise Protestant ministers to say: "The (Roman) catholic priests reproach us for marrying and having lawful children, yet they have no objections to having bastards, and giving them a share of the property of the Church."

"No clergyman is entitled to demand burial fees. It is better to give six white pieces to a poor man than to give them to a priest for saying mass."

These propositions are not all Luther's, says a Note; but whether condemnable or not, they smack of his spirit, and those who have advanced them may be regarded as his followers.

"No one is dispensed from obedience to the civil power."

"Should the emperor or the princes recall the exemption they have accorded in favour of ecclesiastical persons and property, they cannot be resisted without sin."

In whatever sense these propositions might be legitimately condemned, would it not have been more prudent and more disinterested, says Gaillard, to say nothing about them?

Thus it will be seen that the censures even of that dignified corporation, the Sorbonne were dictated in some instances, by a sordid selfishness and spite, as well as by a misdirected religious zeal. TR.

¹ Hoc gravissimum Lutheri incendium, unde natum, unde huc progressum, nisi ex Beddæicis intemperis. (Er. Epp. p. 887.)

² This letter forms No. xlix. of the Appendix to Jortin's Life of Erasmus. It may be seen from it, that if Luther had been disappointed at not finding in that declining body the support which its former character had led him to expect, so, also, was it now with Erasmus. "He had looked to it," he says,

"What!" he wrote to the parliament of Paris, "I was engaged in encountering these Lutherans, and while by orders from the emperor, the pope and other princes, I risked my very life in that rude combat, Lecouturier and Beda attack me from behind with their furious libels! Ah, had not fortune deprived us of king Francis, I would have implored that avenger of the muses, to rise against this new invasion of the barbarians.¹ But now it is for you to put a stop to so much iniquity!" . . .

To the king he wrote also, almost as soon as he could perceive there was a possibility of having a letter conveyed to him. His piercing ken could perceive in these fanatical doctors of the Sorbonne the germs of the league, the predecessors of those three priests who were one day to set up the *sixteen* against the last of the Valois; his acute mind forewarned the king of the crimes and the calamities with which his descendants were to be too well acquainted. "They make a pretence of faith," said he, "but they aspire to tyranny,² even towards princes. They advance with a sure step, although it be under ground. Let the prince have no mind to submit in everything to their will, they will forthwith declare that he ought to be deprived of his

"as a quiet haven and safe refuge, and yet it had sent forth bitterer attacks upon him than any of its members had ever written against Luther." Meanwhile, in resolving not to desert the Church, he had made himself most hateful to the Germans, after having been greatly liked by them, and had provoked Luther, like a venomous beast, to attack him. He complains that he was daily enduring the murmurs, the threats, the reproaches, the defamatory and furious libels of the whole faction (*i. e.*) of the whole of the Protestants and Reformers, which faction, says he, *is more powerful than one would believe, and is gathering strength every day,*

No wonder that all parties attached to the Reformation were incensed at Erasmus. Not two years before he had addressed to Zwingli, the letter immediately preceding the above in Jortin's Appendix, and begins it thus: *Salutem, Optime Zwingli! grata mihi fuit tuæ epistolæ confabulatio.* "Health, most excellent Zwingli, I have been gratified by talking with you through your letter." And from the tenor of that long reply, one would suppose Erasmus to have been as bold and free in opposing the cruelties permitted or committed by the Romanist princes, as we know him to have been servile in flattering them. Nay, he almost avows himself a Lutheran, saying that *he seemed to himself to have taught almost all things that Luther was teaching*, and had refused every offer to write against Luther, made to him by the pope, the emperor, kings, princes, and most learned and dear friends. And now he represents himself to the faculty of Paris as in full conflict alike with the Lutherans and the Zwinglians. Tr.

¹ Musarum vindicem adversus barbarorum invasiones. (Er. Epp. p. 2070.)

² Simuloat religionis prætextu, ventris tyrannidisque suæ negotium agentes. (Ibid. p. 962.)

³ Nisi princeps ipsorum voluntati per omnia paruerit, dicetur fautor hæreticorum et destitui poterit per ecclesiam. (Ibid. p. 1108.)

kingdom by the Church, that is to say, by certain false monks and false divines, engaged in a conspiracy against the public peace." Writing as he was to Francis I., Erasmus could not have touched a more sensitive chord.

In fine, to make surer still of escaping from his enemies, Erasmus appealed for protection to Charles V. himself. "Invincible emperor," said he to him, "men who under pretext of religion, are pursuing the interests of their own appetites and tyranny, are assailing me with horrible clamours. I combat under your colours and those of Jesus Christ. Let your wisdom and your power be put forth in restoring peace to the Christian world." . . .

Thus did the prince of literature address himself to all the great powers of the world. Nor did he do so in vain. Danger was averted from his head; the secular powers intervened; the vultures had to quit the prey which they thought was already in their clutches.¹ Thereupon they turned their eyes in another direction, and looked about for other victims; nor were there wanting such.

Lorraine was to be the scene of the first new bloodshed. From the earliest days of the Reformation, the zeal of Paris and of the native country of the Guises, had gone hand in hand. If Paris rested for a while, Lorraine set to work, and then Paris began anew, and went on until Nancy or Metz had recovered their energies. The first blows seemed likely to fall upon an excellent man, one of the Basel refugees and the friend of Farel and of Toussaint. The chevalier d'Esch could not, when at Metz, escape the suspicions of the priests. It was perceived that he was in correspondence with the evangelical Christians, and he was made a prisoner at Pont-a-Mousson, five miles from

¹ How clearly do we here perceive the difference between Erasmus, the Reformer of literature, and those excellent men who sought the truth with their whole hearts, and accounted all things vile, compared with the restoration of the degenerate Church. The gross superstitions of the monks offended his enlightened mind, yet the essential peculiarities of evangelical doctrine were less appreciated by him. He laboured for civilization only, not for a true and fundamental reformation. Hence his courage sank, as soon as the cause of truth called for suffering or sacrifice. He loved the honour that cometh from men, and whenever he saw danger threaten, he sought protection from them. He presents an example of those who imagine they can secure the welfare of mankind by civilization alone, and in this regulate themselves by the wisdom of this world, and by the opinions of the great ones of the earth.—J. R.

Metz, on the banks of the Moselle.¹ This news greatly distressed the French refugees and even the Swiss themselves. "O most innocent heart," exclaimed Œcolampadius, "I have this confidence in the Lord," he added, "that he will preserve this person for us in life, to proclaim his name as a preacher of righteousness, or in death to confess him as a martyr."² But at the same time Œcolampadius disapproved of the vivacity, the headlong impetuosity, the zeal, in his opinion untempered by prudence, which distinguished the French refugees. "I could wish," he would say, "that my very dear lords of France would not be in such haste to return to their own country before fully considering all things; for the devil is everywhere laying his snares. Nevertheless, let them follow the spirit of Christ, and never may that spirit forsake them."³

There was much ground, in fact, for trembling at the thought of what might await the chevalier. Friar Bonaventura Renel, provincial of the cordeliers, and confessor to duke Anthony, surnamed the Good, a man noted for his effrontery, and little to be commended in point of morals, allowed that weak prince, who reigned from 1508 to 1544, great freedom in the gratification of his appetites, and persuaded him, almost on the score of penance, to destroy all the innovators without mercy. "It suffices," this prince, so well counselled by Renel, used often to say, "that every man know his *Pater* and *Ave Maria*; the greatest doctors have caused the greatest troubles."⁴

Towards the close of the year 1524, it became known at the court of the duke, that a pastor, named Schuch, was preaching a new doctrine in the town of Saint Hippolyte, situate at the foot of the Vosges. "Let them return to the (old) order," said Anthony *the Good*, "otherwise I march against the town, and attack all there with fire and sword."⁵

Thereupon this faithful pastor formed the resolution of devoting himself for his sheep; he repaired to Nancy, the residence of the prince. He was scarce arrived when they threw him into

¹ Noster captus detinetur in Bundamosa quinque millibus a Metis. (Œcol. Farello Epp. p. 201.)

² Vel vivum confessorem, vel mortuum martyrem servabit. (Ibid.)

³ Nollem carissimos dominos meos gallos properare in Galliam. . . . (Ibid.)

⁴ Actes des Martyrs, p. 97.

⁵ Actes des Martyrs, p. 95.

a noisome prison, under the safe-keeping of brutally cruel men; and friar Bonaventura saw this heretic at last within his grasp. He it was that presided at the inquest. "Heretic!" said he to him, "Judas! Devil!" Calm and collected, to such insulting language, Schuch made no reply, but holding up the Bible, covered all over with notes which he had inscribed in it, he mildly yet firmly confessed Christ crucified. Then of a sudden becoming animated, he boldly stood up from his seat, raised his voice, as if seized by the Spirit from on high, and looking his judges full in the face, forewarned them of the terrible judgments of God.

At once terrified and enraged, friar Bonaventura and his companions threw themselves upon him with loud exclamations, snatched from him the Bible in which he had read such menacing words, "and like furious dogs," says the chronicler, "unable to bite his doctrine, they burnt it in their monastery."¹

The whole court of Lorraine was loud in declaiming against the obstinacy and audacity of the minister of Saint Hippolyte, and the prince, who felt curious to hear the heretic, wished to be present at his final appearance in court, *only* in secret however, and so as that no one should see him. But as the examination was conducted in Latin, he could not understand it; only he was struck at beholding the firm bearing of the minister, who seemed neither subdued nor disconcerted. Indignant at such obstinacy, Anthony the Good rose and said as he withdrew: "Why argue the matter any longer? he denies the sacrament of the mass; let execution go forth against him."² Schuch was immediately condemned to be burnt alive. On being apprized of his sentence, he looked up to heaven and mildly said: "I was glad when they said unto me: Let us go into the house of the Lord."³

On the 19th of August, 1525, the whole city of Nancy was in commotion. The Church bells announced the death of a heretic. The doleful procession began its march. It had to pass in front of the monastery of the cordeliers, and the friars, waiting in high spirits for its arrival, stood drawn up before the

¹ Actes des Martyrs, collected by Crespín, in French, p. 97.

² Histoire de François I.^{er} par Gaillard, iv. p. 233.

³ Psalm cxxii. 1.

gate. Just as Schuch appeared, father Bonaventura, pointing to the figures sculptured over the gate, exclaimed: "Heretic! worship God, his mother and the saints!"—"O hypocrites!" replied Schuch with his head turned to those pieces of stone and wood, "God will destroy you, and bring your cheats to light!"

The martyr having arrived at the place of execution, first of all his books were burnt in his presence; he was then called upon to retract, but he refused, saying: "It is thou, O God, who hast called me, and thou wilt strengthen me to the last."¹ He next proceeded to repeat aloud the fifty-first psalm: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness!" Having ascended the pile, he went on repeating the psalm, until his utterance was choked by the smoke and the flames.

Thus did the persecutors of France and Lorraine behold a recommencement of their triumphs, and find their counsels listened to at last. Heretical ashes had been given to the wind at Nancy, and thus a challenge was given to the capital of France. What! shall Beda and Lecouturier be the last to show their zeal for the pope? Let flames answer to flames, and ere long heresy may be swept from the surface of the kingdom, and effectually banished to countries beyond the Rhine.

But before succeeding, Beda had to sustain a conflict, half serious, half diverting, with one of those persons with whom to struggle with the popedom is but a mental recreation, not a concern that interests the heart.

Among the men of learning whom Brigonet had induced to come into his diocese, there was a doctor of the Sorbonne, of the name of Peter Caroli, a vain and frivolous person, and no less wrong-headed and cavilling than Beda himself. Caroli saw in the new doctrine a means of giving himself importance and thwarting Beda, whose domination was intolerable to him. Accordingly, on returning from Meaux to Paris, he produced a great sensation by introducing into all the pulpits what he called "the new manner of preaching." Thereupon there commenced betwixt the two doctors an obstinate struggle, in which blow was returned for blow, and artifice was opposed to artifice.

¹ *Eum auctorem vocationis sue atque conservatorem, ad extremum usque spiritum recognovit.* (Acta Martyr, p. 202.)

Beda impeached Caroli before the Sorbonne, and Caroli summoned Beda to answer to the spiritual court, in reparation of his honour. The faculty pursued its inquest, and Beda notified his intention of appealing to parliament. Though provisionally interdicted from entering the pulpit, he preached in all the Paris churches. Decided measures being taken for shutting the pulpits against him, he gave public expositions of the psalms in the college of Cambray. Forbidden by the faculty to continue that exercise, he begged to be allowed to finish his exposition of the 22d psalm which he had begun. At last, this request was refused, on which he placarded the college gates with the following notice: "*Peter Caroli, desiring to comply with the orders of the sacred faculty, ceases to teach; he will resume his lectures (when it shall please God) at the verse at which he has stopt: THEY HAVE PIERCED MY HANDS AND MY FEET.*" Thus did Beda at length find an antagonist who was a match for him. Had Caroli seriously defended the truth, the flames would soon have made an end of him; but he had too profane a spirit for him to be put to death. How put a man to death who perplexed and confounded his judges? Neither the ecclesiastical court, nor the parliament, nor the council (of state) could ever have determined his cause definitely. Two such persons as Caroli would have put all the activity even of Beda to its last shift; but the Reformation never saw two.¹

On this impertinent contest being brought to a close, Beda applied himself to matters of greater moment, and happily for the Syndic of the Sorbonne, there were men who gave a better handle to persecution than Caroli did. Brignonnet, it is true, Erasmus, Lefèvre, and Berquin had escaped, but since these great persons were beyond his reach, he was willing to content himself with less. That poor youth, James Pavanne, ever since his abjuration at Christmas, 1524, had lived a life of sighs and tears. He might be seen with an expression of deep melancholy, his eyes fixed on the ground, groaning within himself, and bitterly reproaching himself for having denied his Saviour and his God.²

¹ Gerdesius, *Historia seculi xvi. renovati*, p. 52.—D'Argentré, *collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, ii. p. 21.—Gaillard *Hist. de François Ier.*, tom. iv. p. 233.

² *Animi factum suum detestantis dolorem, saepe declaraverit.* (Acta Mart. p. 203.)

Pavanne, no doubt, was a most modest and innocent person; but this was of no consequence! he had been at Meaux, which, at that time, was thought enough. "Pavanne has relapsed!" was the cry; *the dog has returned to his vomit, and the sow that was washed to its wallowing in the mire!* He was immediately seized, thrown into prison, and tried. This was all that young master James wanted. He felt comfort in his irons, and recovered the moral courage indispensably necessary to his openly confessing Jesus Christ.¹ Cruel men smiled when they saw that nothing was to deprive them this time of their victim; here there was to be no retraction, no flight, no intervention of some powerful patron. The youth's gentle spirit, his candour, his courage—all failed to soften his adversaries. He looked on them with affection; for in throwing him into chains, they had given him back his tranquillity and his joy; but this tenderness of regard only still further hardened their hearts. His trial was gone through with all speed, and soon the *place de Grève* saw the stake prepared at which Pavanne died joyfully, fortifying by his example all who in that great city believed, openly or secretly, the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

This did not satisfy the Sorbonne. If inconsiderable persons only could be immolated, their number must compensate for their defect in quality. The flames of the *place de Grève* spread terror through Paris and even through France; but a fresh pile, raised at some other public place, might be expected to double such trepidation. The topic of conversation at court, in the colleges, and in the people's work-shops, such examples, it was thought, must convince men better than any ordinances could do, that Louisa of Savoy, the Sorbonne and the parliament, were determined to sacrifice heretics to the anathemas of Rome, until the very last victim should perish.

In the forest of Livry, three leagues distant from Paris, and not far from the spot where stood the old abbey of the order of St. Augustine, there lived a hermit who, meeting the Meaux men in the course of his walks, had cordially received the doctrines of the Gospel.² The poor hermit thought himself a

¹ *Puram religionis Christianæ confessionem addit.* (Acta Mart. p. 203.)

² "This seed-corn of Faber (Lefèvre), and his disciples taken from Luther's granary, sprang in the foolish mind of a hermit, who kept himself near the city of Paris." (Hist. catholique de notre temps, par S. Fontaine, Paris, 1562.)

wealthy man, indeed, in his tiny dwelling, on the day that saw him return home, enriched not only with the poor loaf given him by public charity, but, also, with Jesus Christ and his grace. From that day he felt that it was better to give than to receive. He went from house to house in the surrounding villages, and hardly had he passed the thresholds of the poor peasants whom he visited in their cabins, when he would speak to them of the Gospel, of the complete forgiveness it bestows on souls in anguish, and which is far better worth than absolutions.¹ Erelong the good hermit of Livry became known in the neighbourhood of Paris; people began to visit him in his poor hermitage; to simple souls in those parts, he became a mild yet fervent missionary.

The report of what was doing by the new evangelist, soon reached the ears of the Sorbonne, and of the officers of justice in Paris. The hermit was apprehended, dragged out of his hermitage, hurried away from the sylvan and rural scenes which he used daily to traverse, was thrown into a dungeon in the city which he used ever to avoid, was tried, convicted, and condemned to be "exemplarily punished with the penalty of a slow fire."²

In order that the example might be the more striking, it was resolved that he should be burnt alive at the great entrance of Nôtre-Dame, immediately in front of that illustrious temple and majestic symbol of Roman catholicism. The whole of the clergy were called together, and there was a display of pomp such as was usually observed only on the most solemn occasions.³ "They would fain have had all Paris to assemble round the pile, having sounded," says an historian, "the great bell of the church of Notre-Dame as on high holidays, in order that the whole city might be set agog."⁴ The people crowded, in fact, to the spot from all the streets leading into it. The awe-inspiring sounds of the great bell stopt the artisan at his work, the scholar at his studies, the merchant in his traffic, and the

¹ "Who throughout the villages he frequented, under colour of asking for alms, he'd heretical discourses." (*Hist. catholique de notre temps*, par S. Fontaine, Paris, 1562.)

² *Ibid.*

³ Avec une grande ceremonie. (*Hist. des Egl. ref.*, par Theodore de Bèze, i. p. 4.)

⁴ *Ibid.*

soldier in his idleness, and the concourse continued even after the square was covered with people. The hermit, decked out in the dress set apart for obstinate heretics, with his head and feet bare, had been conducted to the front of the cathedral. Calm, firm, and collected, he replied to the exhortations of the confessors who presented the crucifix to him, only by telling them that his hope rested solely on forgiveness from God. The Sorbonne doctors, occupying the foremost rank among the spectators, upon seeing his constancy and the effect it produced among the people, shouted out: "It is a damned man whom they are taking to hell-fire!"¹ Meanwhile the great bell continued to toll at full swing, and the din it made, by stunning the ears of the crowd, augmented the solemn effect of this lugubrious festival. At length the bell ceased to toll, and the martyr having in reply to the last questions of his adversary, said that he wished to die in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, was, as his sentence bore, "burnt at a slow fire." Thus died peacefully, in front of Nôtre-Dame (cathedral), amid the shouts and emotion of a whole people assembled beneath the towers raised by the piety of Louis the Young,² this Livry hermit, whose very name history has failed to preserve.³

¹ Avec une grande ceremonie. (Hist. des Egl. ref., par Theodore de Bèze, i. p. 4.)

² Louis the Young, the seventh French monarch of the name of Louis, succeeded his father in 1137. He led a crusade into the Holy Land, returned without glory, and in suppressing civil commotions in Champagne, burnt the town of Vitri, on which occasion 1300 people who had sought shelter in the church, were consumed in the flames. Nôtre-Dame had thus a founder worthy of the characteristic superstition and cruelty of its clergy. TR.

³ Who does not abominate a church that can permit such atrocities? They may serve as a warning not to allow ourselves to be misled by the representations of her abettors in our day, however much these may speak about love. Men that are shameless enough to slur over or to embellish such atrocities, are not to be trusted, however much they affect toleration. They only watch for the opportunity, when by misleading the simple they have anew got the mastery, to kindle new fires, or, should that be opposed by the increased civilization of the age, at least to erect new scaffolds.—L. R.

In "the Historical Register" for 1720, at page 351, there appears a curious account of an *Auto da Fe*, held at Lisbon, on the 10th of June of that year. Among a great number of persons condemned on that occasion to lighter punishments, two were *delivered over to the secular arm*, but whether owing to the advance of civilization referred to by Mr. Le Roy, or to British influence, so long powerfully felt in Portugal, though not improved as it ought to have been, they were first strangled and then burnt. Even these, however, were not obstinate heretics; they had only "wavered and faulted in their confession." Had they been true confessors of Christ, possibly they might have been burnt alive. TR.

XV. While the first confessors of Jesus Christ were thus put to death in France, God was preparing others who were still more powerful. In dragging to punishment a modest scholar and a humble hermit, Beda thought he had well nigh dragged thither the whole Reformation along with them.¹ But providence has resources that the world knows not of. The Gospel, like the fabled bird, bears in itself a principle of life which no flames can consume, and rises again from its ashes. It is often when the storm rages most fiercely, or when the lightning seems to have smitten down the truth, or when profoundest night envelopes it, that a sudden gleam harbingers some great deliverance. At the very time when all the powers of man were arming themselves for the total destruction of the Reformation, God was preparing an instrument, apparently feeble, who was one day to assert his rights and to defend his cause, with almost superhuman intrepidity. In the midst of the persecutions and the martyr-fires that rapidly succeed each other, from the time that Francis I. became the prisoner of Charles, let us pause to contemplate a child who was one day to be placed at the head of a mighty host, in the sacred conflicts of Israel.

Among the inhabitants of the city and the colleges of Paris, who heard the pealing of the great bell, there was a young student of sixteen, a native of Noyon in Picardy, of moderate height, of a pale complexion, and whose flashing eyes and animated expression indicated a mind of no ordinary sagacity.² His dress, neat but simple, bespoke love of order and modesty.⁴ This youth, whose name was John Calvin or Calvin, was then a student at the college of la Marche, under Mathurin Cordier, a regent of distinguished probity, erudition, and fitness for the instruction of youth. Brought up as he had been, amid all the superstitions of the popedom, the Noyon student was a blindly submissive subject of the Church, and a docile observer of its practices,⁴ and he was persuaded that heretics well deserved the

¹ In his letter to the faculty of Paris, Erasmus ridicules Beda for foolishly imagining that the Lutheran faction was at an end. Tr.

² Statura fuit mediocri, colore subpallido et nigricante, oculis ad mortem usque limpidis, quique ingenii sagacitatem testarentur. (Bezæ, Vita Calvini.)

³ Cultu corporis neque culto, neque sordido, sed qui singularem modestiam deceret. (Ibid.)

⁴ Primo quidem cum quum superstitionibus Papatus magis pertinaciter addictus essem. (Calv. Præf. ad Psalm.)

flames by which they were consumed. The blood which was then flowing in Paris, still further enhanced the guilt of heresy in his eyes. But although naturally timid and easily alarmed, so that he calls himself soft and pusillanimous,¹ he had the uprightness and generosity that induce men to sacrifice everything to their settled convictions. Accordingly, in vain had he been struck, while a youth, with those frightful spectacles; in vain for him were the faithful disciples of the Gospel consumed by those murderous flames on the *place de Grève*, and in front of Nôtre-Dame; the remembrance of these horrors was not to prevent his one day entering upon that new course, where one seemed to have nothing to look for but imprisonment and being burnt. As for the rest, already might there be discerned in the character of the youthful Calvin, foretokens of what he was one day to become. Severity of morals preluded in his case to severity of doctrine, and in the student of sixteen might be recognised the man who was never to trifle with his own convictions, and who was firmly to require of others what he himself should find to be simply his duty. A calm and serious attendant on the prelections of his teachers, taking no pleasure at the hours set apart for recreation, in the amusements and the follies of his fellow-students, keeping himself aloof from others,² and holding vice in abhorrence, he would at times censure their disorders with severity, and even with bitterness.³ Hence we are told by a prebendary of Noyon, that by his school-fellows he was nick-named "the accusative."⁴ Among these he was the representative of conscience and of duty, so far was he from what his slanderers would have us believe. Already did the pale face and piercing looks of the student of sixteen, command more respect among his comrades than the black gowns of their masters; and this Picard boy, of low stature and timid appearance, who daily took his seat on the benches of the college of la Marche, already, without being conscious of it, was by the gravity of his words and manners there, as a kind of minister and reformer.

¹ Ego qui natura timida, molli et pusillo animo me esse fateor. (Calv. Præf. ad Psalm.)

² Summam in moribus affectabat gravitatem et paucorum hominum consuetudine utebatur. (Fl. Ræmundi. Hist. Hær. vii. 10.)

³ Severus omnium in suis sodalibus censor. (Bezæ, Vita Calvini.)

⁴ Annales de l'Eglise de Noyon, par Levasseur, chanoine, p. 1158.

Nor was it in these respects alone that this youth from Noyon showed his superiority to his fellow-students. His excessive timidity hindered him at times from manifesting the horror with which vanity and vice inspired him; but even at that time, he devoted to study the utmost energies of his fine genius and strong will; and to look at him, one would have said that he was a man who would wear out his life in study. He comprehended everything with inconceivable facility; he ran through his studies where his fellow-students dragged themselves slowly on, and what others spent much time in superficially acquiring, his young genius thoroughly mastered. His teachers, accordingly, promoted him from the ranks of his contemporaries, and made him pass, by himself, into a new course of study.¹

Among his fellow-students were the young de Mommors, a family of the first rank in the Picard nobility. John Calvin was intimately associated with these youths, but particularly with Claud, who afterwards became Abbot of Saint Elias, and to whom he dedicated his commentary upon Seneca. It was as the companion of these young nobles that Calvin had come to Paris. His father, Gerard Calvin, apostolic notary, procurator fiscal for the county of Noyon, secretary to the bishopric, and agent to the chapter,² was a man of no small judgment and capacity, who owed to his talents promotion to offices that were sought for by men of the best families, and who had succeeded in gaining the esteem of all the *gentils-hommes* of the surrounding country and, in particular, of the illustrious family of Mommor.³ Gerard resided at Noyon;⁴ he had married Jane Lefrang, a young woman from Cambray, remarkable for her beauty, and of an anxiously scrupulous piety. She had already given him one son, called Charles, when on the 10th of July, 1509, she bore him a second son, who received the name

¹ *Exulto ipsius ingenio quod ei jam tum erat acerrimum, ita profecit ut cæteris sodalibus in grammatices curriculo relictis, ad dialecticos et aliarum quas vocant artium studium promoveretur.* (Beza.)

² Levasseur, doctor of the Sorbonne, *Annales de l'Eglise cathedrale de Noyon*, p. 1151. Drelincourt, *Defense de Calvin*, p. 193.

³ *Erat is Gerardus non parvi judicii et consilii homo, ideoque nobilibus ejus regionis plerisque carus.* (Beza.)

⁴ Dans la place ou est bastie maintenant la maison du Cerf. (Desmay, docteur de la Sorbonne. *Vie de Jean Calvin, heresiarque*, p. 30. Levasseur, *Ann. de Noyon*, p. 1157.)

of John, and was baptized in the church of Sainte Godeberte.¹ A third son, called Anthony, who died young, and two daughters, completed the family of the procurator-fiscal of Noyon.

Living as he did on intimate terms with the chief clergymen and leading persons of the province, Gerard Cauvin wished his sons to receive the same education with those of the best families. John, whose precocious talents had not escaped his father's notice, was brought up with the sons of the Mommor family; in their house he was like one of themselves, and learned the same lessons with their young Claud. In that family he acquired the first elements of literature and moral life, and thus enjoyed an education of a higher kind than had ever seemed likely to fall to his lot.² At a later period he was sent to the college of the Capettes, founded in the city of Noyon.³ When a child his recreations were but few. The same severity that characterized the son, marked the father also. Gerard brought him up with unbending firmness; from his very infancy John had to submit to the inflexible rule of duty; compliance soon became habitual, and thus the influence of the Mommor family was counterpoised by that of his father. Calvin, naturally of a shrinking disposition and somewhat clownish, he himself tells us,⁴ having his timidity moreover increased by his father's severity, used to shun the handsome apartments of his protectors, and courted solitude and retirement.⁵ Thus was his young soul inured in seclusion to high thoughts. It would appear that he went occasionally to the village of Pont-l'evêque, near Noyon, where his grandfather occupied a cottage,⁶ and where

¹ Calumnies and extravagant stories respecting Calvin began at an early date. J. Levasseur, afterwards dean of the canons of Noyon, relates that when Calvin's mother brought him forth, "before the birth of the child, there was produced a quantity of large flies, no doubtful presage that he was one day to prove a slanderer and calumniator." (*Annales de la Cathedrale de Noyon*, p. 1157.) These absurdities, and all others of the same sort, invented at the expense of the Reformer, refute themselves, so as to save us the trouble of doing so. Those Romanist doctors of our own day, who are not ashamed of employing the weapons of calumny, select from among these low and ridiculous stories, not daring to relate the whole; but all are of the same value.

² "Domī vestræ puer educatus, iisdem tecum studiis initiatus, primam vitæ et litterarum disciplinam familiæ vestræ nobilissimæ acceptam refero. (Calv. Præf. in Senecam ad Claudium.)"

³ Desmay, *Remarques*, p. 31. Drelincourt. *Defense*, p. 158.

⁴ *Ego qui natura subrusticus.* (Præf. ad Psalm.)

⁵ *Umbram et otium semper amavi . . . latebras captare.* (Ibid.)

⁶ "It is reported that his grandfather was a cooper." (Drelincourt, p. 36. Levasseur, *Ann. de Noyon*, p. 1151.)

other relations of his besides, who afterwards changed the name from hatred to the arch-heretic, were wont at that time to give the procurator-fiscal's son a kind reception. But young Calvin's time was mainly devoted to study. While Luther, who was destined to act upon the people, was brought up as a child of the people, Calvin, who had chiefly to sustain the part of a divine and a deep-thinker, besides being the legislator of the renovated Church, from his earliest infancy received a more liberal education.¹

A spirit of piety soon discovered itself in the heart of the child. One author relates that his friends accustomed him, while still young, to pray under the open vault of heaven; a practice which contributed to awaken in his heart a sense of the presence of God.² But although Calvin, from his infancy, may have been enabled to hear the voice of God in his heart, no one at Noyon was stricter than he was in observing ecclesiastical regulations, and, accordingly, Gerard, when he perceived this disposition in his son, formed the design of devoting him to theology. This prospect, no doubt, contributed to cast his soul in the solemn mould, and to give it the theological character by which he was afterwards distinguished. His mind was fitted by nature to receive strong early impressions, and disposed to familiarize itself, in early life, with thoughts of the highest order. There is no truth in the report that he was at that time one of the singing boys in the cathedral, as is admitted even by his adversaries. But they state as a positive fact, that he had been seen at processions, carrying a cross-hilted sword, as he would have carried a cross. This, they add, was a presage of what he was one day to become. "The Lord hath made my mouth like a sharp sword," says the servant of the Lord in Isaiah, and the same might be said of Calvin.

Gerard was poor; his son's education bore hard upon him, and he wished to attach him irrevocably to the Church. The cardinal of Lorraine had been made coadjutor of the bishop of

¹ Henry, *Das Leben Calvins*, p. 29.

² Calvin's *Leben von Fischer*. Leipzig. 1794. The author does not give his authority for this fact.

I may mention that my late venerable friend, Dr. McCrie, who it is well known was engaged in writing a life of Calvin at the time of his death, considered many such details in modern German biographies as apocryphal. Tr.

Metz, when only four years old; and in those days it was usual to give ecclesiastical titles and revenues to children. Alphonso of Portugal was made a cardinal by Leo X., at the age of eight years, and Odet de Châtillon by Clement VII., at eleven; while, at a later period, the celebrated mother Angelica of Port-Royal, was made co-adjutrix of that monastery, at the age of seven. Gerard who died a good catholic, stood well in the regards of the bishop of Noyon, Messire Charles de Hengest, and his vicars-general. Accordingly, on the chaplain of Gesine resigning his charge, the bishop, on the 21st of May, 1521, bestowed that living on John Calvin, who was at the time nearly twelve years of age. This appointment was communicated to the chapter about eight days afterwards. On the evening before the feast of the Holy Sacrament, the bishop solemnly cut the boy's hair,¹ and by that ceremony of the tonsure, John entered the clerical life, and became capable of admission to holy orders and of possessing a benefice, without residence on the spot.

Thus was Calvin called to experience, in his own person, as a child, the abuses of the church of Rome. There was no where in the kingdom a shaven priest more in earnest in his piety than the chaplain of Gesine, and the serious child was possibly himself astonished at what was done by the bishop and his vicars-general. But in the simplicity of his heart he had too profound a veneration for those high personages, to admit of his having the least suspicion as to the legitimacy of his tonsure. He had enjoyed this title two years when Noyon happened to be visited by a terrible pestilence, on which occasion several of the prebendaries addressed a petition to the chapter, praying that they might be allowed to leave the town. Many of the inhabitants had by this time been attacked, and Gerard began to have fears that his son John, the hope of his life, might be snatched from his affections in a moment, by this scourge of God. The children of the Mommor family were about to proceed to Paris, to continue their studies there; and it had ever been the summit of the procurator fiscal's wishes, that his son John might do the same. But why should John be separated from his school-fellows? Accordingly, on the 5th of August 1523, he presented

¹ Vie de Calvin, par Desmay, p. 31. LEVASSEUR, p. 1158.

a petition to the chapter, praying that the young chaplain "might have permission to go wherever he pleased, as long as the plague should last, without losing his emoluments; the which leave of absence was granted until the feast of St. Remy." ¹ John Calvin, accordingly, left his father's home, being then at the age of fourteen. Great, indeed, must be that man's boldness in calumny who can attribute his leaving home to other causes, and who, without the slightest compunction, can brave the disgrace that justly falls on those who favour accusations, the falsehood of which is so authentically demonstrated. On reaching Paris, Calvin alighted, it would appear, at the house of one of his uncles, Richard Calvin, who lived near the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. "Thus while flying from the plague," says the prebendary of Noyon, "he was to carry it elsewhere."

A new world opened upon the young man in the metropolis of letters, taking advantage of which he devoted himself to study, and made great progress in latinity. He familiarised himself with the writings of Cicero, and learnt from that great master a facility, a purity, and a natural ease in using the language of the Romans, which drew the admiration of his very enemies. But he found, too, a copiousness in that language which he was afterwards to transfer into his own.

Latin, down to that time, had been the only language of literature. It was then, and it remains to this day the language of the church (of Rome); it was the Reformation that created, or rather, that emancipated the vulgar tongues everywhere. The exclusive functions of the priests had now ceased; the common people were invited to receive instruction and acquire knowledge; and in this single fact was involved the dismissal of the language of the priest and the inauguration of the language of the people. It was not to the Sorbonne alone, not to some monks, some clergymen, some literary men only, that the new ideas were to be addressed; it was to noble, burgess, artisan, all alike. All men were to be preached to; nay more, all men were to preach; wool-combers and knights as well as parish

¹ This is what the priest and vicar-general Desmay (*Jean Calvin heresiarque*, p. 32.) and the prebendary Levasseur (*Ann. de Noyon*, p. 1160.) declare they found in the registers of the chapter of Noyon. These Romish authors thus refute the inventions or mistakes of Richelieu and other writers. See the preface to the third volume of the French edition of this work.



priests and doctors. A new language therefore became necessary, or at least it was necessary that the vulgar tongue should undergo an immense transformation, a mighty emancipation, and that when set apart from the common uses of life, it should receive from renovated Christianity its patent of nobility. The Gospel, after a long slumber, had awoken; it spoke, it addressed itself to the nation at large; it was enkindling everywhere the most generous affections; it was opening the kingdom of heaven to a generation that thought only of the little things of this lower world; it was shaking the convictions of the masses; it spoke to them of God, of man, of good and evil, of the pope, of the Bible, of a crown in heaven, and perhaps of a death at the stake on earth. The popular idiom which till then had been but the language of chronicles and ballads (*trouvères*), was called upon by the Reformation to perform a new office, and consequently had to undergo new developments. A new world was opening upon society, and a new world must have new languages. The Reformation drew the French tongue from the swaddling bands that had hitherto confined it, and enabled it to attain to its majority. Thenceforward it fully enjoyed those high rights that relate to the things of the spirit and to heavenly possessions, and of which it had been deprived while under the tutelage of Rome. No doubt, a language is formed by the people themselves that use it; it is they that find for themselves those felicitous words, those figurative and energetic expressions, that give so much colour and life to language. Still, there are resources beyond the sphere of the common people, and which men of superior intelligence alone can supply. Calvin, who was called to discuss reasons and to exhibit proofs, gave to his country's language connecting and relative expressions, shades of meaning, transitions, and dialectic forms which before his time it had never possessed.¹

¹ This seems to be admitted even by Roman catholics at the present day. I have heard M. Gervuzez, one of the professors of French literature at the Sorbonne, and a Roman catholic, pronounce Calvin to be *the father of French prose*.

It is pitiful to see Bossuet, who must have been well acquainted with some at least of Calvin's writings, and was capable, in all respects but prejudice, of judging rightly of their merit, express himself so faintly on the subject. "Let us grant him," says he, "since he would have as much, the glory of having written as well as any man of his age; let us rank him even, if you please,

Already had all these elements begun to work in the brains of the youthful student of the college of la Marche. The child who was destined to be so powerful in managing the human heart, might be expected to become a perfect master, also, of the particular language which he was to employ. Protestant France afterwards accommodated itself to Calvin's French, and protestant France comprised the best educated part of the nation; from it went forth those families which in the walks of literature, and in the higher offices of magistracy, so powerfully influence the intellectual culture of the people; from it Port-Royal drew its origin,¹ an institution which became one of the great instruments that contributed to the formation of French prose and even of French poesy, and which, in endeavouring to carry the doctrines and language of the Reformation into Gallican catholicism, although it failed in one of these objects, succeeded in the other; for Roman catholic France could not but learn, in the end, from her Jansenist and Reformist adversaries, how to wield those weapons of language without which she could not have combatted them.²

While, however, there was thus forming at the college of la Marche, the future Reformer of religion and even of language, all was commotion around the young and sedate student, without his having as yet taken any part in the grand movement by which society was then agitated. The flames that had consumed the hermit and Pavanne, had filled all Paris with horror. But the persecutors were not satisfied; a system of terror was put in operation throughout the whole of France. The friends of the Reformation dared no longer correspond with each other, dreading lest their letters should be intercepted; and thus both

above Luther; for albeit that Luther was somewhat more original and animated, Calvin, who was inferior to him in respect of genius, seems to have excelled him in point of study. Luther triumphed as a public speaker, but Calvin's pen was the more correct of the two, especially in Latin, and his style, which was more heavy (*triste*) was also more connected and more chaste. Both excelled in the use of their mother tongue; both were men of extraordinary vehemence." . . . (See *Histoire des Variations*, Book ix.) And in the next paragraph he speaks of *le beau stile de Calvin* (Calvin's beautiful style), but all this is very far from representing him as "the father of French prose," an honour which I suspect Bossuet may have coveted for himself. Tr.

¹ M. A. Arnauld, grandfather of mother Angelica, and of all the Arnaulds of Port-Royal, was a protestant; see Port-Royal by M. Sainte Beuve.

Étude littér. sur Calvin, par M. A. Sayous, Genève, 1839, art. iv. It is about to be followed by other *études* on Farel, Viret, and Beza.

those who wrote them, and those to whom they were addressed, should be marked out to the vengeance of the courts of justice.¹ One man ventured, nevertheless, to convey news from Paris and from France to the refugees at Basel, by sewing an unsigned letter in the folds of his doublet. He escaped the patrols of musketeers, the marshalsea of the various county districts, the inquisitions of the provosts and intendants,² and reached Basel without having ever had the mysterious doublet searched. The news thus conveyed struck Toussaint and his friends with terror. "It is a dreadful thing," exclaimed Toussaint, "to hear him relate the grievous cruelties that are done there!"³ Shortly before this, there had come to Basel with the officers of justice at their heels, two Franciscan friars, one of whom, of the name of John Prévost, had preached at Meaux, and in consequence had been thrown into one of the prisons at Paris.⁴ What they told about Paris and Lyons, through which they had passed, excited the utmost commiseration on the part of the refugees. "May our Lord send his grace thither," wrote Toussaint to Farel; "I promise you, I find myself at times in great anguish and tribulation."

Meanwhile those excellent men did not lose courage. In vain were all the parliaments on the watch; in vain did the spies of the Sorbonne and the monks go about, ready to catch at any evangelical sentiments that might be uttered in the churches, in colleges, and even in private families; in vain did the king's men-at-arms lay their arrest, along the high-ways, on whatever bore the stamp of the Reformation; the Frenchmen who were thus tracked and overborne, believed in a better future, and already hailed the termination of that Babylonish captivity, as they called it. "The seventieth year will come at last, the year of our deliverance," they would say, "and then we shall have freedom of mind and conscience."⁵ But the seventy years

¹ Il n'y a personne qui ose m'écrire. (Toussaint to Farel, 4th September, 1525, Neuchâtel MS.)

² The intendants were a kind of lord-lieutenants, whom De Rulhière, in his *Éclaircissements Historiques*, describes as gradually encroaching on the jurisdiction of the civil magistracy, and at last engrossing to themselves powers of interference and authority that led to the greatest tyranny. Tr.

³ Toussaint à Farel, 4th September, 1525, Neuchâtel MS.

⁴ Ibid, 21st July, 1525.

⁵ Sane venit annus septuagesimus, et tempus appetit ut tandem vindicemur in libertatem spiritus et conscientie. (Toussaint à Farel, 21st Juillet, 1525.)

were ordained to last for near three centuries, and it was only at the close of unheard of calamities that these hopes were to be realised. As for the rest, it was not from men that the refugees hoped anything. "Those that have begun the dance, won't stay on the road," said Farel. But they believed that the Lord "knew those whom he had chosen and would deliver his people with power."¹

The chevalier d'Esch had, in fact, been delivered. Escaped from the prisons of Pont-a-Mousson, he had hastened to Strasburg; but he did not long remain there. "For the honour of God," Toussaint had immediately written to Farel, "endeavour to make our good master,² the chevalier, come back as soon as possible, for our brethren greatly need such a captain." The French refugees had indeed new causes for apprehension. They trembled lest the dispute about the supper which had afflicted them so much in Germany, should pass the Rhine, and add fresh sorrows to those that already cast a gloom over France. Francis Lambert, the Avignon monk, after having visited Zurich and Wittenberg, had gone to Metz; but he was not received there with full confidence; it was feared that he might bring Luther's sentiments along with him, and by controversies that were useless, "monstrous," says Toussaint, stop the progress of the Reformation.³ Esch accordingly returned to Lorraine, but only to be exposed anew to great dangers, together with all there who sought the glory of Jesus Christ.⁴

Meanwhile Toussaint was not the man to send others to battle without going there himself. Deprived of daily intercourse with Œcolampadius, and obliged to content himself with the society of a gross-minded priest, he had sought the presence of Christ and felt his courage augmented. If he could not return to Metz, might he not at least go to Paris? True, the fires that had consumed Pavanne and the hermit of Livry, were still smoking, and seemed to warn all who had a faith like

¹ Sed novit Dominus quos elegerit. (Toussaint to Farel, 21st July, 1525.)

² "Si nos magistrum in terris habere deceat, (if it becomes us to have any master on earth), he adds. (Tossanus Farello, Neuchâtel MS.)

³ Vercor ne aliquid ne quid monstri alat. (Tossanus Farello, 27th September, 1525.)

⁴ Audio etiam equitem periclitari, simul et omnes qui illic Christi gloriæ favent. (Ibid. 27th December, 1525.)

theirs, to keep far aloof from the capital. But if the streets and the colleges of Paris were so much under the spell of fear that no one dared to utter the words Gospel and the Reformation, was not that a reason for his repairing thither? Toussaint left Basel, and arrived within those walls where fanaticism had taken the place of feasting and dissolution. He endeavoured, while advancing in his studies as a Christian, to form connections with the brethren in the colleges, and particularly in that of cardinal Lemoine, being that in which Lefevre and Farel had taught.¹ But this he was not long free to do. The tyranny of the commissioners appointed by the parliament and of the theologians, reigned supreme in the capital, and whoever displeased them was accused of heresy.² A duke and an abbot, whose names have not come down to us, denounced Toussaint as a heretic; and one day the king's officers arrested the young Lorrainer and threw him into prison. Separated from all his friends, treated as a criminal, Toussaint felt his miserable position so much the more keenly. "O Lord," he exclaimed, "withdraw not thy Spirit from me! for without him I am but flesh and a sink of sin." He ran over in his memory, while his body was in irons, the names of all who were still at large, and engaged in combatting for the Gospel.³ There was Œcolampadius, his father, and "whose work we are in the Lord," said he. There was Lefèvre, whom he considered, no doubt because of

¹ Fratres qui in collegio cardinalis Monachi sunt, te salutant. (Tossanus Far llo, Neuchâtel MS.)

² Regnante hic tyrannide commissariorum et theologorum. (Ibid.)

³ M. Genin makes no doubt of Lefèvre having visited Africa and Asia. In a Note upon a letter of Margaret d'Angoulême, dated in 1531, and in which the princess speaks of him as *le bon homme Fabry*, M. G. gives the following notice of the Etaples doctor:—

"After having visited Asia and Africa, he returned to Paris and taught philosophy in the college of Cardinal Lemoine. William Briçonnet on being translated from the see of Lodève to that of Meaux (1518), attached to himself Lefebvre of Etaples as grand vicar and took him to his episcopal city. Lefebvre then published certain theological dissertations, which cost him the censures and the persecutions of the Sorbonne. He excused as best he could the rashness of his private opinions on Saint Anne and Mary Magdalen; but, in addition to these, he had translated and written comments upon the New Testament, an unpardonable crime in the eyes of the hot-tempered Beda; in fact, an unequivocal proof of heresy. It had been wished that advantage should be taken of the absence of the king, to destroy Lefebvre of Etaples, but the duchess prevailed on her brother to write to the parliament and save the accused. (SAINTE-MARTHE, Elog.)

"Nevertheless the shuffling tricks of the Sorbonists were repeated without end. Lefebvre of Etaples, who after having finished the education of prince

his age, as incapable of sustaining the weight¹ of the Gospel; Roussel, by whom he hoped that the Lord would yet work great things;² Vaugris, who in his efforts to rescue him from

Charles, duke of Angoulême, had retired to the modest situation of librarian at Blois, far from the ecclesiastical dignities offered him by the king, solicited leave of absence, as we see here, through the intervention of his protectress. The visit to one of his friends is a mere pretext; he went to Nerac, where he calmly closed his life at the age of ninety-one, in 1536. The queen of Navarre (Margaret of Angoulême) honoured his funeral with her presence. *Solemne funeris pompam mœrens præsentia sua honoravit.* (SCÆ. SAMMARTH, Elog.)

"That same year Erasmus died at Basel, and a comet appeared in the heavens. Dolet connects these three events in a beautiful piece of Latin verse." (Carm. l. iv. p. 156. *Lugd.* 1558.) (See *Lettres inédites de Margaret d'Angoulême*, p. 279.) TR.

¹ Faber impar est oneri evangelico ferendo. (Tossanus Farello.)

² Per Rufum magna operabitur Dominus. (Tossanus Farello.) The omission of Gerard Roussel's name in biographical dictionaries, has induced M. Genin to make compensation to his memory by the following notice:

"Gerard Roussel (or le Roux) a celebrated scholar and theologian, was one of those *protégés* of the queen of Navarre who contributed most to bring upon her accusations of heresy. He was a Dominican monk, who having laid down the peculiar dress of his order, set himself to travel in Germany where he seems to have imbibed Luther's doctrines. Others have maintained that he in no wise adopted those either of Luther or of Calvin. On his return he was persecuted by the Sorbonists; Margaret delivered him from imprisonment, offered him an asylum in Bearn, and gave him the abbacy of Clairac, here referred to," (in a letter, supposed of 1850), "and it will be seen that this was through the intervention of the grand-master de Montmorency. Afterwards, in 1540, the queen (of Navarre) caused G. Roussel to be appointed to the bishopric of Oleron. He hardly survived his benefactress. Sponde, who charges Roussel with having corrupted the religion of the Basque country, informs us of the circumstances that attended his death:

"Gerard Roussel had gone to preach at Mauleon in 1550. He particularly assailed the practise of abstaining from labour (*le chômage*) on saints' days and called for their being abolished. A fanatic of the name of Arnauld de Maytie, went up to the pulpit, and with an axe which he had brought under his clothes, cut the supporting timbers to pieces. The pulpit fell, the bishop was taken up half dead and taken into Bearn. Being advised to try the (mineral) waters he set off to them and died upon the way.

"Arnauld was brought before the parliament of Bordeaux and was acquitted.

"Shortly afterwards heaven worthily recompensed his pious and noble deed, *ut de pio et eximio facinore convenientissime remuneraretur*; his son was appointed bishop of Oleron in the place of Gerard Roussel, who was assassinated in the open church by Arnauld the father, *zelo fidei incensus*, says Sponde.

"That author acknowledges that Gerard Roussel lived a blameless life, preached often, nourished whole battalions (*des bataillons*) of poor people, and gave instruction to troops of children; but all that made him only the more dangerous. He was perfectly catholic externally, *semper se catholicum exterius profitebatur*; he openly abjured both Luther and Calvin; the latter composed a book against G. Roussel, intituled: *Adversus Nicodemitas*, but Sponde was not to be duped by it, and his penetration easily discovered the heretical hypocrisy concealed under this preconceived trick.

"G. Roussel was wicked enough to preach to the court at Nerac in a lay dress; it is said, also, that he gave the communion in both kinds."

So much for M. Genin, who speaks in jest, no doubt, of Sponde's sagacity in the above instance. Nothing can be more certain than that G. Roussel greatly offended the Reformed by his conformity with popery, and his lamen-

his enemies, displayed all the activity of the most affectionate brother;¹ finally, there was Farel, to whom he wrote: "I recommend myself to your prayers, dreading that I may succumb in this combat."² Ah! how did the names of all these beloved brethren, alleviate the bitterness of his imprisonment, for he was not about to succumb. Death, it is true, threatened him in that city, where the blood of a multitude of his brethren was to be poured out like water;³ the friends of his mother, of his uncle the dean of Metz and the cardinal of Lorraine, made him the most magnificent offers.⁴ . . . "I despise them," said he, "I know that it is a trial from God. I would rather be hungry, I would rather be abject in the house of the Lord than dwell with abundance of riches, in the palaces of the ungodly."⁵ He at the same time made an open confession of his faith. "It is my glory," he exclaimed, "to be called an heretic by those whose life and doctrine I perceive to be opposed to Jesus Christ."⁶ And this interesting and courageous youth subscribed himself in his letters: "Peter Toussaint, unworthy to be called a Christian."⁷

table end may be regarded as one of the many examples we find in history, of the little that is to be gained, even in this life, by such compromises of principle.

While Beza charges Roussel with having seduced the princess Margaret from the Reformed faith, Fl. Ræmond represents him as the grand agent in seducing her from the Church of Rome. In the long notice of Roussel to be found in the 7th book of his *De origine hærescon*, he says that it was by his advice that she gave herself wholly to the reading of the Bibles, lately translated into French and printed in large type, and even sent for comedians and players from Italy, for the purpose of having scenic representations before her husband, of the New Testament histories after being turned into rhyme. This was quite of a piece with the policy that dictated her tales. How much that sort of acting was then in vogue, may be seen by consulting an old history of Lyons in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. If, as M Genin alleges, it was Briçonnet's object in inviting such men to Meaux, to allure them to remain within the Church, he seems to have succeeded in Roussel's case. Tr.

¹ Fidelissimi fratris officio functum. (Tossanus Farello.)

² Commendo me vestris precibus, ne succumbam in hac militia. (Ibid.)

³ Me periclitari de vita. (Ibid.)

⁴ Offerebantur hic mihi conditiones amplissimæ. (Ibid.)

⁵ Malo esurire et abjectus esse in domo Domini. . . . (Ibid.)

⁶ Hæc, hæc gloria me quod habeor hæreticus ab his quorum vitam et doctrinam video pugnare cum Christo. (Ibid.)

⁷ Some good was to be expected from such entire self-devotedness and such harmonious co-operation as are presented by the history of the Reformation, particularly in France. Albeit that God saw not meet to make the Reformation thoroughly penetrate France, the example had a salutary influence on other countries, particularly on our fatherland (Holland), where like oppressions had to be endured, and where the French Reformed exercised so much influence. How humiliating to us when we therewith compare the present lukewarmness of spirit in devotedly and harmoniously defending hard won privileges against various kinds of assailants.—L. R.

Thus was there a succession of fresh blows aimed at the Reformation, during the absence of the king. Berquin, Toussaint, and many others were in prison; Schuch, Pavanne, and the hermit of Livry, had been put to death; Farel, Lefèvre, and Roussel, with many more defenders of sound doctrine, had been driven into exile; mighty mouths had been rendered mute. The light of the Gospel-day became more and more obscure, and the storm, muttering incessantly, bent, shook, and seemed likely altogether to uproot the tree, as yet but a sapling, which the hand of God had planted on the soil of France.

All this, however, was still far from being thought enough. More illustrious victims behoved to succeed to the humbler ones already sacrificed. The enemies of the Reformation in France, having failed in commencing from above, resigned themselves to the necessity of operating from below, but still with the hope of continually carrying condemnation and death into a higher and higher sphere, until the very pinnacles of society should be reached. This reversal of their course succeeded with them. Hardly were the ashes with which persecution had covered the *place de Grève* and the ground in front of Nôtre-Dame dispersed, when fresh blows were struck. Messire Anthony Du Blet, that excellent man, the Lyons "merchant,"¹ (*negotiator*), fell beneath the persecutions of the foes of truth, together with Francis Moulin, another disciple, without our being informed as to the details of their death.² Measures were taken that went beyond this; higher objects were aimed at; it was hoped that an illustrious head, though itself beyond reach, might be wounded by attacking those that were dear to it. This was no less than the duchess of Alençon. Michael d'Arande, chaplain to the queen's sister, for whom Margaret had parted with all her other preachers, and who preached in her presence the pure Gospel, became the object of attack among the persecutors, and was threatened with imprisonment and death.³ Almost at the same time, Anthony Papillon, for whom

¹ See Note at chapter XI. of this book.

² Perit Franciscus Molinus ac Dubletus. (Erasm. Epp. p. 1109.) Erasmus, in the letter he addressed to Francis I. in July, 1526, names all who during the prince's captivity had fallen victims to the fanatics of Rome.

³ Periclitatus est Michael Arantius. (Ibid.)

the princess had procured the office of first master of requests to the Dauphin, died suddenly, and the universal report, even among the adversaries, was that he had been poisoned.¹

Thus did persecution continue to spread throughout the kingdom, and to reach nearer and nearer to Margaret. After the scattering of the forces of the Reformation, when concentrated at Meaux, at Lyons, and at Basel, the isolated combatants that here and there held out for it, were one after another brought to the ground. A few more efforts and the soil of France seemed likely to be rid of heresy. Covert manœuvres and secret practices succeeded to clamours and to sentences of condemnation to the flames. War was to be waged in open day; but measures were also to be taken for its being waged in darkness. If fanaticism called upon the courts of justice and the scaffold to act in the case of persons of little consideration, it was at the same time to have poison and the poignard in reserve for the great. The use of these has been too much patronised by the doctors of a celebrated society; and even kings have fallen under the assassin's knife.² But though Rome has at all

¹ Perit Papilio non sine gravi suspitione veneni, says Erasmus. (Erasm. Epp. p. 1109.)

² The author here alludes to the society of the Jesuits, which he omits to name, only because quite aware that every reader could sufficiently understand what he meant. Such as are insufficiently informed and who have doubts on the subject, may read Pascal's Provincial Letters, wherein, in general, the abominable morality openly taught by leading men of that society, is clearly demonstrated from various writings of theirs: as also, a small publication translated from the French: *Secret Directions of the Society of Jesus*, &c., published by Blussé and Van Braam at Dordrecht in 1825, and, in particular, the two appendices on their *principles* and their *deeds*. A community, the members of which have defended such principles and have committed other such deeds, is even now not to be trusted, notwithstanding the fairest appearances of love and toleration, and as little can we trust those who conspire with them.—L. R.

The latter of these works is best known in this country by its Latin title, *Secreta Monita*. A vast collection of documentary evidence, illustrative of the vitious morality, the ambition, and the intrigues of the Jesuits, has been published in a voluminous work, intitled: *Annales de la Société des Soi-disans Jesuites, ou Recueil Historique—Chronologique de tous les Actes, Ecrits, Denonciations, Avis Doctrinaux, Requêtes, Ordonnances, Mandemens, Instructions Pastorales, Decrets, Censures, Bulles, Brefs, Edits, Arrêts, Sentences et Jugemens émanés des Tribunaux Ecclesiastiques et Seculiers: Contre la doctrine, l'enseignement, les entreprises et les forfaits des Soi-disans Jesuites, depuis 1552, époque de leur naissance en France, jusqu'en 1763. à Paris, 1761*. Of this immense repertory I have seen the first five volumes only, bringing the collection down to 1668, and cannot say whether any more were ever published. The tide of accusation even among the Roman catholics themselves, continued to roll on with an ever-augmented volume, until the suppression of the order by pope Clement XIV. (Ganganelli.) But all the dark blots that then led to the final suppression of the Jesuits, have been found by later popes to be more

times had her hired ruffians (*des Seides*), she has likewise seen her Vincents de Paule and her Fenelons. These blows, aimed in silence and obscurity, were well fitted to spread terror in all quarters. This treacherous policy, and these fanatical persecutions within the kingdom, joined to dismal disasters abroad, seemed to diffuse a universal gloom. There was hardly a family, particularly among the nobility, in which there were no tears shed over a father, a husband, or a son, left upon the plains of Italy,¹ and whose hearts trembled not for the liberty, or even for the life, of one or other of its members. The sweeping reverses that had overwhelmed the nation, diffused through all its parts a leaven of hatred towards heretics. The people, the parliament, the Church, the throne, leagued themselves together.

Was it not enough for the duchess of Alençon that the defeat of Pavia had caused her the loss of her husband and the imprisonment of her brother? Could she not have been spared the sight possibly of the final extinction of the torch of the Gospel, in whose mild radiance she had felt so much calm delight? The news from Spain augmented the general sorrow. Disappointment and disease threatened to shorten the days of the haughty Francis I. Should the king remain a prisoner, or should he die, should the regency of his mother be prolonged for many years, would it not be all over with the Reformation? "But when all seemed to be lost," said, at a later period, the youthful scholar of Noyon, "God saves and guards his church

than compensated by their invaluable services to the popedom, and by the success with which they have undermined Protestant institutions and influences wherever they have penetrated.

Since writing some former Notes on the Jesuits, I have seen a very powerful exposition of their worst points in *Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery, deduced from a Review of its Principles and History, &c., Edinburgh, 1780, p. 100.* The author gives a striking summary of the immoral tenets charged against them, as proved by a mass of evidence in his foot Notes.

"They," (the Jesuits), says he, "have exempted mankind from love and all inward homage to the Deity, and charity to men, and so dash in pieces both tables of the law: they have made it almost as easy to practise all virtue, if there can be such a thing upon their plan, and to avoid every fault, as it is to breathe. They have put it into the power of every man to exculpate himself in acting as he pleaseth, and committing every enormity under the sun by furnishing him with the pleas of ignorance, surprise, or passion, convenience, error of conscience, right intention, and the impious and sceptical device of *probabilism*," &c., &c., &c. TR.

¹ Gaillard. Histoire de François I.^{er} tom. ii. p. 255.

in a marvellous manner."¹ The church of France which seemed, as it were, in the pains of child-birth, required an interval of rest before new pangs should come upon her; and God employed for this purpose a feeble woman, who never pronounced herself completely in favour of the Reformation. She thought more at the time of saving the king and the kingdom than about the deliverance of some obscure Christians, who nevertheless were reposing in her the most sanguine hopes.² But beneath the noise and bustle of this world's affairs, God doth often conceal the mysterious ways by which he governs his people. A noble project occupied the mind of the duchess of Alençon, and she seemed thenceforth to live only that she might traverse the sea, or pass the Pyrenees, for the sake of rescuing Francis I. from the power of Charles V.

Margaret of Valois gave notice of her design, and France hailed it with a shout of gratitude. In the eyes of Louisa and of Duprat, her attachment to the new doctrine was powerfully counter-balanced by her greatness of soul, the high reputation she had won for herself, the affection she bore her brother and that which Francis bore to her. All eyes were directed to her, as the sole person capable of delivering the kingdom from the jeopardy in which it lay. All were content, therefore, that she should go herself into Spain, that she should speak to the powerful emperor and his ministers, and that she should avail herself of the admirable genius with which Providence had endowed her, for the deliverance of her brother and her king.

Meanwhile, the hearts of both the nobility and the people were filled with a great diversity of sentiments, as they beheld the duchess of Alençon go to place herself amid the hostile counsels and fierce soldiery of the catholic king.

Each admired without sharing, however, the courage and devotedness of this young woman. The princess's friends felt alarms on her account, and these were to be but too fully realised. But the evangelical Christians were elated with hope. The captivity of Francis I. had led to the descent of unheard-of severities upon the friends of the Reformation; they trusted

¹ *Nam habet Deus modum, quo electos suos mirabiliter custodiat, ubi omnia perditā videntur.* (Calvinus in Ep. ad Rom. xi. 2.)

² . . . Beneficio illustrissimæ Ducis Alençonis. (Toussaint to Harel.)

his enlargement would put an end to these. The opening of the gates of Spain for the king's deliverance, would involve the closing of those of the ecclesiastical courts and of the strongholds into which the servants of God's Word were thrown. Margaret fortified herself in a design into which she was led by so many diverse motives:

Heav'n's height my purpose can't make fail,
Nor all the mighty pow'rs of hell,
For lo ! its keys my Saviour keeps !¹

Her weak woman's heart was strengthened by that faith which gives us the victory over the world, and her resolution was irrevocably taken; hasty preparations were made accordingly, for this important and dangerous voyage.

The archbishop of Embrun, who became afterwards the cardinal de Tournon, and the president de Selves were already at Madrid, to treat about the king's deliverance. They were placed under Margaret's orders, together with the bishop of Tarbes, afterwards the cardinal de Grammont, full powers having been committed to the princess alone. At the same time Montmorency, who was afterwards so hostile to the Reformation, was sent with the utmost expedition into Spain, to obtain a safe-conduct for the king's sister.² The emperor started difficulties, saying that it was an affair that he must commit entirely to his ministers. "One hour of conference," exclaimed Selves, "between your majesty, the king my master, and madame d'Alençon, would do more to advance the treaty than a month of discussion among jurisconsults."³

In her impatience to reach the place while the king was lying ill, Margaret set off without any safe-conduct, attended by an imposing train.⁴ She quitted the court and passed through Lyons on her way to the Mediterranean; but while still on her way, Montmorency returned, bringing letters from Charles with a warrant for the liberty of the princess during three months

¹ Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses, tom. i. p. 125.

² Memoires de Du Bellay, p. 124.

³ Histoire de France par Garnier, tom. xxiv.

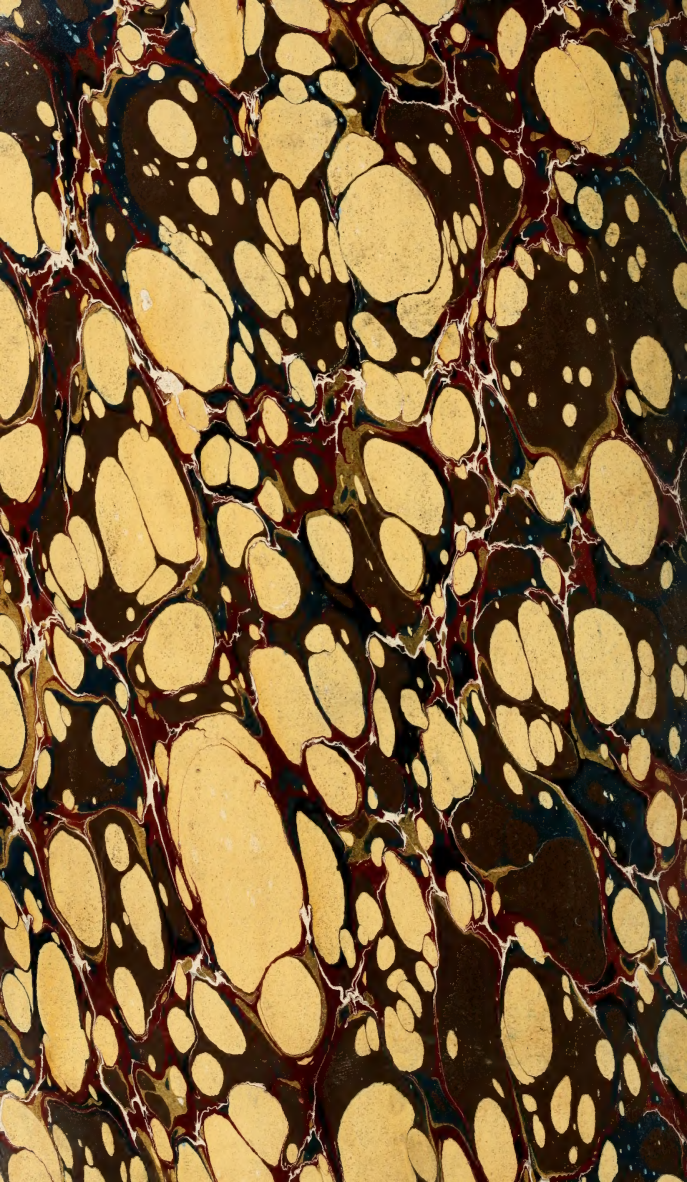
⁴ Pour taster au vix la volonté de l'esleu empereur . . . madame Marguerite, duchesse d'Alençon, très notablement accompagnée de plusieurs ambassadeurs . . . (Les gestes de François de Valois, par E. Dolet, 1540.)

only. She reached Aigues-Mortes,¹ and in that port the sister of Francis I. embarked. Led by the hand of God into Spain rather for the deliverance of humble and oppressed Christians than that she might bring forth from captivity the mighty king of France, Margaret committed herself to the waves of the same sea that had borne away her captive brother, after the disastrous defeat of Pavia.²

¹ Jam in itinere erat Margarita Francisci soror . . . e fossis Marianis solvens, Barcinonem primum, deinde Cæsarem Augustam appulerat. (Belcarius, Rerum Gallicarum. Comment. p. 565.)

² As a concluding Note for this volume, I may introduce the following curious one from M. Genin's præfatory *Notice* :

"I take this opportunity," says he at p. 86, "of directing attention to certain points of resemblance by which chance seems to have amused itself with connecting the sister of Francis I., and the wife of Henry IV. Both had the same pre-name, the same name, the same title : Margaret, of Valois, queen of Navarre ; both lived within the same century ; both were beautiful, learned, and clever, protectors of literature and of learned men ; both have alike been accused, at least by modern historians, of being too much inclined to gallantry. The very names of the places they lived at make one apt to confound them : the queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I. retired to *Tusson* ; the queen of Navarre, wife of Henry IV., lived at *Usson*. This accidental co-incidence, which looks as if it were the result of a combination, so far explains and excuses the misrepresentations to which both princesses have been subject. Contemporaneous writers themselves, as Brantôme for example, not always having been at the pains to distinguish them clearly, it is no easy matter to guard against all mistake." Tr.



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